FRAME ALIGNMENT STRATEGIES IN THE RIGHT TO SHELTERING MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF DIKMEN VALLEY, ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
BY

BEGÜM AYKAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

JULY 2011

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok	(METU, CRP)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name Begüm Aykan

Signature :

ABSTRACT

FRAME ALIGNMENT STRATEGIES IN THE RIGHT TO SHELTERING MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF DIKMEN VALLEY, ANKARA

Aykan, Begüm

M.S., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

By the increasing hegemony of neoliberalism following the 1980s, urban transformation projects are becoming increasingly widespread. The present market oriented and rent seeking formulations of the urban transformation projects, leave the *gecekondu* dwellers who live in the areas to be transformed, outside the redistribution process of the produced rent and lead to the eviction of lower-income gecekondu population from the city to the periphery. Dislocations of this sort as they impose additional burdens to the already disadvantageous populations enhance the urban unevenness.

Nevertheless there is an expanding gecekondu resistance against those projects. And Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement (DVRtSM) is a successful social movement that has been emerged by the organization of this gecekondu resistance which has developed against the implementation of the 4th and 5th Phases of Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project. DVRtSM has a strong influence over similar cases of grievances sourced by the neoliberal urbanization: as to this it can be regarded as a model of Right to Sheltering Movements.

The thesis aims to make an analysis of the strategic framing processes of the organization of the DVRtSM, by exploration of the frame alignment strategies which are regarded as decisive factors of movement's success.

Keywords: Urban Transformation, Right to Sheltering, Right to Sheltering Movement, Frame Alignment Strategies, Dikmen Valley Gecekondu Areas - Ankara

ÖZ

BARINMA HAKKI HAREKETİNDEKİ ÇERÇEVE HİZALAMA STRATEJİLERİ: DİKMEN VADİSİ ÖRNEĞİ, ANKARA

Aykan, Begüm

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

Temmuz 2011, 146 sayfa

1980'li yılları izleyen neoliberalizmin artan hâkimiyetiyle, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri büyük bir yaygınlık kazanmaya başlamışıtr. Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin mevcut piyasa odaklı ve rant güdümlü formulasyonları, dönüştürülecek alanda yaşayan gecekonduluları yaratılan rantın yeniden dağıtımı süreçlerinin dışında bırakmakta ve bu dar gelirli kesimlerin kentte tahliye edilmesiyle sonuçlanmaktadır. Bu türdeki yer değiştirmeler, zaten dezavantajlı konumda olan kesimlerin sırtına ek yükler bindirerek, kentsel eşitsizliği artırmaktadır.

Bununla beraber gecekondu mahallelerinde bu projelere karşı yükselen bir toplumsal muhalefet mevcuttur. Dikmen Vadisi Barınma Hakkı Hareketi (DVBHH) de Dikmen Vadisi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi 4. ve 5. Etap'a karşı gelişen gecekondu direnişinin örgütlenmesiyle ortaya çıkan başarılı bir sosyal harekettir. DVBHH, neoliberal kentleşmeden kaynaklanan benzer mağduriyet vakalarını kuvvetle etkilemektedir ve buna göre bir Barınma Hakkı Hareketi Modeli olarak addedilebilir.

Bu tez, hareketin başarısının belirleyici etkenleri olarak kabul edilen çerçeve hizalama stratejilerinin incelenmesi yoluyla, DVBHH'nin örgütlenmesinde geçerli olan stratejik çerçeveleme süreçlerinin analizini yapmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Dönüşüö, Barınma Hakkı, Barınma Hakkı Hareketi, Çerçeve Hizalama Stratejileri, Dikmen Vadisi Gecekondu Alanları - Ankara

To My Dear Father and Mother…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

support, love and trust for me and for my study. I also want to thank to Belgin Şenaydın, my dear aunt, for her endless love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

When I first heard that there was a social movement which had started 3 years ago by the gecekondu dwellers of Dikmen Valley against the Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project, I was very enthusiastic to know what was going on in the area. Dikmen Valley is a large area, started to be settled by gecekondu houses in 1950s[1]. I visited the Right to Sheltering Bureau which is the office they use for communication, documentation and organization of the movement. It is a modest, collectively constructed building, located at the center of the neighborhoods with two other small buildings at two sides (one is the big room for meetings and the other one is a two-roomed classroom where volunteer teachers come to give free lessons to primary school teachers) with a small opening in front, and a playground for children also constructed collectively by valley people. This area can be defined as an actively used public space which presents a pleasant, peaceful environment. Soon enough, the peace was a little lost when a car stopped by and threw rubble and run away. People I have just met, run after the car to able to get its licence number. It was a breathtaking moment for me, but apparently not for them as how I figured out when they came back with no astonishment and heard them saying that "it should be the municipality again". Then I came to know that Bureau is in open conflict with the metropolitan municipality which is the formulator of the urban transformation project. After that first time, I went there maybe 50 times, and never experienced such a negative incident, and I always found bureau full of people, if not talking about the recent developments, reading newspapers or listening to the radio. I was always welcomed very well like any other guest which came to support the movement in any possible way. It was very inspirational to see that it was possible that people from socially fragmented structure can unite and defend their shelters and it was the third year of

---

[1] The zones of the valley which are closer to the city center had been already transformed in 1990s and in the beginning of 2000s, as the 1st, 2nd and 3rd phases of the project

the struggle already. It was very clear for me from the first visit that I would write my master thesis on this movement.

As to introduce the identity of the movement first, I should clarify the naming of it: the movement is called as Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Struggle by its adherents. Whereas I prefer to call it as Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement (DVRtSM) in order to underline the organizational character of the mobilization. The struggle going on in Dikmen Valley driven by the valley people has emerged as a grassroots mobilization triggered and led by Halkevleri[2] and evolved to a persistent self-conscious social movement with a strategically constructed -and continuously re-constructed- organization and discourse. This definition is offered as an alternative view to the present pessimistic perspective that there is little hope regarding urban poor to perform any collective action -as they lack ideological and organizational resources necessary for mobilization; as they are usually socially and politically segregated and inherently resistant to oppose laws and state institutions- the resistances in gecekondu settlements against the urban transformation projects hereto, were overlooked by both academia, media, leftist organizations and parties. Notwithstanding, throughout the struggle it carried out since 2006, DVRtSM proved that gecekondu dwellers can become social agents of organized collective action and challenge neoliberal public policies.

As regarding the Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project (DVUTP), I am going to introduce the urbanization processes took place in the valley first. Dikmen valley is a wide, long cleft extending along the center of the city towards the south. Development of gecekondu settlements has started by 1950s. By the mid of 1980s, as the land value had increased for the area, the valley was promising high rents with its favorable location and pleasant landscape for luxury housing. The DVUTP has taken into the program of the Metropolitan Municipality in 1989 as the biggest urban transformation project in Turkey.

---

[2] Halkevleri is a very influential and massive left-wing "revolutionary" organization, and democratic mass movement -as how they identify themselves- that supports DVRtSM. It is an association in legal terms, but it operates more like a mass movement with partially grassroots character. Its organizational line wiill be elaborated in the related chapter.

The first phases of the project were relatively successful in terms of satisfying the expectations of the gecekondu dwellers, both in terms of the share they got from the redistribution of the rent earned by the transformation and the pursuing the right to sheltering. Therefore, there have not been a strong opposition. Yet the 4th and 5th phases of the project imposed severe financial conditions on gecekondu dwellers. The new formulation of the project was ignoring the tenants completely; the terms of the contract were very wage but clearly not favorable for the gecekondu dwellers whether they had title deed certificate or not. It was promising indeterminate property rights by imposing heavy financial burdens to all, but gecekondus without the certificate were clearly the most disadvantageous part after the tenants-. Valley people were confused and frustrated; the municipality was pressuring them to sign the contract and leave the land in 2 weeks by threatening them by demolishing their gecekondus in case they do not sign the contract.

Speaking of how DVRtSM started in the first place, the movement emerged first as a gecekondu resistance in 2006 in opposition to the 4th and 5th Phases of Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project by the gecekondu dwellers under the leadership of a small Halkevleri cadre. The first Halkevleri members of the movement were from the district center of Halkevleri in İlker, namely İlker Halkevi who had contact with a few valley people regarding the project. The head of the İlker Halkevi was also a gecekondu dweller in the valley, Tarık Çalışkan, who became the leader of the movement. The participant group of the movement is mainly composed of the gecekondu dwellers, around 760 households, and 3000 people without the title deed certificate, with around 25-30 households, with the certificate and very few tenants. The first organization practices started when a female resident, Sultan Abla, visited İlker Halkevi to consult about the project. Sultan Abla was acquainted with Halkevleri as she has attended some activities held İlker District center of Halkevleri.

In the beginning of the early mobilization process, the first activities were the informatory meetings with gecekondu dwellers organized by the Halkevleri cadre. Halkevleri cadre was familiar with the urban transformation process, and the kind of grievances it potentially brings forth. Thus they were trying to explain to valley

people those processes with the help of professional people within their network, like y planners, architects, lawyers. Then they founded an office, he Bureau where they use as their archive, hold weekly councils and gatherings, offer occasional legal expertise and simply get together to support each other. The office is named as Right to Sheltering Bureau which became synonymous with the movement itself in the course of time. They also started a street newspaper, opened a web site, and established contact with various professional chambers, political, students', artists' groups. They continue to organize weekly councils and occasional marches, try to access media, making press statements, keep in contact various institutions and groups for support, organize a yearly valley festival since 2009, organize activities and create common spaces, to increase the life quality and consolidate solidarity valley people; such as constructing parks for children, organizing literacy or music courses, providing the basic urban service which are not met by the municipality.

As for the most evident acquisitions gained by these efforts, there are around 700 households still living in the valley since 5 years. This means they could avoid being evicted, paying rent in some other places in the city where they would not have the same social solidarity network they have in the valley. In addition to that as an acquaintance of the jurisdictional front of the movement, the project is canceled in 10.06.2009 by the court decision. Nevertheless, the cancellation of the project didn't result as the loosening of the mobilization as the municipality is continuing with counter attacks updated in response to the maneuvers of the DVRtSM[3].

1.1. Research Question

Although there are various important elements to be analyzed about DVRtSM, with this research I will focus on the strategic discursive processes conveyed by the movement leaders, initiators and pioneers, to urge people to act together, to provide long-term participation and social support from a large network as it appears that the stability and the success of the movement owes to this strategic discursive work for the most part.

---

[3] New legislatons have been made in order to block this legislative front of the resistances.

DVRtSM has proved itself as an effective way to struggle against urban transformation projects and primarily to develop a new consciousness of social rights, and new discourse against non-participatory, profit seeking policies of municipalities and state institutions. It also plays a leading role for all squatter areas that are facing similar situations. The movement is regarded as successful not in terms of amount of people who didn't sign the contract and remained in the valley, neither whether the demands put forward by the remained gecekondu dwellers have been met. It is found to be successful as the movement initiators succeeded the durable mobilization and participation of a considerable amount of gecekondu dwellers and the mobilization could evolve to a strategically organized social movement with a clearly articulated identity. It is also successful in terms of the public attention and support it got from various sectors of the society, the influence it makes on other areas that face similar situations and its legal achievements. It is possible to claim that Right to Shelter Movement constitutes an considerable challenge to neoliberal restructuring.

One of the most significant questions posed about the movement is how "such a group" managed to unite for "such a difficult task" within "such a political environment". I believe this question is very important as it dynamizes the new organization approaches and practices for the left, structured in response to the new economic restructuring. I believe the revelation of the strategic discursive processes provide important insights regarding this question.

Such a group refers to aggregation of different groups of people who are unaware of each other if not antipathetic. In Dikmen Valley there are various neighborhoods structured in terms of religion, ethnicity and origin of hometown. The most clear-cut separation is the one between Alewi and Sunni neighborhoods. People know other people from their own social network which is usually spatially defined within the borders of the neighborhood which doesn't mean that people living in the same neighborhood all knew each other. They almost have no interaction with people from other neighborhoods and they had prejudices towards each other because of the cultural differences they assumed to have. They also differed in their political

orientation. As to give a rough picture of political spectrum present in the valley I want to note that, -according to how they identify themselves- in Dikmen Valley, there are leftists -some of whom declared that they voted for CHP[4] or ÖDP[5]-, rightists or conservatives -some of whom stated that they voted for AKP[6] other right-wing parties with nationalistic character like MHP, BBP-, and supporters of Kurdish movement.

The concept of Right to Sheltering is proposed here to be the key note of the above mentioned condition. The concept of Right to Sheltering has a neutralizing capacity in terms of the underlying social disintegrations of the target audience. Thus, the framing of the movement under this conceptualization is believed to open a new space for social movements in Turkey regarding the grievances resulting from the spatial restructuring of the cities throughout neoliberal policies. I believe that the particularities and strengths of DVRtSM mainly lie in the strategic discursive processes, thus exploring those processes could contribute to the social movement literature in Turkey and hopefully may be an instrument for this movement to be introduced to a broader audience.

In order to analyze the strategic discursive processes, framing perspective is believed to offer most fruitful theoretical and methodological tools. Thus will apply to framing perspective to formulate this research and I will focus on Snow and Benford's conceptualization of frame alignment strategies (1986). In addition to that a special focus will be given to Halkevleri which actually endorses a semi-hidden leadership position in the organization of the movement. Semi-hidden denotes here that Halkevleri strategically chose to take a back seat and let the DVRtSM to evolve to an independent movement.

As for the relationship of Halkevleri and DVRtSM, it should be noted first that the

---

[4] CHP (Republican People's Party) is the founder party of the republican regime. Now it identifies itself as a Social Democrat Party and it is the second most voted party in Turkey.
[5] ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party), was established in 1996 by the unification of leftist and democrat groups.
[6] AKP (Justice and Development Party) is a center-right party which. It was founded in 2001 and it is largest party in the government since 2002

most prominent participants of the DVRtSM are also members of Halkevleri organization. Nevertheless this strong relationship is consciously kept in the background, which means, despite this relationship is known by the rest of the supporters and potential supporters, people from Halkevleri do not introduce themselves as Halkevleri members but always refer themselves as DVRtSM supporters and they refer to DVRtSM as a distinct movement struggling for right to sheltering of valley people.

So research questions can be formulated as follows;

-Exploration of the frame alignment strategies are invoked in the organization of DVRtSM.
-Exploration of the processes by which these strategies are invoked.

In addition to those factors, there are two other important features that comes to fore with Right to Sheltering Movement which merits attention here.

First of all, I believe that the elaboration of the particularities of DVRtSM in reference to the frame alignment strategies may contribute to this conceptualization as it constitutes a different case. RtSM has practical advantages regarding its spatial organization. The living space becomes the mobilization area, as the subject of the mobilization is the space they are living in. This facilitates the organization of the participation. Nevertheless this condition also brings forth a difficulty, the trouble of uniting socially and politically segregated people for the same cause. This special condition entailed new strategies to be formulated. The mobilization approach of Halkevleri constitutes the key factor here.

It is possible to claim that if Halkevleri would have not engage in the organization of DVRtSM, there would be no persistent resistance to evolve to a consistent stable movement. But this fact is not solely due to the extensive support of a longstanding movement having an established organization experience and tradition but also due to how Halkevleri appealed the valley people, how it framed the situation in this

7

particular case. The quality of being semi-hidden deserves a special attention in this regard, as an important layer of framing processes. What I claim with this thesis is that this consciously adopted peculiar position of Halkevleri can be identified as a specific frame alignment strategy, namely "frame narrowing" that has not been defined by Snow and Benford but is proposed here. Thus a considerable effort will be put to analyze frame alignment strategies together with a special focus on frame narrowing strategy as it appears as more particularistic.

The second important feature of DVRtSM is that the concept of Right to Sheltering offers a new position regarding the discussion of property rights. City planners, architects were originally in a negative position towards the gecekondu resistances. Because such resistances were referred as the seeking of more profit possible from the property rights. It is true that gecekondus are also manipulated fir its exchange value. The possible transformation fo the gecekondus provided gecekondu holders to move economically upward, the amnesty laws accelerated squatterization. The concept of right to sheltering is a demand regarding the use value, it emphasizes the "need" aspect, it denotes for the role of the state in housing provision. When the movement based its discourse on such an understanding, previously distant institutions like Chamber of City Planners and Chamber of Architects embraced the cause.

1.2. Relevancy

It is possible to consider the struggles of Right to Sheltering as an ascending phenomena in Turkey's social movement arena. It covers a spectrum from basic unorganized resistance to stable, self-conscious organizations with a strategic discourse and established movement agenda, all opposing to new generation urban transformation projects implemented by municipalities and a state institution responsible for housing provision, Turkish Public Housing Administration, TOKİ[7].

---

[7] TOKİ: Housing Estate Administration, it was established in 1984 with the goal of providing housing for lower and middle income groups. But it failed mostly at providing hosuing for lower income groups and now it is actively operating with wider authority and continue to construct and sell housing for middle income groups.

By a large sector interested in social movements, Right to Sheltering Movement is accepted as a movement cluster that contributes to the nourishing of public opposition as a response to the neoliberal restructuring of Turkey's economy and politics. DVRtSM endorses a leading role in this protest cycle, it appears not as the first but as the most strategically organized, stable and effective movement with a large number of adherents in proportion to the total population of the gecekondu dwellers in the area. It is indeed possible to say that the organization experience constitutes a model for the other right to sheltering movements and other social rights campaigns.

The elaboration of the urban transformation fact constitutes an important part of the this work. The character that DVRtSM endorses, the discourse and strategies at work in the organization of the movement, are all shaped by how urban transformation is defined by the movement entrepreneurs and adherents in terms of global and national politics and economics.

Framing is a meaning construction work. The enemies to be targeted, the demands to be articulated, the resistance, opposition and confliction techniques are all determined through this meaning work. Therefore the analysis of how the contextual and structural factors are defined is essential for the elaboration of the organization dynamics of the movement.

I consider this topic as relevant for various reasons. One of the reasons is that urban transformation projects are becoming increasingly prevalent on the urban planning agendas in metropolitan cities of Turkey. But the new generation transformation projects are formulated in a way that most of the actual residents of the land to be transformed are in disadvantageous position whether they own the property of the land or not. And this situation is a consequence of the fact that these projects are not aimed at transforming the urban area as to create healthier and more pleasant city spaces or to improve urban services as how they are presented to be but rather to make profit from the increased land values. As the cities grow and expand with the increasing urban population, the form and the size of the cities change; lands which

were formerly at the periphery become central and more profitable. In addition to that, in the era of globalization, metropolitan cities endorse the role of centers of functions like finance, service, culture and entertainment. Beginning from the post 1980s, urban development became crucial tool of socio-spatial and economic restructuring. An extensive building activity begins as the land itself becomes commodified, a very important source of capital and speculation. Local governments started to act like market forces and became to be important agents of this process with their enhanced realm of authority.

As in the case of Ankara, neoliberal restructuring of the commercial and residential city spaces resulted as the construction of high-rise apartment buildings, shopping malls and recreation centers flourish which requires masses of cheap labor not only temporarily for their construction, but also permanently for running and maintenance. Even in the centers of the world economy, professionals are clearly outnumbered by construction workers, cleaners, waiters, janitors, clerks, security personnel, drivers, domestic helpers and providers of all kinds of petty services and trade. (Berner, 1997:168) As this cheap labor cannot afford to live neither in central middle-class residential quarters nor at the urban fringe as these groups would not be able to afford transportation costs, and when the state is unable to provide or support housing for the poor, the slums, ghettos, squatter settlements emerge. The escalating price of real estate and the accompanying economic restructuring of the city lead to huge movements of people, many of them forcibly evicted. (Berner, E., 1997: 168)The residential areas to be transformed first are naturally the squatter settlement areas as their residential density is very low thus it is possible to get very higher profits by increasing the density. Besides the density aspect, the social and legislative conditions of gecekondu areas are favorable for the legitimization of any public and planning policy. As the gecekondu settlements are socially regarded as a consequence of illegitimate land invasion, and inferior in terms of construction and planning quality and as many of the gecekondus are still in "informal" status it is easier to claim that transformation is essential and beneficial for all including the gecekondu dwellers themselves as they live in bad conditions. But they are too poor to live in those transformed areas so they are evicted if not expelled as in the case of

tenants.

Urban transformation projects are basically the demolition of gecekondu neighborhoods with all the physical and social values created within it and the eviction of gecekondu dwellers to the city margins. Those are projects aiming at remaking the city space proper to the needs and tastes of the upper middle class, by constructing shopping malls, luxurious gated communities, tourism or financial centers. (Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008) Therefore, an urban development of this sort will surely increase the urban poverty and create new forms of marginality, not only by enserfing right to sheltering of gecekondu people but by dismantling the solidarity and cooperation networks of the urban poor which is very essential in coping with poverty.

Thus, within this context, it is not a big surprise that urban transformation projects proliferated in the last years and they create new forms of grievances. In most cases, the residents of the land to be transformed are not involved in the preparation of the project, they don't participate to any part of the process and they have no platform to negotiate. What is taken into account is rather the potential middle class customers' tastes and life style preferences. When it comes to squatter residents, there are different alternatives depending on the property ownership status all involve eviction in different forms. Regarding the tenants, there hasn't been any formulation yet.

Specifically in Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project, there is a contract proposed by the project which determines the terms and conditions of the relocation and land and property transfers and housing provision. According to the project conditions, the gecekondu dwellers have to leave the land and demolish their own houses, there is no on-site development option, they will be relocated to areas far from the city (to an undefined area in Elmadağ, approximately 41 km distant from city center). The contract proposed by the project offers two options for property owners, the property owners can either sell their land for a unit price which is under the market value or they can get housing at a certain area provided by the municipality under certain financial terms. For who prefer to get housing instead of

money, the terms impose heavy financial burden and the time of provision is indeterminate, which means till the construction will be completed the household will have to rent housing. For 2 years they money support for rent, 250 tl which is way under the market average. The residents who don't own the property, even heavier burdens for the non-owners and ignore the tenants completely. People who can't afford the imposed financial conditions or who don't own the property, have to leave their houses together with the entire social network they established through many years. By leaving their housing, being have to rent a new house or constructing a new gecekondu in the periphery of the city, they risk their poverty to be deepen because of the extra rent or transportation burden. So it is possible to say that these projects may create a new sector of poverty, a new marginality. 10public benefit principle of planning, human rights and social rights principles are violated.

Therefore, I believe that how the the movement is framed and how this framing relates to the organization practices is in important relation to the socio-economic context. In this respect, the elaboration of urban transformation fact in reference to neoliberalism constitutes an important dimension of this work.

1.3. Methodology

This research has been conducted based on qualitative methodology, which provides the most adequate tools for framing analysis. This work aims to elaborate on the complex issues and processes related to organization of Dikmen valley Right to Sheltering Movement.

The field work began with a visit to the neighborhood in 2008, which was followed with the participation of weekly meetings and occasional acts and protests in 2009 and 2010. I conducted most of the interviews in July, August and September 2010.

I used three different qualitative data gathering methods techniques in a complementary way.

1. **Participatory observation:** I visited the office countless times just to make occasional visits and to chat with people around and to follow recent developments and agenda of the movement. I participated to weekly meetings held in the Bureau for 7 months period every Saturday or Sunday. I tried to participated the marches, protests, campaigns, activities the Bureau organized. I attended Valley Chamber of City Planners. I attended the Right to Sheltering Commission organized under the Chamber of City Planners. I participated the workshop of Right to Sheltering in Forum of Rights of People in January 2011, organized by Halkevleri where representatives of the various Right to Sheltering movements in Turkey participated.

2. **Semi-structured in-depth interviews:** I conducted totally 24 in-depth interviews with the leaders, participants and supporters of the movement. As the focus on the strategic discursive processes of the organization, the leading figures of the movement are the most important interviewees as they are the ones who are most influential in the construction of the frames. Movement participants who are relatively less active in the organizational processes are also interviewed to capture how the frames are conceived and how this relates to the perceptual transformations of the valley people. But all of the interviewees are the people who more or less participates the movements.

Two of the interviewees are the most active young participants of the movement (between 16-18 years old), 8 women, 7 men, 4 Halkevleri activists whoare not original gecekondu dwellers, 1 Halkevleri members who live in the neighborhood and who is also the organiz leader of the movement. I conducted 2 focus group discussions, one with 5 women (relatives) who were focusing on the relationship between the neighborhoods prior to the movement and the 1th of February incidence, when the valley people conflicted with the police for the first time. The second one was with Tarık Çalışkan and Mualla., two leading figures of the movement focusing on the perceptional transformations of the valley people throughout the struggle.

Table 1 lists the names, ages and occupation of the interviewees and Table 2 lists the

interviewees in the focus groups. All of the names of the participants are pseudo names whereas the names of the Halkevleri activists are real and the permissions to use their real names have been taken.

Table 1 List of the Interviewees

List of the interviewees		
Pseudo Names	**Age**	**Occupation**
Women		
Ayşe	33	Homemaker, one of the movement iniators
Fatma	39	Works at the coiffeur owned by his husband, mother of Pınar
Mualla	47	Homemaker, the leading woman figure
Güllü	32	Works in a labor union as secretary, active participant
Sevinç	36	Unemployed, sister of Güllü, supporter
Sevgi	51	Homemaker, mother of Güllü and Sevinç, supporter
Kerime	46	Homemaker, formerly active participant
Yasemin	38	Homemaker, participant
Pınar	18	Student, leadinf figure among the youth
Ateş	16	Student, active particpant of the activities organized for youth
Men		
Kerim	30	Worker, participant
Nadir	26	Computer operator, participant
Ahmet	69	Retired worker, participant
Ali	45	Retired due to disability, active participant
Tahir	31	Worker in a decoration firm, one of the leading figures
Cemil	37	Unemployed, active participant
Mahmut	52	Gateman, active participant
Halkevleri activists		
Cemile	33	Halkevleri activist-DVRtSM cadre
Özgür	34	Halkevleri activist-DVRtSM cadre
Serkant	35	Halkevleri activist-DVRtSM cadre
Ferhat	31	Halkevleri member- member of the council of Chamber of Civil Engineers
Tarık Çalışkan	61	Halkevleri member and the organic leader of the movement gecekondu dweller in the valley

Table 2 List of the interviewees in the Focus Groups

Focus Groups		
Focus Group 1		
Fatma	39	Daughter-in-law
Güllü	32	Younger daughter
Sevinç	36	Older daughter
Sevgi	51	Mother
Pınar	17	Grandchild
Focus Group 2		
Mualla	47	Woman leading figure
Tarık Çalışkan	61	Organic leader of the movement

2. NEOLIBERALISM AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

As the scope of this study is to focus on those framing processes to account for the emergence and development of Dikmen Valley case, it is necessary to present the fundamental assets of socio- political context within which this case came true. Nevertheless, I don't aim at presenting a deep elaborate critical analysis of neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanization throughout a comprehensive literature review. Neoliberalism, neoliberal urbanization and urban transformation phenomena will be rather discussed to shed light to the contextual background throughout which DVRTSM emerged.

DVRtSM emerged as a unsystematic, nonstrategic resistance in a wild neoliberal era, where urban transformation was aimed to be implemented systematically with a higher expectation of profit, as a part of neoliberal urbanization project which was adopted as a state policy. It is suggested here that the conditions that brought this resistance to emerge in the first place can be explained within this socio-economic context, whereas the factors that provided this resistance to evolve to a social movement are considered to be depending on framing processes that have been practiced and still being practiced consciously and strategically by the Halkevleri cadre.

The analysis of the resistances and social movements that were and still being formed as a reaction against urban transformation projects require a deep understanding of the conditions that brought urban transformation projects into urban planning agenda. It is assumed here that the proliferating development of urban transformation projects is an extension of the economic, political and social transformations of the last two decades. "Neoliberal restructuring" is invoked to imply such transformations and here, neoliberalism indicates the ideology and

16

practices that determines the "contemporary urban condition" and restructuring "is meant to convey a break in secular trends and a shift towards a significantly different order and configuration of social, economic and political life. (Brenner & Theodore, 2005:101)

Even a very quick review of the texts and slogans of DVRtSM provides us to see that neoliberalism is an important figure of the movement discourse. Whether the term is clearly articulated or not, or each and every participant is familiar with the definition of the term, the emphasis on the demanding of social rights is connected to a strong criticism of ascendant neoliberal policies of the government in the minds of intellectual movement entrepreneurs. Neoliberalism is the main target of blame, together with Melih Gökçek, the major of Ankara, and the designer of the urban transformation project. Similarly, the concept of right to sheltering they propose, which is associated with the movement itself, accounts for the violation of the social rights of gecekondu residents.

Since Halkevleri is very influential in the framing work of DVRtSM, it is also important to take into account how HE frames neoliberalism. The way that how HE defines neoliberalism is directly interrelated to its mobilization strategy and the organization ideology that is *being continuously* constructed.   In line with the fact that anti-neoliberalism can be regarded as "increasingly transnationally-shared diagnostic frame" and HE as a very strong element of Turkey's public opposition culture and practice(Ayres, 2004: 12), locates neoliberalism as the most visible target of blame and source of social and economic ills as it simply results as the weakening of social policies.

The ascendance of the public opposition is related to such perception of neoliberalism; the emphasis is on the grievances that are being subjected by the "poor people", by "citizens"[8], as a consequence of the loosening or present weakness of social rights. A strong opposition based on the effective demanding of the social rights with the help of nonviolent protests and small scale direct democracy

---

[8] Citizen here denotes for an active perception of citizenship as a demandng right holder proposed as an alternative to the subservient *poor.*

implementations[9] is the most evident and visible mobilization strategy of HE organization.

The cycle of right to sheltering movements clearly demonstrates the organization ideology of HE.Right to sheltering movements are focusing primarily on the injustice and grievances caused by the urban transformation projects or more comprehensively speaking *spatial transformations*, the violated right of sheltering and disregardance of *poor people* as citizens.

As it is already mentioned above, as to locate the case of Dikmen Valley in the international social and economic context, I am going to present first a broad introduction to neoliberalism and neoliberal urbanization, then I am going to discuss urban transportation projects in that regard and finally present 4th and 5th Phases of Dikmen Valley Urban Transportation Project.

2.1.Fundamental Assets of Neoliberalism

Before going more elaborately how neoliberalism and the alteration of the built environment are structurally linked, it is useful to present a brief introduction to fundamental assets of neoliberalism.

Despite the roots of neoliberal ideology can be traced back to nineteenth century's exploration of the ruling of free-market economy, it is considered to have gained ascendance by 1980s, when Keynesian welfare policies and Fordist economic growth policies could not solve the 1970s' crisis of capital accumulation. "…neoliberalism achieved hegemonic status through a number of important channels, including the Thatcher and Reagan administrations of the 1980s" and "by the 1990s it had already become naturalized as the proper mode of governance". (Hackworth, 2007: 9-10). Since then, international agencies and institutes like International Monetary Fund,

---

[9] The campaign in the Dikmen Valley against the tutition fees of primary and high schools; the jumping over the counters by hundreds of people during the protests against the rise of the prices of the bus tickets

the World Bank, Cato are working are promoting of neoliberalism and they are being successful in the dissemination of neoliberal ideology and policies in the developing countries.

The recession of capitalism was mainly due to falling rates of industrial profits, and as a response to this dramatic decline massive rescaling and restructuring of the economy has been initiated. There has been a shift from production economy to service economy which brought new trends in service industry and social transformation in the labor force. Finance has been internationalized by the high mobilization of finance capital which entailed a shift in the role of metropolitan cities. Metropolitans are designated as the center of producer services and finance sector competing with each other to attract more international capital. A new middle class has emerged, employed in the service sector of which preferences and tastes are also determinative in the shaping of the cities.

Nation states started to dismantle their established economic growth policies by deregulation of state and market hierarchy. The typical prescriptions were elimination of welfare policies by privatization of the public services and minimizing the public expenditures and reformulation of the role of local governments and city governances by enforcing them to be more competitive in the global order. (Harvey, 2005, Jessop 2000; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). The concept of governance has been offered, emphasizing the flexibility notion in administration, as to promote the alliance between state and market. Public-private partnership formula has been invoked as a key notion in the project-based implementations of the public agencies, which has started to act like private sector. The free market notion was being promoted, this time to the level that its embeddedness in the social organization of life is achieved by the promotion of individual *entrepreneurship*. Cities endorsed a new competitive role, and momentous changes have been experienced also in the logic of organization and the production of space as a part of this comprehensive restructuring.

As for the ideological context, Harvey describes neoliberal ideology as "a theory of

political economic practices which proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade". (Harvey: 2006: 145) Similarly Brenner and Theodore states "the linchpin of neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development." (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:3)

Bob Jessop identifies two interrelated set of features of global neoliberal project. "The first is the pursuit of new accumulation strategy based on privatization, liberalization, deregulation, the introduction of market proxies and benchmarking into the public sector, tax cuts, and internationalization bzw.globalization. The second concerns the search for new forms of social regulation to create a multi-tiered market society that complements the globalizing market economy." (Jessop, 2000:3)

The realization of these major transformations could only be possible through a redefinition of the state. By the "market-based institutional shifts and policy realignments across the world economy during the post-1980s period" the role of state has been redefined as the facilitator of the regulation of deregulation of the market. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:101-102) Harvey describes the role of the state as follows:

> "The state has to be concerned for example, with the quality and the integrity of the money. It must also set up that military, defense, police and juridical functions required to secure private property rights and to support freely functioning markets. Furthermore if markets do not exist (in areas such as education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they ust be created by state action if necessary; but beyond these tasks the state should not venture." (Harvey, 2006: 145)

Accordingly, political agencies should act as financiers with business-like project-oriented administrative character. Thus neoliberalism does not entail that state is entirely reduces in its powers nor regulations are eliminated, rather state's activity is

significantly restructured and regulations in the neoliberal age are oriented towards promoting and managing markets. (Howard & King, 2008:4)

This doesn't entail that nation-state is invalidated. As for the current neoliberal wave to function, state needs to penetrate deeper into political and economic life and to be more contentious. (Harvey, 2008:88)

As a result of the shift from manufacturing to the service sector, the rising of finance and real-estate sectors and the promotion of innovation and high tech industries are other typical manifestations of the neoliberalization. Inner cities are now largely populated by white collar professionals whereas the periphery is degrading populated by urban poor. By the removing of all regulations like wage distribution, rent control etc. neoliberalization brought intense geographical inequality and uneven development in the global scale and cities became the most visible arena of the manifestations of those inequalities. Commodification of space has been never experienced to that level in the history; therefore urban poverty of neoliberal age is highly intense. Nevertheless, there is a worldwide public response to such developments, international anti-globalization movement is the most influential and popular one. "....globally deregulated market for currency speculation, would further blemish the neoliberal record. Even across portions of the developed North, especially in Western Europe, rising unemployment and the image of increasingly financially straightjacketed welfare systems provoked more wide-spread public unrest." (Ayres, 2004: 18)

2.1.1.Dissemination of Neoliberal Project in Turkey

Peck and Tickell denote that what has started as an intellectual movement, soon politicized by Reagan and Thatcher in 1980s and finally established the ground rules for global lending agencies, which imposed far-reaching programs of state restructuring across a wide range of national and economic contexts. (Peck & Tickell, 2002:381)

The economic repercussions of the 1970s crisis had been experienced in more severe terms in the developing world which entailed the exertion of higher adaptation pressures of global economic restructuring on developing countries. (Karadağ, 2010:5)

"In exchange for desperately needed loans, the IMF prescribed deep budget cuts to social spending, a lowering of taxes, increases in interest rates and a general liberalization of trade and investment policies to encourage states across the South to become more hospitable to the arrival of multinational corporations and capital." (Ayres, 2004: 17)

In Turkey, it was launched in the early 1980s with the 24 January 1980 structural programme. The economic crisis of 1970s together with the 1980 military coup facilitated this structural programme to go beyond standard stabilization and to achieve structural adjustment by changing the development strategy (Bedirhanoğlu & Yalman, 2010: 111) The stabilization programme was designed by Turgut Özal[10], the prime ministry undersecretary at the time, who also provided the signing of two stand-by agreements with the IMF (Bedirhanoğlu &Yalman, 2010 :111) The institutional process of neoliberalization gained ascendance after the 2001 crisis and AKP's coming into power in 2002 general elections. AKP has been working since than as a transmitter of neoliberal ideology articulating it successfully with the political Islam. (Bedirhanoğlu & Yalman, 2010 :117-120)

2.2. Neoliberalism and the Alteration of the Built Environment: Characteristics of Neoliberal Urbanization

"The process of capital accumulation and its associated regulatory problems are always articulated in territory-, place-, and scale specific forms". (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:7) Consequently, today production of space through the alteration of the built environment is even more critical for the survival of neoliberal mode of

---

[10] He founded Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party) in 1983. Anavatan Partisi won the general elections in 1983, Turgut Özal became the prime minister and he kept his position until 1989 when he was elected as the eighth president of Republic of Turkey.

capitalism. As Hackworth put it: "Neoliberalism, like many other "-isms", is a highly contingent process that manifests itself, and is experienced differently across space." (Hackworth, 2007:11)

"Social and economic restructuring is simultaneously the restructuring of spatial scale…neoliberal urbanism is an integral part of this wider rescaling of functions, activities, and relations." (Smith, 2002:88). Therefore to unravel the mechanisms of neoliberal urbanization is crucial to be able to critically discuss urban transformation implementations in Turkey.

Urbanization and neoliberalization are two strongly interrelated processes. It is possible to state that neoliberal project could not ever be achieved without the neoliberal urbanization. In this context, cities are regarded as the major centers of economic growth and innovation and as the key actors in promoting international competitiveness. (Jessop, 2000:5)

> "…cities have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus. ...the overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices." (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:21)

Brenner and Theodore provide a table of broad overview of how neoliberalization processes have affected the institutional geographies of cities throughout North America and Western Europe. I am going to refer to items in that table of which I regard as relevant for Turkey's case. As to this, the destructive moments regarding the transformations of the built environment and urban form are defined as: 1) elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces, 2) destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way to speculative redevelopment. Whereas the creative moments are described as follows: 1) creation

23

of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption, 2) construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns, 3) creation of gated communities, 4) "rolling forward" of gentrification and intensification of socio-spatial polarization. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002:21)

Neoliberal urbanization is "uneven, contentious, volatile and uncertain character". (Brenner & Theodore, 2005: 101) "Uneven development sets the stage for the movement of capital in the relatively fixed built environment as new opportunities for value arise from the ashes of the devalued. (Weber 2002:176)

Cities have became the center of finance and real-estate sector in the neoliberal age. Construction functions as a means of land speculation and capital accumulation. **"Real estate** has become quasi-autonomous because cities and capital have become increasingly reliant on it as a sector independent of the rest of the regional economy. Real estate investment of this sort is arguably the leading edge of neoliberal urbanization at the local scale." (Hackworth, 2007:77)

As for neoliberal urbanization in Turkey, it has been initiated by 1980s, with the beginning of export-promotion strategies. Private sector has been directed to invest on the built environment while the public investment has moved towards infrastructure. Supported by the necessary administrative reforms and policy realignments, alteration of the built environment has appeared as an efficient realm for capital accumulation. This increasing tendency of private capital to invest on urbanization, supported by the state's investment on infrastructure, resulted primarily suburbanization and secondly as the proliferation of construction of luxurious residential and commercial sites for middle classes. Deregulation implemented by the state in the form of liberalization of the financial markets and opening of the gates to foreign capital paved the way for such developments.

With the beginning of 1990s, urbanization has already become very critical for capital accumulation. It has been mainly directed by the market. The rising of public-private partnership phenomenon which has been legitimized by the public

participation principle is the product of the period. it is no coincidence that the first implementations of urban transformation projects have been implemented at this time. The initial large-scale practices of the construction corporation were the construction of suburban residential sites for upper middle-class. Then it has been followed by the inner city urban transformation-gentrification projects and historical renovation projects. In 2000s, new legislations have made to increase the local autonomy and validity of market forces over land development. State itself involved in this process of deregulation and transferred its authority in shaping and controlling the urban development and built environment to market forces. Emerging form of urban administration as urban governance, act as private sector, on project-based and aims at providing capital accumulation by land speculation and promoting competitiveness. (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005: 25)

2.3.Defining urban transformation in terms of neoliberal urbanization

> "Capital circulates through the built environment in a dynamic and erratic fashion. At various points in its circulation, the built environment is junked, abandoned, destroyed, and selectively reconstructed." (Weber, 2002: 173-174)

Above it is described how production and transformation of space -especially at the urban scale- became critical agents of neoliberalization. In such a politico-economic context, urban transformation projects appear to be the ideal tools for neoliberal urbanization.

Urban transformation denotes here specifically the socio-spatial transformations being realized on the city space by the implementation of "urban transformation projects". Urban regeneration and urban renewal are also concepts invoked for the similar purposes in different studies, but I prefer to use this expression as it is the most direct translation of the turkish expression namely, "kentsel dönüşüm". In addition to that, the concept of urban transformation used in this study refers to the urban transformation fact of post 1990s and especially 2000s which is being implemented not a s a local project nor a social state project but more systematically

as a part of neoliberal urban policy.

Turkish governments have discovered the potential in transforming the inner-city gecekondu areas as a new capital accumulation strategy and in order to increase the competitiveness of the cities in the global order. (Güzey, 2008: 27) In this regard, urban transformation projects are the primary means of this new urban policy. Urban transformation projects in Turkey's neoliberal context aim at generating rent by revaluation of the dilapidated historical areas, gecekondu areas, evacuated industrial sites, by renovation or constructing luxury commercial sites, high rise prestige buildings, high-standard residential buildings -with pleasant landscape arranged around for the potential upper middle class residents-, which in return results as the eviction of the poor from the city to the periphery. Upgrading the image of the cities as to render them more attractive for international capital investment is the other goal of neoliberal urbanization. (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005; Sakızlıoğlu 2007; Ergin, 2006; Gümüş, 2010; Yardimci, 2008)

UTPs today are based upon the accumulation and redistribution of property and value on the basis of projects in the neoliberal world. (Aras & Alkan, 2007) They function as one of the fundamental means of the realization of neoliberalization. In line with that, international capital and real estate investment trusts are interested in big scale urban transformation projects as it is becoming a form production of "building stock" rather than improving the urban standards of providing the need for housing for the urban populations. (Ulusoy, 2008)

In their current formulation, utps are designed independent of the long-term master plans and they offer a new systematics of social and economic relations in which they prefer to destroy and remake rather than improving, and as for that they are directed towards increasing the urban rent. (Müfit Bayram)[11]. Earthquake risk and professed social and physical degradation are frequently referred legitimizations by the present political power. The main concern about transformation of the urban space is upgrading the image of the cities as to attract global capital which required

---

[11] http://kentseldonusum.blogcuzade.com/2007/11/28/merhaba/

higher gains of profit from those projects, rather than improving the living and employment conditions of the area. (Harvey, 2000:457-458)

Proliferation of the urban transformation projects with their new meaning, is followed by the artificially swelling of the housing sector and putting it up on the foreign market by the present political power when construction sector started to shrink after the crisis of 2000s. (Ulusoy, 2008: 151) In the earlier formulations of the utps, the gecekondu residents had their share be that as it may under the market level from the redistribution of the created rent. Whereas in the newer generation of utps, gecekondu residents are being evicted and they are held totally outside this redistribution process. (ibid.)

"Neil Smith conceptualizes operations of urban transformation on urban space in the era of neoliberalization as an urban strategy, having the undeniable consequence that is gentrification." (Smith, 2002: 88) I don't want to go deep with the gentrification concept which might cause us to zoom out, I want to add that it is possible to state that urban transformation projects can be regarded as gentrification projects in terms of the consequences rather that the purpose. UTPs require the eviction of the current residents of the land to be transformed, as there is high expectation of profit, the target customers are classes with higher income therefore even in the case that they are provided by housing in the same area, the actual residents cannot afford to stay in there as they cannot afford the indirect economic burdens brought by the transformation -when the cheap "mahalle bakkalı" (local grocer) became a luxurious market for example-. "The temporal horizons of investors, developers, and residents rarely coincide. The very materiality of the built environment sets off struggles between use and exchange values, between those with emotional attachments to place and those without such attachments." (Weber, 2002:172)

27

2.4.Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project: 4th and 5th Phase

2.4.1.The History of the Urban Transformation in Dikmen Valley

The first transformation attempt for the valley was made in 1984 by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. The aim was to protect the area as a green zone, accordingly gecekondus were planned to be moved out from the valley and the area was going to be preserved as a green air corridor which was regarded essential fort he air circulation of the city. Nevertheless the Project could not be implemented due to high costs and resistance by the gecekondu people. (Devecigil, 2009). In 1989, Murat Karayalçın from SHP, won the local elections and became mayor of Ankara. Within his administration, Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project (DVUTP) was declared as a very pretentious new generation urban policy implementation which was presented as a new model urban development. The Project had 5 phases, covering 290 hectare of land and it was 5 km long among the nort east corridor of the valley. (Uzun, 2005) It was proposing in situ regeneration to gecekondu dwellers, as to this there would be built basically 2 types of buildings, first of which was medium quality standard housing for the gecekondu dwellers to move in and secondly luxurious apartments for upper middle class customers that would produce rent in order to subsidy the housing for the gecekondu dwellers. The green character of the valley was going be preserved with a careful landscape planning of the area.

The implementation of the project was respectively succesful in terms of participation. Representative of the municipality organized meetings with the gecekondu dwellers and tried to negotiate with them for the terms and conditions of the Project. In situ regeneration and the portion that gecekondu dwellers were going to get from the redistribution of the rent to be produced and the conditions of this processes were satisfying gecekondu people. (Uzun, 2005) They were going to pay a certain amount of money depending on the size of their gecekondu land, according to a certain payment schedule and there were no big conflicts about those conditions. There have been plan revisions made after the shift of muicipality following the 1991 local elections with which the weight of the social democrat elements was moderated for the sake of rent production. (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005: 103) It was after this process,

when the first oppositions have been begun by the gecekondu dwellers of the valley. Some of the right holders established Dikmen Valley Gecekondu Solidarity Association but it could not last long in the face of pressure of police forces. (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005: 153)

In this first formulation of DVUTP, it is possible to say that the project was combining social democrat concerns for the urban poor (gecekondu dwellers) and neoliberal elements like public & private partnership, participation and negotiation which are major themes of urban governance model.
Therefore it can not be considered as a product of neoliberalized state policy implementation on the urbanization. It had rather a transitory character in the way of becoming severely neoliberal. The latest phase of the urban transformation project in Dikmen Valley is a typical example of a neoliberal urban Project. And it is typical not only in regard to what is proposed in planning terms, or the legal assumptions that determined the contract, but also in terms of the ways chosen to fight back to the resistances that emerged to oppose the Project.

2.4.2. Reformulation of the Project within the Governing of AKP Municipality

In the 1994 local elections, Melih Gökçek from AKP became the mayor and his administration altered the implementation of the Project.In his this period the Project was reformulated with market oriented principles with more evident rent seeking concerns. The terms of the project are very harsh to title deed owners and especially to households without the title deed certificate –as they call themselves "without the paper". As a consequence this time the opposition was stronger and it could last to the pressure of police forces and municipality.

As to define the terms of the Project well, it is necessary to introduce first the ownership structure of the households in the valley. Accordingly, there are two basic types of households in the valley, the first group is the Tapu Tahsis holders (holders of title deed certificate) and the second group is households without the Tapu Tahsis (title deed certificate). When the Project was annpunced there were 1084 households with the Tapu Tahsis and 1200 households without the tapu tahsis (Deniz, 2010:104).

Almost all of the tapu tahsis holders signed the contract and they have left the valley by the end of 2006.

Without any participatory process, municipality prepared a contract which determined the terms and conditions of the relocation, land and property transfers and housing provision proposed by the project. Accordingly, the households without the Tapu Tahsis which signed the contract had to leave the land and demolish their own houses. There was no in situ regeneration option; they were going to be relocated to a remote district of Ankara, Doğu Kent. They had to pay the price of the parcel of land without the housing on it, which was 16,000 TL, a very high level for lower-income population.[12] In addition to that Doğu Kent was made up of just a name of a zone in elmadağ, without any infrastructure or any built enviroment. Not even parcellation of the land was completed, nobody could get informed about where the exact are to be settled on was.

As for the Tapu Tahsis holders, the contract offered two options: Tapu Tahsis holders could either sell their land for a unit price which was way under the market value or they could get housing from the valley, provided by the municipality under certain financial terms. For who preferred to get housing instead of money, the terms imposed heavy financial burden: Tapu Tahsis holders with 400 m^2 of land would be provided with a house of 100 m^2. If the land of the household was smaller than 400 m^2 –which was the case for the major part- then would pay a certain amount to be determined according to the cost of the houses of 100 m^2 to be built in the valley for each missing unit. They had to relinquish their houses and leave the valley as soon as they signed the contract and they would get rent allowance of 250 TL for two years.

Although the exact date or time interval for the admission of the houses were not spesified, the time of the provision of rent allowance was enunciated. No terms of the contract was putting any pressure on a legal base in terms of the duration of the implementation period of the project. In addition to that, 250 Tl is an amount that is under the standard level of rent of a house suitable for a family of four-five people.

---

[12] The information about the contract is obtained from the Bureau.

Households which could not afford the imposed financial conditions, households without the tapu tahsis, the tenants had to leave their houses together with the entire social network they established through many years. By leaving their gecekondus, thus being have to rent a housing or to construct a new gecekondu in the periphery of the city, they risk marginalization. The additional costs that dislocation will bring forth, raises the concerns about equity in the city.

3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND DIKMEN VALLEY RIGHT TO SHELTERING MOVEMENT

3.1.Social Movements

"Social movements are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, such as protesting in the streets, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them." (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:3)

Social movements are very important part of social life today. They function as a means of struggle for a group of people in the pursuit of their interests and claims. They have the potential to procrate impede change. They are the visible conflicts of social life. Even the opposition-blind mainstream newspapers refer to social movements and protests very frequently: news about protests of Tekel workers, anti-HES and anti-nuclear campaign, right to sheltering movements, workers and doctors against recent health reforms, factory workers subject to nonunionization, Kurdish movement, peace seekers for Palestine, high school and university students opposing YÖK and demanding emancipatory and egalitarian public education reform, ÖSYM victims, LGBT movement, feminist movement are frequently published in printed and visual media.

"Citing World values survey Data, Norris (2002: 200) shows that in 17 out of 22 countries, the percentage of respondents reporting participation in demonstrations increased rather dramatically between 1980 and 1990." (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:4) Referring to this data, it is possible to claim that neoliberalization process contributed to fostering of social movements. Dismantling of social rights and the disposition of energy, ecology and war policies openly in the service of global trade

are the main reasons for people to go out on the streets in the world wide.

This increase in the participation to the social movements, had repercussions on the academia. There is an increasing interest on social movements research within psychology, social and political sciences. The proliferation of the social movements research provided different conceptualizations and categorization of social movements, their practices and processes. Here in this research, I am going to refer the conceptualization of David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, -in the introduction part of the Blackwell Companion to Social Movements reader they edited in 2004-for its inclusivity that opens the social movement area.

As for this conceptualization, there are several facts and points to refer. First of all, it is important to note that social movements are only a certain form of collective action and behavior. For instance, it is different from crowd, interest-groups, and rioting groups. It is goal-oriented and it required joint action in the pursuit of this common objective. Secondly, social movements are mainly outside of the polity and they usually pursue their interests by non-institutionalized means of action. (Snow& Soule& Kriesi: 2004:7) Besides, they make use "politically confrontational and socially disruptive tactics" to influence authorities, attract media, deter opponents or the get support, such as street blockades, marches, riots, sit-ins. (Zirakzadeh, 1997:5)

As for the understanding of "social change" in terms of orientation of a social movement: "Indeed, fostering or halting change is the raison d'étre for all social movements". (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:9) Social movements are challangers or defenders of the existing institutional authority or cultural authority-such as system of beliefs or practices. (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:9)

Additionally, there is the organizational character of social movements. Organization processes, strategies and forms are important features necessary to analyze a social movement. "Thus in many movements we see the interests and objectives of a particular constituency being represented and promoted by one or more individuals associated with one or more organizations now routinely referred to in the literature

as "SMOs". (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:10)

Finally, there is the temporal continuity aspect. Movements could be episodic, cyclical, short or long lived, but certainly temporal continuity is the essential characteristic of a social movement. (Snow & Soule & Kriesi: 2004:11)

3.2 Social Movement Research

3.2.1. Classical Social Movement Theories

During 1940s, 1950s and eraly 1960s social-psychological variables had a central role in what are now referred as "classical" social movements theories. At that time collective behaviour was identified as disruptive and extreme behaviour which was attributed to structural strain or alienation and anxiety in the society as a consequence of modernization.

Already around the middle of 1960s, an alternative view of social movements arose partly because a younger generation of social movement researchers participated in recent movements of the time."As James Rule (1988:183) put it: "By the 1960s, a new generation of social scientists was responding, mostly sympathetically, to protest movements of blacks and university students. A theoretical view of movements and social contention as irrational, retrogade, destructive forces would no longer do." (Zirakzadeh, 1997: 10)

> "Whereas the earlier generation of movement theorists viewed the prospect of one of more movements with dread, the newer generation tended to view the prospect as an opportunity to redistribute political and economic power democratically and fairly." (Zirakzadeh, 1997: 15)

To account for the social movements theories of post middle 1960s, it is necessary to invoke a categorization of the most betaken approaches. Although there are various conceptualizations and conceptualizations made by different scholars regarding the social movements research of that period, I am going to refer to the conceptualization

made by Dough McAdam, John D. McCarthy, Mayer N. Zald (1996: 1-20) as I believe it provides a useful basis to place framing perspective and establish its links within the broader framework of social movements area.

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald identifies three set of factors to analyse the emergence and development of social movements. 1) the structure of political opportunities and constraints confronting the movement -political opportunities- 2) the forms of organization available to insurgents-mobilizing structures- 3) the collective processes of interpretation, attribution, and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action-framing processes-. (McAdam & McCarthy & Zald, 1996: 2)

3.2.2. Political Opportunity Structure

The theory of political opportunity structure has constituted a major foci within the social movement research. It was Peter Eisinger (1979) who coined the phrase and it has been employed in different disciplines but more extensively in sociology. (Klandermans & Roggeband, 2009:6) Eisinger (1973), Jenkins and Perrow (1977) are the major theorists of political opportunities theory. (Morris & Mueller, 1992: 4)

Political opportunity theory has concerned the relationship between changes in the structure of political opportunities, especially changes in the institutional structure and/or informal relations of a political system, and movement mobilization (Snow& Benford, 2000: 628) This new generation of theorists tried to look closely to local and national contexts to develop ideas about how certain types of political circumstances facilitate movement organization. (Zirakzadeh, 1997: 11)

According to this theorizing, movements are seen primarily as the carriers or transmitters of programs for action that arise from new structural dislocations (Snow & Benford, 1988: 197), and they are shaped by the broader set of political constraints and opportunities unique to the national context in which they are embedded. (Morris & Mueller, 1992: 3)

3.2.3. Mobilizing Structures

According to this cluster of theorizing "the forms of organization (informal as well as formal) offer insurgents sites for initial mobilization at the time opportunities present themselves and condition their capacity to exploit their new resources". (McAdam & Tarrow & Tilly, 2001: 41)

Two distinct theoretical perspectives mark mobilizing structures tradition. The most influential of those is the resource mobilization theory. According to resource mobilization theorists, in every society there are people who perceive themselves as ignored, unfortunate, subject to social and economic inequality. Nevertheless most of them are not likely to engage in movements, or collective actions, or forming collectivities because they lack experience, knowledge, materials, or simply adequate organization resources. As for that, a social movement researcher should focus on the processes throughout which a group of people bring in the resources and form a movement by the creative use of these resources. (Zirakzadeh, 1997: 11-12) according to initial proponents of this tradition (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977), RM focus on mobilization processes and the formal organizational manifestations of these processes. Therefore the unit of analysis for RM theorist is the social movement organization, SMO.

The second tradition which also focuses on the organizational character of the social movements is the political process approach. Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow are the influential theorists of political process model. Political process approach focuses on the political structuring of social movements whereas it differentiates from the RM theory as it points at also informal structures and networks of organization that may play an important on the emergence and development of the movements. For instance, "Charles Tilly and several of his colleagues (1975, 1978) laid the theoretical foundation for this second approach by documenting the critical role of various movements' settings -work and neighborhood in particular- in facilitating and structuring collective action." (McAdam & McCarthy & Zald, 1996: 4)

3.2.4. Framing Perspective

I am not going into detail about the fundamental assets of framing perspective but rather locate it in the social movement's research contextually and historically, as the theory will be elaborated in the following chapter.

The term frame was imported into sociology by the work of Erving Goffman in his 1974 book titled "Frame Analysis" to denote "schemata of interpretation", "allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms ... the type of framework we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied". (Goffman, 1974:21-24) Goffman invoked the concept "to help explain the microsociology of everyday interactions and communicative acts." (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:3)

It was after Todd Gitlin's study on media's treatment of the Students for a Democratic Society, the term had been introduced to social movement research. (Jonhston & Noakes, 2005:3) Two years later, William Gamson, Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina's Encounter with Unjust Authority (1982), emphasized the role of agency in the construction of "alternative understanding of what was occuring", and demonstrated how interpretive processes are central in collective action (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:3).

Framing perspective became very influential in 1990s in the social movement studies. It places the role of cognitive and ideational dimensions of the collective action at the center of social movements' research as an alternative to the preceding social movements perspectives. It brings back socio psychological elements to the social movements study but now under the rubric of social constructionism. "The rise of the framing perspective brought a different arguing of the role of social psychological processes in collective action, different then the approach which was dominant in 1950s, 1960s were collective action was regarded as irrational and disrupture." (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:4)

"The framing perspective is rooted in symbolic interactionist and constructionist principle that meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretive processes." (Snow, 2004:384)

"It has moved the field beyond the structural determinism of resource mobilization and political opportunity models and away from the dubious psychology of rational choice approaches." (Benford, 1997:411) According to framing perspective, cognitive and ideational factors are at least as important as the structural factors for a social movement to emerge and last. In the condition that structural conditions are convenient, resources are available for a social movement to emerge, it is not granted that people would unite and act collectively. Mobilization depends on the cognitive dynamics and meaning production process at that level. It underlines the subjectivity and interactivity in the attribution processes and meaning production activity.

"In short, mobilizing people to action always has a subjective component, and in recent years this subjective component-the element of perception and consciousness-has been conceptualized as a social-psychological process called framing. Understanding social movement mobilization requires attention to how "collective processes of interpretation, attribution, and social construction...mediate between opportunity and action. (McAdam & McCarthy & Zald,1996b:2)" (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:2)

So far, I presented very basic assets of framing perspective in relation to the preceding traditions. Further introduction to frame analysis perspective and why it is chosen to be adequate perspective to study DVRtSM case will be given and discussed in the following chapter.

3.3. Halkevleri and Right to Sheltering Movements

In this part I am going to give brief information about history of Halkevleri and later I am going to account for its organizational logic and principles. I believe such a introduction will be useful to locate and analyse right to sheltering movements within the oppositional sphere of activity of Halkevleri and analyze the Dikmen Valley case in that context.

3.3.1.Historical background of Halkevleri

Halkevleri was first established as a state sponsored association in 1932. After going through different periods of transformation, it finally became a mass organization engaged in radical noninstitutional leftist politics which is very active and influential in a wide range of public opposition spheres. It is still organized under a formal body, under the Association of Halkevleri, but its institutional character is rather like a mass organization more linked with the street and grassroots. It has branches in all over Turkey and suborganization of high school students, university students, professional groups and women. Besides there are sun-organizations under certain issues like right to sheltering, transportation, health and so on...All those areas and groups are integrated under the principle of "rights of people".

Halkevleri has been closed two times in 1951 and 1980 and reopened two times in 1963 and 1987, each reopening labeled new periods with different characteristics and inclinations depending on the social and political context of the time. Therefore it is possible to identify three periods of Halkevleri, within which the scope, ideology and organizational dynamics differed substantially.

3.3.1.1.First period (1932-1951)

The first period of HE begins from 1932 and lasted till 1951 when the single party regime was over, Halkevleri can be defined as an organization that functioned for the consolidation of the nation state Project, right after the proclamation of Turkish

Republic. The main fields of activity were education, enlightenment, art and culture at the time. It was very active and influential in the spreading of enlightenment values and Kemalist principles. In 1951, when it Halkevleri were closed by force of law, there have been established 478 branches, 4322 sub-branches, and it has provided 10.073.153 people to learn how to read and write.[13]

With the coming of Demokrat Parti[14] into power and closing of single party regime, Halkevleri was shut down as it was considered to be working as a sub-organization of CHP. (Kalyoncugil, 2006:37)

3.3.1.2.Second period (1963-1980)

This second period comes to be identified as the transition period. "In the beginning it was claimed to be an organization of outside politics and beyond the parties and limits its scope with culture and arts." (Kalyoncugil, 2006:65)

But in the course of time, changing social demographic conditions of Turkey and international context brought together new inclinations to Halkevleri. The migration movement that had started in 1950s, constituted an urban poor that settled in gecekondus and *mahalles* (neighborhoods) with rather rural character in the periphery of the cities. "This group of people with rural background who identify itself in the smoothest terms as 'distant' to traditional discourse and policies of the regime made itself felt as a new sociological fact to be considered in the country's political life beginning from 1970s." (Kalyoncugil, 2006:66)

In response to this arising phenomena, Halkevleri, as an organization that has to come together with people by definition, established branches especially in those gecekondu areas and neighborhoods. This interaction brought in new inclinations and

---

[13] From the Halkevleri introductory brochure, http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/sites/default/files/indir/20-04-2010-he-brosur.pdf: checked in 07.06.2011

[14] Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party) is the political party that was founded in 1945 and came to power in 1950's general election as the first second party which endend the single-party system. It was closed down in 1960 with the coup d'etat.

approaches. Similarly, the political line that was constituted with the beginning of 1970s provided HE it to affiliate with leftist movements which caused its activities to be limited and inhibited. (Kalyoncugil, 2006:66-67)

"In 1960s and 1970s -1950s can also be regarded in this respect- in which the relation of state and society endorsed a parliamentary populist character, Halkevleri moved away social policy instruments of the state and transformed to be an organizational platform for the social movements that have inclined the construction of social citizenship in concrete terms." (Kalyoncugil, 2006:2-3)

This period was closed right after the 1980 coup d'etat when Halkevleri was again closed by force of law country wide.

3.3.1.3. Third Period (1987-)

The third phase begins from 1987 when HE was reopened following its exculpation and still goes on. "Beginning from 1980s where state-society relationship was established via "despotism of the market", and HE is being entirely outside of the state's social policy instruments and approaches, endorsing a character of grassroots which aims to the reconstruction of social citizenship and public space." (Kalyoncugil, 2006:2-3)

In this period, especially after 2000, HE became a massive organization, with branches all over Turkey, with sub-organizations on the basis of grievances or organizational resources (like groups of professionals like politeknik[15], right to sheltering movements, high school organization -Genç Umut-, university organization -Öğrenci Kollektifleri-, women's organization -Halkevci Kadınlar-). Now HE is considered to be a very active and influential leftist organization which figures in the media frequently especially by the clashes it goes with the state and police, its anti-AKP campaign and with creative protests and direct democracy

---

[15] Bkz http://www.politeknik.org.tr/

implementations[16].

3.3.2.Organizational Character of Halkevleri

Halkevleri defines itself as a democratic mass movement and its action principle is defined to be outside the state, autonomous and independent. Organization on the basis of neighborhood and grievances is very critical for its organization principle, such an organization denotes for a pursuit of grassroots mobilization. Even that is still a NGO in legal terms, it claims not to seize the professional elite approach which is common to most NGOs, it defines itself as a revolutionary left wing organization.

Regarding the designation of HE objectives through the 1990s, the political influences of the new social movements and new left mobilizations have been effective. HE evolved its policies to daily life and directly to social problems, and it is oriented towards new spheres of struggle like health, sheltering, privatization, earthquake, poverty, environmental degradation and to social groups that were previously being rather overlooked like women and the youth.

"The target audience of HE is the poor sections of the society living in rural and urban areas of Turkey and figure at the lower layers of the social stratification, which lack the economic, cultural and political sources with which they can express themselves individually and collectively" (Kalyoncugil, 2006:77)

3.3.2.1.Rights of people

All those organizational principles and movement ideology is reflected on the slogan of "rights of people". The struggle perspective of HE is organized around the programme of claiming of rights of people. Regarding the realm of social rights struggle, HE designates two lines of facts. Primarily, neoliberalism is considered to cause a substantive impoverishment, propertylessness and proleterianization.

---

[16] The champaign of collective jumping over the metro counters to protest the transportation price increase; street blocading by the bus passengers to protest the transportation price; the collective visitings health centers in the swine flu period to demand for vaccine; the collective supermarket champaing after the dissappointing 'increase' in the public employee's salary.

Secondly the setback of socialism emptied out the political arena of claiming rights. (Özdek, 2008:19-20)

The defleated working class activism recently ascends in the form of resistances against the recent resumption of rights by neoliberal policies. It is possible to claim that recent effective campaigns, protests, movements are organized in this form – strikes of state and private company workers against privatization and nonunionization such as Tekel workers, Novamed etc., the campaigns of denim sandblasters against the working conditions, protests of professionals, environmentalists, women etc.

According to HE those resistances rise against violation of rights have the potential to evolve to radical movements claiming for a radical social and political transformation. The principle of organization on the neighborhood level, on the basis of grievance, including and gathering all the people, on the basis of the shared grievance, independent of their social and political background, is a product of this higher objective of 'change'.

3.3.3.Right to Sheltering Movements

The concept of right to sheltering is also defined in terms of social rights and social citizenship. Accordingly, state has the responsibility to provide adequate sheltering for "humanly" living conditions for its citizens. Right to sheltering movements are considered as one of the spheres of struggle within the general struggle of rights of people, which arose as a consequence of increasing grievances experienced as a result of neoliberal urban policies. Urban transformation projects are perceived as the current symbol of rent-seeking policies of governments and municipalities.

HE defines the concept of urban transformation with a critical perspective in terms of its position and function within the capital accumulation strategies. Accordingly, it is considered that urban transformation projects functions as a recent means of private capital accumulation as it facilitates the transfer of the social rights, urban economic resources and assets to national and international capital. Alteration of the built

environment through the commodification of the space is regarded as the latest strategy of capitalism to cope with its inherent crisis by enhancing capital accumulation. "In the period coming with the beginning of 1980s, the production economy has been submitted to rent-seeking economy; whereas working class was being demanded as a cheap labor force yesterday, houses of the proleterians are being demanded today. Without any negotiation attempt, gecekondu people are accused to be invaders, to be people who get unearned gains and they are being evicted from their houses and neighborhoods."[17]

3.3.3.1.The organization strategy of right to sheltering movements

RtSMs are organized on the neighborhood level, and their scope is initially limited to the current sheltering problem. But this is considered as a first step: the struggle brings forth empowerment of the individuals by the force of collective action, grounding and consciousness raising. This mass power has the potential to be transformed to a political power when it integrates with other neighborhoods and spheres of struggle. The demand of right to sheltering will be articulated with the claiming of other rights concerning the entire city and evolve to demanding of "right to city". Accordingly, right to city requires people to have a voice regarding all usages and services of the urban area and equally benefit from those usages and services. In all of the processes of transformation regarding the city, all people should have right to choose and decide, and the transformation processes should be formed in a way that is based on the public benefit and common necessities of the city's residents.[18]

Bottom-up organization, direct democracy and people's democracy are important concepts regarding the organization principles of right to sheltering movements. As for this, people who are the real subjects of the problem should be the agents of organization: they should be the ones who propose ideas, offer solutions and decide,

---

[17] From the conclusion text of the Right to Sheltering Workhop held in the Forum of Right of People, organized by Halkevleri in 2007, quoted from the published text of Forum, 2008, Mülkiyeliler Birliği: Ankara, p. 284-285
[18] İbid. 285

instead of performing the decisions of an outsider leading body with better organizational skills and resources. The leading outsiders should dissolve in the movement; provide people to become aware that they are subjects and citizens and a part of a collectivity with power and rights; encourage those real agents to participate, take part in all kind of processes and support them with their knowledge and organizational resources; but not standing out and creating a hierarchical order. The movement should concentrate on the main problem first, but not by skipping to acknowledge it in the broader political and economic context. As to emphasize that the problem is not sporadic but systemic and structural, and linked with other forms of grievances that are experienced in all parts of Turkey and the world is very essential for the long term scope of articulating the movement with other movements so that it could bring a radical social and political change.

"The persistence and strength of the social movements depends on its massiveness that will result from its inclusiveness; its representation that will be developed through democratic means, consciousness raising and accumulation of knowledge through mutual learning, and finally to constitute a political language." [19]

3.3.3.2.Right to Sheltering Movements in Turkey

There are other 6 current Right to Sheltering Movements which perform under the leadership HE. They are Mamak, Arızlı, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Kartaltepe, Altındağ, Polatlı right to sheltering movements varying in the size and matter. Except Arızlı, which is located in Kocaeli, and constitutes a particular case related to earthquake, all of the districts/neighborhoods are in Ankara. They vary in terms of the types of the projects or intended transformations to be done but they all share the common grievance of violation of the right to sheltering. Despite HE is very strong in Istanbul, there are no established RtSMs in Istanbul.[20] The case is mostly different and more complicated in Istanbul, as there are almost no traditional types of one

---

[19] ibid. p. 286

[20] There are also Sulukule and Tarlabaşı movements which are other important movements organized against urban transformation but they can not be considered as RtSM as their main discourse was not framed around the right to sheltering but for example cultural rights (Sulukule case) and other themes.

storey gecekondus left; there are mostly informal housing with several floors and such conditions complicate the situation in legal and social terms. Nevertheless, it is very likely that RtSMs are going to proliferate in the following period all over Turkey as TOKI is gaining power and new legislations are being made to facilitate the urban transformation processes and to restrain the legal opposition.

3.4. Introduction to DVRtSM

Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement can be considered as a model movement for other cases of grievances experiences as a consequence of urban transformation project implementations and other kinds of spatial transformations which threat the right to sheltering. The ascendance of urban transformation project implementations and other types of spatial transformations victimize wide social sections who are already economically vulnerable. Such implementations result as the eviction of urban poor from their neighborhood or add additional economic burden to their already disadvantageous position. In this regard DVRtSM is very important as it proved that resistance can be effective and may bring change. The Bureau of Right to sheltering is an address for other cases of urban transformation projects, the victims call the bureau in the valley and ask about their experience and ask for guidance.

DVRtSM did not directly emerge as a movement in the beginning. It was rather a disorganized gecekondu resistance. When the 4th and 5th Phases of Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project were announced in 2006, some gecekondu dwellers individually tried to get informed about the situation and do something about it. The first organization practices started when a female resident, Sultan Abla, visited İlker Halkevi to consult about the project. Sultan Abla was acquainted with Halkevleri as she has attended some activities held İlker District center of Halkevleri.

The first Halkevleri members of the movement were from the district center of Halkevleri in İlker, namely İlker Halkevi who had contact with a few valley people regarding the project. The head of the İlker Halkevi was also a gecekondu dweller in

the valley, Tarık Çalışkan, who became the leader of the movement. Apart from that small cadre from Halkevleri, participant group of the movement is composed of the gecekondu dwellers, around 760 households, and 3000 people without the title deed certificate, with around 25-30 households, with the certificate and very few tenants.

3.4.1. Social Structure of the Dikmen Valley Population

Dikmen Valley had started to be settled by gecekondus in 1960s by the working class immigrants coming from rural of Turkey. In 1970s, the settling has sped up and Dev-Yol had direct intervention in the construction of gecekondus in conflict with state in the valley. Dev-Yol is a leftist group that was very active and influential in 1970s. They invaded the land and distributed it to migrant working class and provided the construction materials for them in informal ways. This was a political attempt to support working class about their housing problem. Therefore left was strong in that period in Dikmen Valley. After the military coup d'etat of 1980, that presence of leftist politics would be hardly felt. In 1984 there an amnesty has been declared for the region and most of the gecekondus which were built before that time has been legalized and got their title deeds. Therefore gecekondu dwellers who had built their houses after 1984 do not have title deeds, and they are called as "without paper/document" -similar to the "sans papier" in France-. Considering the coup and the amnesty, it is possible to refer to post 1980 period as the second period of gecekondu development of valley. This periodization also marks the change in the political orientation of the valley population. After 1980, the newcomers were rather inclined to right wing politics or political Islam. Nevertheless, the influence of ÖDP or left politics in general was also present in some neighborhoods -in some of Alevi neighborhoods-.

There is no available published or unpublished data or statistics that presents the social and demographical statistics of remaining Dikmen valley gecekondu people. I can only refer to informations I got by fro Bureau and the the general idae that I got in two years from my experiences covering a wide range from arbitrary conversations to the interviews made for this research. Accordingly, most of the

remaining gecekondu dwellers of the valley are working skilled or unskilled workers, some employed without insurance or work in temporary jobs when there is available task. There are also many unemployed people. A typical household is composed of a family with 2 or 3 kids, sometimes with close relatives -grandmother and grandfather mostly- living in the same gecekondu. Houses are small, usually with two rooms, which had built in phases when enough money had been accumulated. Neighborhoods are based on the origin of town and kinship. Social networks are very important for coping with poverty and isolation; relatives, neighbors help eachother in difficult times.

There was an important fragmentation in terms of religion, ethnicity and origin of town before the emergence of the movement in the valley. The most evident and strong fragmentation was the one between Alevis and Sunnis. There was almost no interaction between Alevis and Sunnis and common prejudices were shared respect to eachother. There was also distinction regarding the ethnicity and origin of town. For example people from Erzurum are settled in certain neighborhooods, Haymana people are in other, Kurdish groups are in settled others and they had no interaction among themselves. There was also fragmentation in terms of politics, some Alevi women state that they did not like women wearing turban or başörtüsü as it represented them political Islam and conservatism. Similarly leftist politics and people with leftist orientation were not liked by people with rightist orientation, and there was a distance and

3.4.2. Participation to the movement

Not all the households make a part of the movement; there are families and individuals who are indifferent or resistant to the movement. Nevertheless the Bureau is known by all the valley people and a big portion of the dwellers support the movement. As for active support, in the most crowded protest or activity, there are around 650 people from the valley, whereas a weekly meeting gathers around 30 to100 people, depending on the heat of the agenda. Again according to the Bureau, there are around 100 active members of the movement who are taking part in all

kinds of practices and processes of the organization of the movement.

Women are also active in the valley, which is also an important feature of the case. Even that men to women ration favors to a great extent men also in the valley, participation and impact of women is strong in the valley. In weekly meeting, 1/3 of the participants are women, one of the leading figures of the movement is a middle aged women, called as Müzeyyen Abla, Sister Müzeyyen, who is originly coming from a right wing tradition. She is often the spokesperson in the meetings or presentations that are open to public. Sultan Abla is also one of the active femal figures who endorsed very important role in the emergence of the movement. She initiated the first meetings made by Halkevleri, made the announcements of the meetings together with other women friends, by knocking around from door to door for days and weeks.

As for the participation of youth: it is limited. Some of them study outside of Ankara in other cities,, high school teenagers are mostly studying for the university exam. It is common that parents do not allow their children to participate the movement or to frequent the Bureau as they are afraid that they would be politicized and have trouble with the state. You can see mostly middle aged people and some old people around the Bureau and at the meetings.

The Bureau is situated at the center and at the bottom of the valley. It is very small building with one room a very small kitchen and toilet. The walls of the bureau are covered with the news about DVRtSM published in different newspapers. There is a computer, printer-fax, telephone and a small archieve where they keep their documents. It is open 7 days from morning till evenning and tea is ready almost all the time to welcome the visitors. There is a bigger building nearby the bureau where they hold the meetings when the weather is cold and at the other side another small prefabricated construction with 2 very small classrooms where free courses are given for students by volunteer teachers. There is a wide open area inclosed by those buildings in which there are chairs and seats and where they hold the weekely meetings when teh weather is fine. There is also a small scene used for teatre plays,

concerts, speaks and other activities in big protest events, festivals and etc. A little way off there is a playground for children, which was constructed by the valley people collectively. There is a peacefull atmosphere and it is a socializing point, where people just stop by to chat and hear about the latest news anytime of the day and week.

3.4.3. The leadership of the movement

The most visible, influential, active participant of the movement is Tarık Çalışkan, who is considered as the leader of the movement by the gecekondu people. Valley people call him as Başkan, the president, or Tarık Abi, Brother Tarık. He is in his 70s and he has left organizational background from 1970s. He is also one of the person who participated the land distribution processes of Dev-Yol and he built his gecekondu on the valley in that period. He was the head of İlker Halkevi at the time when the project was first heard. It is an important chance for the movement that a person like Tarık Çalışkan is living in the area who has charismatic leadership features and have the organization experience and knowledge from his political past. People state that it is important that Tarık Çalışkan is a gecekondu dweller living in the valley because otherwise they would have doubts about his sincerity; they might have thought that he was trying to politicize people associating him with radical left –as he was the head of İlker Halkevi at the time-.

Other leading figures are younger gecekondu dwellers and Halkevleri members. In the beginning of the movement, there were two young Halkevleri members working all the time in the area, a man and a woman, and others who come occasionally. There was a volunteer lawyer from Halkevleri who was working to inform people about the legal aspects and helping them to write petitions, make applications etc. He was also very active in the movement regarding all of the matters and processes, as a very loved and respected leading character. He had to leave for personal matters, and as there is not so much legal work anymore. Now, there are two Halkevleri members working at the area, Serkant and Cemile, a young man and a young woman. Cemile lives in the valley in a gecekondu. They are very loved and trusted by gecekondu

people but they state that it was not easy and quick to gain that trust from valley people. They had to work a lot and be patient to prove their sincerity.

Halkevleri was being known by most of the valley people, but very small amount of people have had touch with it before the movement emerged. It was associated with radical left or Alawism, therefore common prejudices, reservations regarding the leftist politics were also shared for Halkevleri.

3.4.4.Emergence, mobilization and activities

As I have stated in the introduction part, in the beginning of the early mobilization process, the first activities were the informatory meetings with the gecekondu dwellers organized by the Halkevleri cadre. Urban transformation issue was already in the agenda of Halkevleri as a base of grievance on which it is possible to raise resistance of neighborhoods and potentially evolve it to a movement. Similar cases have been experienced, HE was familiar with the social and economic consequences those projects may bring forth to the poor people living in the project areas. They had connections with professionals, lawyers, architects, city planners and engineers hence they provided consultancy by them and carried these information to valley people by the first meetings. When it was evident that there was more participation when the meetings were held outside İlker Halkevi, the idea of constructing a small bureau came up. After that things went faster, bureau has started to be frequented by many people, some of whom was only worried about the situation and trying to get informed, and some of whom was already convinced that they should struggle collectively against the project.

As for how the bureau came to be called as right to sheltering: when the urban transformation project was announced, there has been established a bureau of the municipality to inform people about the project and to convince them to sign the contract. That bureau was called …., but people was calling it destruction bureau, as at that time municipality cars were touring the valley announcing that their gecekondus were going to be demolished incase they do not sign the contract in 15 days. So, when they opened the new bureau for themselves, for the resistance, they

called it as right to sheltering bureau as an alternative to the destruction bureau. The name of the Bureau started to represent the struggle within the process and now the movement is called as Right to sheltering.

The movement had a committee constituted by the representatives of the neighborhoods, every Sunday or Saturday there have been a meeting of 1 to 2 hours where they would discuss the latest news and situation, organize the events in near future, discuss and decide collectively about anything regarding the valley and movement. The meetings were managed by Tarık Çalışkan, he would make an introduction about the agenda and the discussion would begin. HE members state that people were more reluctant to talk in those meetings in front of the public in the beginning, but this changed slowly when they felt that their words would matter and they could contribute to the organization of the movement. The decision making process was effective in this transformation. For DVRtSM it is very important that, there is no leading body that stands out hierarchically and tell people what to do, instead people should be encouraged to participate and involve in all and every kind of works and prosses within the movement. There of course organic leaders like Tarık Çalışkan who naturally figure at the front and have more influence in decision-making processes. And Halkevleri cadre for sure stands out with its organizational experience, oral ability, political knowledge and they are very influential, but according to what they emphasize they were try not to stand in the front and try to listen, try to encourage people to think and discuss, to come with ideas and to organize everything themselves, while standing at the back and providing necessary information, resources and tools for them. This was very effective in enhancing and maintaining the participation and in embracing of the movement by the valley people.

At the time when the demolishing pressure was very high, -beggining from 2006's summer and continued till spring- when the municipality cars were touring the valley streets all day and mayor Melih Gökçek was showing up in TVs and newspapers very often, threating the resisting gecekondu people and naming them as "invaders, terrorists and raiders", valley people were organizing continous daily events with the

leadership of the bureau. They would come together in the evenings and start fires all together, they would protest the municipality in front of the municipality building, make press statements. There had been two sheltering rallies in 2011 and 2007 organized with the leadership of HE and DVRtSM.

DVRtSM had managed lots of protest, events, activities, meetings and publishings since 2006. They started a newspaper, Right to Sheltering Journal[21], opened a web site "People of Dikmen valley"[22], organized international meetings (hosting representatives of the similar movements from New Delhi and South Africa-Abahlalı). They had continuous contact with various professional chambers and groups, there has been a right to sheltering commission established within the chamber of city planners but could not be active and effective. They established solidarity networks with other right to sheltering movements and groups that are subjected to similar grievances, like Mamak Right to Sheltering Movement. They participate in rallies and demonstrations of other issues; they are in contact with artist groups and students, who organize volunteer activities, like theatre plays, courses of screen writing, music, painting, and photography for children, youth and adults. Since 2009 they organized 2 festivals of one week long in the summer, this summer there will be the third one.

In addition to those there was a sub-organization of women within the valley, especially in the early period of the movement; women would make their own meetings and activities. In those meetings, they were not only discussing about the struggle or the project, but also their problems at home and work too. There would be occasional meetings with guests with different proficiencies coming to inform valley women about certain issues like health, women rights etc. These meetings and activities facilitated women to take part more actively in the movement. The participation of women to the movement contributed a lot to the movement as women showed high organizational skills with methods specific to them. Additionally it is possible to say that participation potential of women is respectively higher when the matter is sheltering, which might be due to the fact that women

---

[21] http://issuu.com/feslegen-/docs/barinma6 (The 6th issue of the Journal)
[22] http://www.dikmenvadisi.org/

embrace their houses very strongly and almost associate them with their children. Regarding this, women also denote that they worked very hard to construct those houses and to make them livable places for years.

There had been sub-organizations regarding certain issues like education and health. Valley people protested collectively the fee charged in the registration of children to schools. They rejected to pay it collectively and they succeeded to register their children without paying the fee. This was an important acquisition for valley people and movement not only in economic terms but also in terms of solidarity building and the strengthening of the faith in collective action.

There was also a jurisdictional front of the movement. With the help of volunteer lawyer who was working full time in the valley in the beginning of the movement, the project was sued several times; they engaged a jurisdictional front although the discourse of the movement was beyond the law, as they were claiming for rights which were not statutory. The project was canceled in 10.06.2009 by the municipality council decision. Nevertheless, the cancellation of the project didn't result as the loosening of the mobilization as the municipality is continuing with counter attacks updated in response to the maneuvers of the DVRtSM[23].

DVRtSM has strong networks with other RtSMs like Arızlı, Mamak, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Polatlı, Kartaltepe, Altındağ. They make common meetings and organize the big events like the latest sheltering rally in coordination. They support each other by visiting each other, giving reaction regarding each other's conditions. These networks also help people to grasp that their case is a systemic problem which shows itself with similar but different faces everywhere.

Finally, to sum up, DVRtSM is active in the social movements' agenda since 2006. Participation is not decreasing (nor increasing due to space-based character of adherent pool of the case) since then. It functions like a model in front of other similar cases of grievance experienced as a consequence of spatial transformations.

---

[23] New legislations have been made in order to block this legislative front of the opposition.

The main reasons of its success of having this pioneering role will be presented in the following chapter.

4. FRAME ALIGNMENT STRATEGIES INVOKED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF DVRTSM

4.1. An introduction to Framing Perspective

The term frame was imported into sociology by the work of Erving Goffman in his 1974 book titled "Frame Analysis" to denote "schemata of interpretation", "allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms ... the type of framework we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied" Goffman, Frame Analysis, 21-24). Goffman invoked the concept "to help explain the microsociology of everyday interactions and communicative acts." (Johnston & Noakes, 2005.:3)

It was after Todd Gitlin's study on media's treatment of the Students for a Democratic Society, the term had been introduced to social movement research. (Jonhston & Noakes, 2005:3) Two years later, William Gamson, Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina's Encounter with Unjust Authority (1982), emphasized the role of agency in the construction of "alternative understanding of what was occurring", and demonstrated how interpretive processes are central in collective action (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:3).

The concept shed a new light on social movement studies as interpretation and meaning production processes were being proposed as one of central dynamics of mobilization processes instead of overly structural explanations that were dominating the prior social movement research. In such a period, David A. Snow and Robert Benford, elaborated the perspective by introducing core concepts namely frame alignment, frame resonance and master frames, that became fundamentals of framing perspective. Before going further with these concepts, it is useful to introduce framing perspective in broader terms.

Framing perspective is based on the idea that meanings are neither constant nor static, they "do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter," but are "social productions that arise during the course of interactive processes." (Snow & Benford, 1992:136; Snow, 2004:384)There is a continuous strategic work over the production of meaning and the movements are actively involved in this work. The messages that are formulated and communicated to the target group have a crucial role on movement's fate, as there are messages which bring people in streets while others don't (Tarrow, 1992:174). Hence, framing analysis focuses on the understanding of the meaning production and articulation processes and in which ways this is related to collective action and mobilization.

> "In contrast to the traditional view of social movements as carriers of extant, preconfigured ideas and beliefs, the framing perspective views movements as signifying agents engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for protagonists, antagonists, and bystanders...The verb "framing" is used to conceptualize this signifying work, which is one of the activities that social movement adherents and their leaders do on a regular basis." (Snow, 2004:384)

By all means there are many other factors that are determining for a movement to succeed in its goals, like political opportunity and resource mobilization structure, social and cultural context, leadership mechanism etc. but the framing activity in fact is shaped in relation to all of those factors. Like as some movements are more likely to rely on the existing frames, but emphasizing them or communicating them more intensely, there are others which try to create new meanings and values or counter more strongly to the existing oppositional frames. There are many researches on the framing processes of various social movements that try to explain the success or failure of movements in terms of the framing activity.

In the simplest of terms, framing function in much the same way as a frame around a picture: attention gets focused on what is relevant and important and away from extraneous items in the field of view." (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:1) A frame is "an interpretative schema that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and

sequences of action within one's present or past environment." (Snow & Benford, 1992: 137)

The result of framing activity is referred as "collective action frames". "Collective action frames offer strategic interpretations of issues with the intention of mobilizing people to act." (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:5) Collective action frames evolve throughout a complex process intervined by various actors and bodies. There are structural challenges, opportunities, opposition which are all effective in the framing activity. "The transformation of social issues into collective action frames does not occur by itself. It is a process in which social actors, media, and members of society jointly interpret, define and redefine states of affairs. (Klandermans, 1977:44)" (Tarrow, 1999:109) Cognitive and interpretative processes can be very decisive in making the decision of participating a social movement. Collective action frames must be also convince people that there is an injustice, persuade them to collective action is necessary and motivate them to act. (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:2) "Collective action frame analysis represents an attempt to bring social psychological factors back into analyses of social movements, while maintaining the notion that participants are rational actors engaged in the construction of their own mobilizing beliefs and strategies." (Noonan, 1995:86)

Collective action frames, do not only punctuate what is relevant to the subject of grievance but they also determine what is out of the picture. The elements a frame encloses as relevant, do not stand independently in that frame, but they are articulated in a way that they tell a story, that is convincing and mobilizing. In addition to these, frames can also be transformative in the sense that rather then focusing on a set of elements and link them together in a fashion to point out an unjust situation, but also alter the commonly accepted meanings and relations, transforms grievances previously percieved as misfortunes into injustices. (Snow, 2004: 384)

Collective action frames perform functions of focusing, articulation and transformation in order to "activate adherents, transform bystanders into supporters, exact concessions from targets, and demobilize antagonists". (Snow, 2004: 385)

"Thus collective action frames not only perform an interpretive function in the sense of providing answers to the question "What is going on here?", but they also are decidedly more agentic and contentious in the sense of calling for action that problematizes and challenges existing authoritative views and framings of reality." (Snow, 2004:385)

The perception of injustice is crucial in the course of meaning production as it per se triggers the meaning production. As for a collective action can get underway, people must primarily define their situation as unjust. (Tarrow, 1999: 111) But adds Gamson, "it is insufficient if individuals privately adopt a different interpretation of what is happening. For collective adoption of an injustice frame, it must be shared by the potential challangers in a public way." (Tarrow, 1999: 111)

It is possible that, when grievance is present, all the conditions are ripe, resources are available, political opportunity structure is efficient; a movement still can fail to mobilize people to act. With the words of scholars of resource mobilization and political opportunity: "In short, mobilizing people to action always has a subjective component... Understanding social movement mobilization requires attention to how "collective processes of interpretation, attribution, and social construction … mediate between opportunity and action." (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1996b:2)" (Johnston & Noakes, 2005:2)

Snow (2004: 382-383) criticizes resource mobilization and political opportunity approaches as they assume grievances as ever-present thus "inconsequential in relation to the dynamics of social movements". He adds that this approach fails to catch the differential interpretation fact; material conditions are subject to interpretation and they should be first conceived as unjust so that any opposition would arise.

Framing perspective shows that to define something as "unjust" that was previously perceived as misfortune is not enough to urge people to act. Whereas such pointing can be regarded as diagnosis, a diagnosis should be followed by prognosis as well as motivational framing activity. Such functions of framing activity will be elaborated

further in the core framing tasks.

CharacteristicFeatures of Collective Action Frames

Snow and Benford defines framing processes around 2 sets which are identified as characteristic features of collective action frames. Then they define also variable features of the collective action frames as to comprehend various movements and cases but as for the limited scope of the research I am going to introduce only the characteristic features and then focus on the strategic processes defined with those characteristic features. (Snow & Benford, 1988: 199-202; 1992: 136-141; 2000: 615-617).

The first set is defined as "core framing tasks" which concern the action oriented funciton of CAFs, and the second set is "interactive-discursive processes" which concern the generative functions of the CAFs. (Snow & Benford, 2000: 615)

Core Framing Tasks

Snow and Benford suggest that there are three core framing tasks: (1) "diagnostic framing" involves negotiation of a shared understanding of the problem, and articulation of who or what to blame. (2) "prognostic framing" articulates solutions to the problem or plan of attack and strategies for carrying out the plan. (3) "motivational framing", involves urging of people to act collectively to bring change, it provides "a call to arms" for engaging in collective action. (Snow & Benford, 1988: 199-202; 1992: 137; 2000: 615-617).

Interactive and Discursive Processes

These are the processes which are associated with the development, generation, and elaboration of collective action frames. "What this literature suggests is that frames are developed generated and elaborated on not only via attending to the three core framing tasks presented above, but also by way of three overlapping processes that can be conceptualized as discursive, strategic, and contested." (Snow & Benford,

2000: 623)

"Discursive processes" refer to the talks and conversations and written communications of movement members that occur in relation to movement activities. (Snow & Benford, 2000: 623) Two basic discursive processes are defined by Snow and Benford: (1) "frame articulation involves the connection and alignment of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion," and (2) "frame amplification involves accenting and highlighting some issues, events or beliefs as being more salient than others". (Snow & Benford 2000: 623; Snow and others, 1986: 469-472).

I am going to skip the strategic processes as I am going to focus on them more elaborately in the following part. So as for the third set of process defined under the interactive-discursive processes, the contested processes: the generative functions of collective action frames are contested processes. Snow and Benford (2000:625) define 3 steps of contested processes: counterframing; frame disputes within the movements; and the dialectic between the farmes and the events. Counterframing is the framing activity carried out by the enemies, the opponents and the opponent medya, attempting to undermine or neutralise the interpretations, assertions and reality proposed by the SMO. Whereas the frame disputes are the internal conflicts in the framing processes, intramovement disagrrements regarding the diagnoses and prognoses. It is suggested here that the framings may engender actions, discourse affects the events, which in return transform the underlying meanings and beliefs. (Snow & Benford, 2000:627)

4.1.1. Frame Alignment Strategies

Interactive-discursive processes are defined under 3 categories (1) Discursive, (2) Strategic, (3) Contested. For the scope of the research, strategic processes are found to be more active and determining. In other words, the factors that designated the character and success of Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement are strategic processes. And for strategic framing processes, Snow and Benford proposed the concept of 'frame alignment' as a "linkage of people and SMO interpretive

orientations, some set of individual interests, values, and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology that are congruent and complementary." (Snow and others, 1992:235-236) Therefore an elaborate analysis of frame alignment strategies invoked in DVRtSM will be a useful guide to account for both specificity of the case and generality of the movement as a model to other Right to Sheltering movements.

"By strategic processes, we refer to framing processes that are deliberative, utilitarian, and goal directed: Frames are developed and deployed to achieve a specific purpose- to recruit new members, to mobilize adherents, to acquire resources, and so forth. Strategic efforts by social movement organizations to link their interests and interpretive frames with those of prospective constituents and actual or prospective resource providers were initially conceptualized as "frame alignment processes" (Snow et al. 1986)." (Benford & Snow, 2000, 624)

"By frame alignment, we refer to the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary." (Snow and others, 1986:464)

> "SMO efforts to affect frame alignment are interactive processes involving decisions about the audience(s) to be targeted for mobilization, imputations concerning the operative frameworks guiding the interpretations and actions of the audiences, the selection of framing strategies from a field of alternatives, tailoring frames and framing activities to suit targeted audiences, and readjusting framing efforts based on assessments of responses to previous framing activities." (Benford, 1993:679)

There are four types of frame alignment strategies identified by Snow and Benford: (1) Frame Bridging, (2) Frame Transformation, (3) Frame Amplification, (4) Frame Extension.

4.1.2. Analysis of Frame Alignment Strategies invoked in the organization of DVRtSM

In this part I am going to introduce the frame alignment strategies proposed by Snow and Benford and discuss whether how they are implemented in the organization and framing of DVRtSM. Not all the strategies are invoked in the valley case, but it is proposed a new frame alignment strategy, namely frame narrowing, which is proposed to account for the strategy utilized to overcome the tension between participation and resonance in the valley case. Figure 1 demonstrates the frame alignment strategies conceptualized by Snow and Benford and the frame alignments strategies that are invoked in the DVRtSM case.
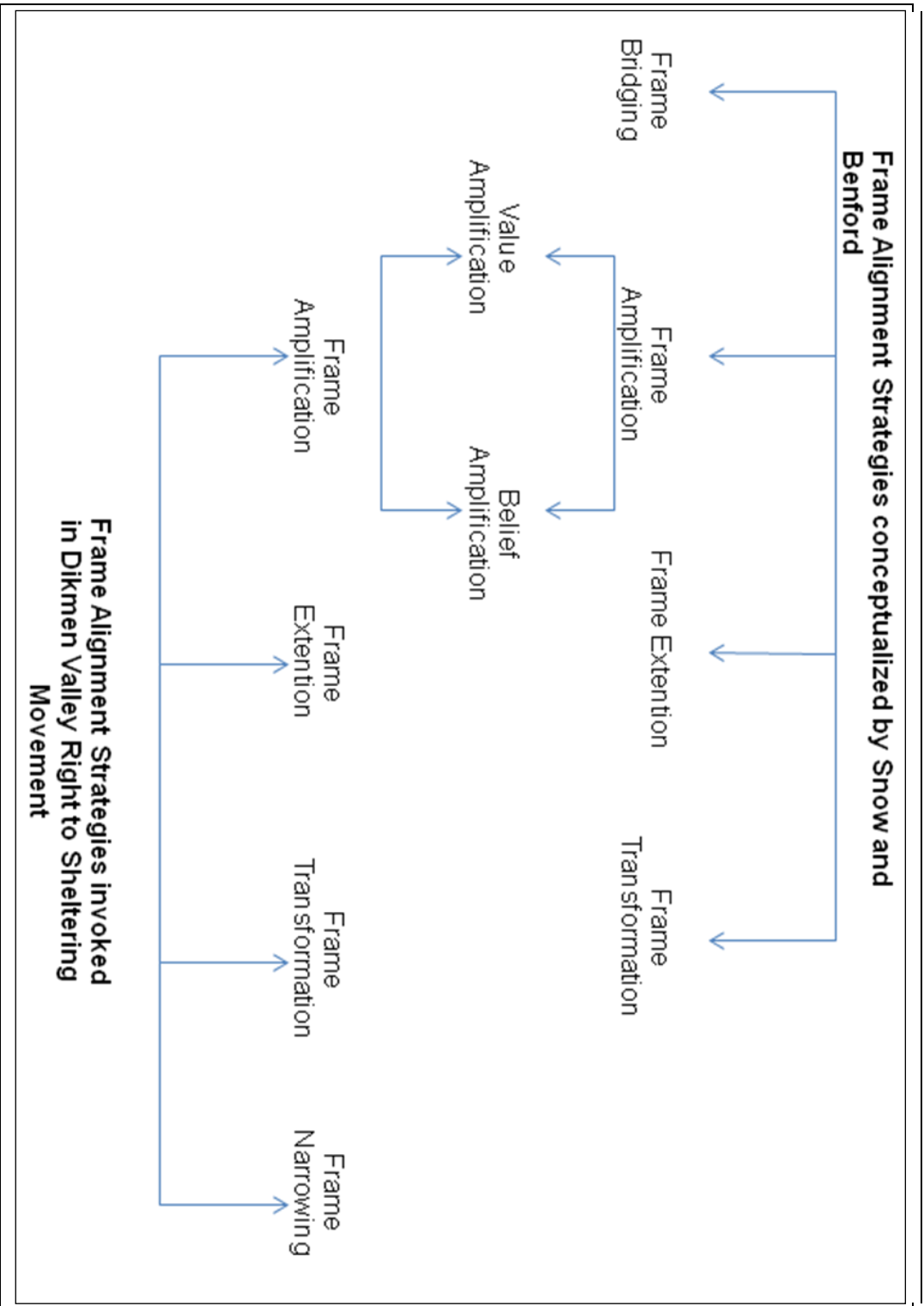
Figure 1 The frame alignments strategies invoked in the DVRtSM

4.1.2.1 Frame Bridging

The strategy of frame bridging refers to the linking of two or more frames which were previously not connected. Yet it is necessary that they are ideologically coherent so that the linkage may be establisheded. "Bridging can occur between a movement and individuals, through the linkage of a movement organization with an unmobilized sentiment pool or public opinion cluster, or across social movements." (Snow & Benford, 2000:624) These sentiment pools aggregate people who share common grievances and attributional orientations, but who lack the organizational base for expressing their discontents and for acting in pursuit of their interests. (Snow & Benford, 1986: 467)

I detected no evidence of frame bridging in DVRtSM case. In DVRtSM, the audience is space-specific, in other words they are aggregates of people living in the same neighborhoods of the city, meaning that they do not constitute a cluster of sentiment or public opinion, merely they share a common grievance. There is no common attributional orientation among the valley people on the SMO level. As for the organizational level, we can neither talk about a linkage of two previously unconnected frames between two SMOs within the same movement industry, as there was no such movement industry at that time in Turkey. In other words, if the cluster of existing RtSMs can be considered as a movement industry, DVRtSM would be the movement endorsing the leading role which functions in a way that it imports compatible collective action frames to the other movements. Therefore we can not talk about any linkage between different social movements, so no bridging is possible for the valley case.

4.1.2.2.Frame Amplification

Frame amplification is the framing activity that relies on the existing values or beliefs. The existing values are 'amplified' by clarification or idealization so that the movement could draw upon the existing cultural values and narratives. Snow and Benford propose two varieties of frame amplification: value amplification and belief amplification. (Snow and others, 1986:469)
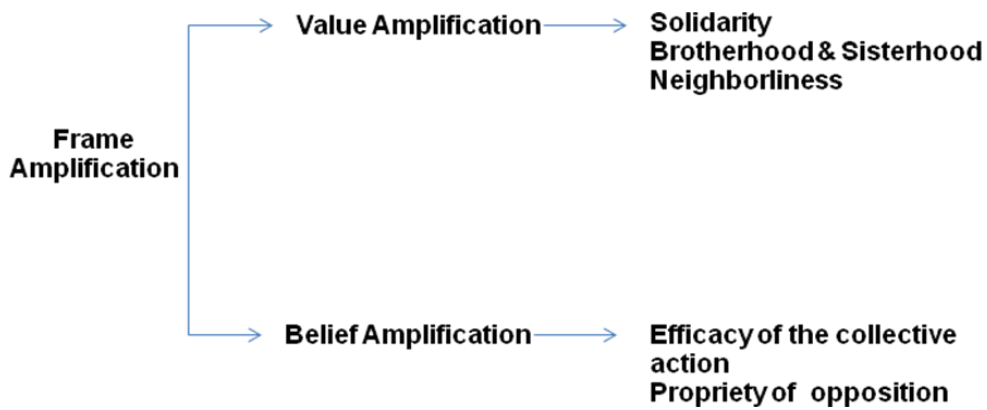
Figure 2 Examples of frame amplification strategy invoked in the DVRtSM

Value amplification: "Value amplification refers to the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values presumed basic to prospective constituents but which have not inspired collective action for any number of reasons." (ibid,, 469).

In the dialogues, discussions and interviews among valley people and the movement leaders, it is easily observable that values such as "solidarity, unity, brotherhood & sisterhood, neighborliness" are continuously highlighted and idealized. These values were present in the common sense of the society independent of the social status, ethnicity, race and religion. They are popularly associated with Anatolian culture and Islam, just as famous myth of *hospitality of the Turkish people*. These can be identified as unmobilized sentiment pools and the framing of the movement is being constructed in a way to motivate people to act together by mobilizing these sentiments, by highlighting and idealizing these accepted values.

They emphasize that the process of "struggle"[24] they are giving for common interests provided the consolidation of such values and that they should attend those values even more in order to succeed with their struggle.

Snow and Benford denote for frame amplification, "...it appears to be particularly

---

[24] When they are referring to the movement valley people use the term "struggle". This may indicate important points regarding the perception of the movement by its adherents.

relevant to movements reliant on conscience constituents who are strikingly different from the movement beneficiaries." (Snow & Benford, 2000:624) Similarly, it is possible to say that value amplification strategy that has been carried on the 'solidarity frame' functioned as an effective tool to succeed in with the problematic of uniting people who are not socially or politically connected and do not share common attributional orientation and also to overcome the tension between the part calling for participation and the ones called for, sourced by the political differences.

Solidarity frame functions simultaneously with other frames like "no politics frame" and "right to sheltering frame" which will be introduced in the frame transformation part. It is important to note that all those frames are outcomes of interrelated and overlapping processes, they work simultaneously.

This fact is also due to the spatial and geographical peculiarity of the movement. As it was stated above, DVRtSM is a neighborhood based organization, which means the audience to be mobilized is spatially defined and they live in the same area. This provided some organizational advantages to be mentioned later but it also brought some difficulties. This meant first of all that, the audience to be mobilized was not a potential group of people who tend to share common attributional orientations, but it was a group pf people who were subjected to the same injustice but varied a lot in regard to how they perceived and interpreted their situation. They were socially segregated; there were various groups with the audience defined mostly by the race, religion, origin of the town they migrated from. They were politically differentiated and had no interaction among eachother. In such an environment, solidarity frame functioned as an essential tool in order to break the ices between dissociated groups. It neutralized the differences and pointed at the commanalities, coming from being gecekondu dweller, sharing the same space, being neigbors and citizens.

Belief amplification, "Whereas values refer to the goals or end-states that movement seek to attain or promote, beliefs can be construed as ideational elements that cognitively support or impede action in pursuit of desired values." (Snow and others , 1986:469-470)

1. beliefs about the gravity of the situation, 2. beliefs about the cause 3. stereotypic

beliefs about the targets of influence or antagonists, 4. beliefs about the probability of change or the efficacy of the collective action, 5. beliefs about the necessity and propriety of "standing up". (ibid., 470)

There are important examples of the 4th and 5th kinds of belief amplification in DVRtSM. As for the 4th, optimism about the outcome of a collective action will thus enhance the probability of participation, but such beliefs and expectations can be modified during the course of participation by micromobilization efforts. (ibid., 470-471) It is possible to claim that there is a shift in the perception of the efficacy and propriety of collective action and individual or collective call for rights in DVRtSM. While in the beginning valley people shared skepticism in that they could have any influence on the course of events as ordinary, poor, powerless people; by the amplification of the "power of collective action and unity" in the calling for rights, they developed a stronger sense of active citizenship and they experienced empowerement on the individual level. They experienced that by collective action, they could throw the police forces out from the valley; they could impede municipality's implementations; they could make themselves listened by the authorities. The shift in the self-perception and group-perception is more evident in women's case. It is denoted that before they would not go out from their houses often, but with the struggle they were on the streets and in the bureau; they visited public offices; they participated in protests and so on.

This strategy of belief amplification also works simultaneously with the strategy of frame transformation of the perception of opposition. The negative perception of the opposition -which will be elaborated in the following part- is also strengthened by the pessimism about the outcome. Thus when the belief amplification and the transformation of the perception of opposition function together, those processes overlap and accelerate each other.

Another aspect of belief amplification is that it enables the legitimization of the acts which were previously accepted as dangerous, illegal, inappropriate and ill-associated. "Once such sentiments were validated, amplified, and diffused, periodic mobilization of neighborhood constituents to engage in other organizational

activities, such as signing petitions, carrying placards, and participating in media displays of neighborhood solidarity, became considerably less problematic." (ibid.,469) Once the group feel itself powerful and right, people don't associate carrying a placard -declaring that they are subjected to injustice by the municipality or by the state-, with radical politics anymore or they don't perceive it as dangerous as before.

> "I didn't know what a march was. I went to the march of Melih Gökçek, they say something "Osman Gökçek ..."[25], I was saying to myself, who is this Osman Gökçek. We were s ignorant.... we were afraid of police, we were afraid of battle. Now I am not afraid of anything, I am only afraid of one thing and that is God."[26] (Kerime, 46, Homemaker)

> "For instance I did not know what a custody was, I mean the police has come (she means the 1st of February-interpreter's note), we run, but police is everywhere. Now for example, if they come, the police let alone taking me, it can not even hold my arm. I became aware of that."[27] (Fatma, 39, Worker)

4.1.2.3.Frame Extension

This process refers to the extension of the frames beyond the primary concerns of the social movement so to reach potential supporters by including the issues of which they are concerned. Snow and Benford note that although this alignment strategy is employed often, it is also often problematic as it tends to increase conflicts within the movement. (Snow & Benford, 2000:625)

"SMOs may also promote 'values and beliefs' that are not 'salient or readily apparent' to potential constituents and supporters...The programs and values that some SMOs promote may not be rooted in existing sentiment or adherent pools, or may appear to have little if any bearing on the life situations and interests of potential adherents.

---

[25] The sun of Melih Gökçek.
[26] "Biz yürüyüş nedir bilmiyoduk bak ben Melih Gökçek yürüyüşüne gittim, Osman Gökçek'e … olsun diyolar. Allahım diyorum bu Osman Gökçek kim acaba diyorum. Öyle cahildik ki yani, ... Polisten korkuyoduk çatışmadan korkuyoduk. Ha şimdi hiçbir şeyden korkmuyom. Bi korktuğum var, o da Allah."
[27] "Mesela ben gözlatı nedir bilmezdim. Yani polis gelmiş, ama koşturuyoruz ama her taraf polis. Şu anda mesela gelseler polis beni tutmak değil, elini bana bile uzatamaz. Ben bunun bilincine vardım."

When such is the case, an SMO may have to extend the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents." (Snow and others, 1986:472)

The concept of frame extension here is the inclusion of the frames, values and interests which are not automatically linked to the primary concerns of the actual movement participants but are prior for the potential participants. "Movement leaders frequently elaborate goals and activities so as to encompass auxiliary interests not obviously associated with the movement in hopes of enlarging its adherent base." (ibid., 472) The aim of this strategy is to attract more participants, and enlarging the adherent pool to gain wider influence and support and achieve stronger access to media.

Figure 3 Frame Extension Strategy invoked in DVRtSM

In Dikmen Valley case, the frame extension strategy is at work, however it functions in a rather different way. It is possible to argue that, the framing in the beginning was limited to right to sheltering but in the course of time; the framing has enlarged to cover the demanding of whole body of social rights under the name of "rights of people". However, the actual processing is a little more complicated.

Halkevleri provides the ideological and methodological resources for the organization of the movement. Thus it is not possible to analyze the framing of the DVRtSM without looking at the framing of Halkevleri organization. Halkevleri is an organization that identifies itself as a revolutionary democratic mass mobilization of

70

which the concept of "rights of people" constitutes the "organizational guideline". The concept of "rights of people" is defined around a struggle against neoliberalism and the demanding of the social state. Nevertheless, in the beginning Halkevleri cadre strategically chose to keep this more comprehensive goal at the background and it framed the movement around the specific problem shared by all, which is sheltering. This was due to the difficulties regarding establishing the solidarity and collectivity in the neighborhoods, as neighborhoods were composed of social groups with different social and political structures. Another reason was that such a broad framing would be easily associated with leftist politics, which was very risky in terms of participation at a time when Halkevleri was trying to break the association between Halkevleri and DVRtSM. But as the solidarity established, and valley people embraced the movement all together, the framing of the movement was ready to be broadened to encompass the demanding of the other social rights and articulate with other "struggles of rights". This was also due to the shifted perception of the sheltering problem: throughout the framing processes, the link between the grievance regarding sheltering and other grievances has been established, and perceived as a systemic problem due to neoliberalism. The transformation of the perception occurred gradually and it was operated very systematically and strategically by the movement ideologues -which are Halkevleri members-.

> "We came to learn: today for instance we can put forward very progressive demands, but we couldn't do it when we did enter (the area-interpreter's note) in the beginning, because there was no response. People set their demands in the course of struggle and they came to see who the person against whom they are fighting is. Before those people used to say Melih Gökçek or AKP is not that bad. Today we don't have to tell this to them, they would tell it 100 times better than me.[28] (Özgür, 34, Halkevleri activists)

As has been mentioned above, in the beginning, the primary concern of the movement, the articulated goal that brought people together in the first place, was to

---

[28] "Şunu öğrenmiş olduk: bugün mesela biz çok ilerici talepler sunabiliriz, ama biz bunu ilk girdiğimizde sunamazdık, çünkü karşılığı yoktu. İnsanlar mücadele ede ede taleplerini oluşturdular ve savaştığı insanın nasıl bir şey olduğunu gördüler. Eskiden Melih Gökçek veya AKP bu kadar da değil diyolardı insanlar. Bugün bunu bizim anlatmamıza gerek yok, benden 100 kat daha iyi anlatır bu insanlar."

have the project canceled or have it reformulated in a way that it favors the gecekondu dwellers. Nevertheless DVRtSM evolved to a point where it doesn't limit its scope with the cancellation or a reformulation of the project, neither it claims only for right to sheltering, but it defines right to sheltering as just one dimension of the "rights of people", like health, education, transportation and so on. It refers rights of people as all the social rights and claim that those rights are all threatened by the new economic and political structure namely neoliberalism. The framing here is extended towards rights of people from right to sheltering and such an extension potentially enables the movement to articulate with other movements and other frames. Once it puts 'neoliberalism' as the cause of the problem and claims for 'rights of people' instead of only right to sheltering; once it refers its adherents as 'poor people whose rights are seized', instead of 'valley people whose right to sheltering is violated', it potentially opens itself to a broader network. It primarily extends towards other cases of urban transformation projects as it indicates the situation as a common consequence of a structural problem and it could be experienced anywhere given the same political structure. Secondly it extends towards any other case of violation of social rights, injustice and inequality.

> "It (DVRtSM-interpreter's note) has created things of such: if we have moved on only with the gecekondu problem...because we had our weekly meetings ... We were not discussing only this: how and where will we have a protest,... technical situations were the least discussed subject. We were discussing what is going on in the country, we had an approach to the Kurdish problem, we had an approach about GSS, we had an approach to general politics as well and we were discussing what must be our attitude towards general politics. As a result we also had an attitude about elections."[29]
> (Özgür, 34, Halkevleri activist)

However as already mentioned above, this extension is not directed to the goal of enlarging the adherent pool. As the adherent pool is limited to inhabitants of a defined spatial unit, and the participation is already procured at the expected level,

---

[29] "Şöyle şeyler yaratmış oldu. Biz tek başına bi gecekondu sorununda ilerlemiş olsaydık, bizim çünkü haftalık toplantılar oluyodu… Orada şunu tartışmıyoduk tek başına, şurda bir eylem var nasıl yapılacak… Biz memlekette ne oluyor, işte kürt sorununa da bi bakışımız vardı, GSS'ye de bakışımız var ve genel siyasete var ve o siyasetten biz hangi tavrı almamız gerekir, seçimlere dair de tavrımız vardı sonuç olarak."

frame extension endorses a different function in Dikmen valley. It aims to deepen and extend the political perspective of the audience, so that they can link what is happening to them with the larger political and economic structure. In this way the subjects are politicized and empowered. Such an extension promises the movement to become more effective and permanent as its scope goes beyond the concerns of certain group of a society from a certain spatial unit. It provides the potential of the movement to articulate with other individuals, organizations and collectivities and gain a wider influence as a consequence.

However it is important to note here that there is a considerable gap between the movement leaders and adherents in terms of attribution and political consciousness. Movement initiators, ideologues and most active participants are Halkevleri members; leftist activists identifying themselves as revolutionists. The actual frame of HE is the rights of people and anti-neoliberalism[30] where sheltering problem is considered only as a natural consequence of a broader political and economic situation. Nevertheless in order to manage people to mobilize and act collectively in the valley, they limited their discourse to right to sheltering consciously.

Hence it is possible to offer that frame extension was realized at two levels. At first there has been a conscious "frame narrowing" -which will be elaborated further at the end of this chapter as a new frame alignment strategy- in the beginning and then when the perception was ripe enough, the framing was extended. And the primary reason for the extension was not to enlarge the adherent pool but to politicize the adherents and transform their perception in a way that it will be possible to integrate the movement with other social movements and networks.

4.1.2.4.Frame Transformation

Frame transformation is the frame alignment strategy which involves the framing activity that doesn't rely on the existing meanings, beliefs or values but challenges them and generates new ones. When the existing meanings and values are

---

[30] To what extent the extension towards anti-neoliberalism frame has been made by the movement leaders, is shared among the adherents is not known. In weekly meetings I didn't come across with any objection towards any expression of such, nevertheless this doesn't prove all the adherents are familiar with its definition or agree with it.

contradictory with the movement's primary interests and concerns, frame transformation can be very effective to reach a wider audience by awaking a new consciousness within people who were suffering from those existing beliefs but were accepting them. (Snow & Benford, 2000:625)

> "The programs, causes, and values that some SMOs promote, however, may not resonate with, and on occasion may even appear antithetical to, conventional lifestyles or rituals and extant interpretive frames. When such is the case, new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or "misframings" reframed (Goffman, 1974:308) in order to garner support and secure participants. What may be required, in short, is a transformation of frame." (Snow and others, 1986: 473)

"…,there is a change in the perceived seriousness of the condition such that what was previously seen as an unfortunate but tolerable situation is now defined as inexcusable, unjust, or immoral, thus connoting the adoption of an injustice frame or variation thereof" (Snow and others, 1986:473) Nevertheless the development and adoption of an injustice frame is not sufficient to account for the direction of action.

> "A life of impoverishment may be defined as an injustice, but its relationship to action is partly dependent, as attribution theorists would argue, on whether blame or responsibility is internalized or externalized. Thus, the emergence of an injustice frame must be accompanied by a corresponding shift in attributional orientation." (Snow and others, 1986: 474)

Transformation of domain-specific interpretive frames: Transformation of domain-specific interpretive frames refers the reframing of a previously accepted particular domain of life, as problematic or unjust, such as dietary habits, consumption patterns, leisure activities, social relationships, self-perception. (ibid.,474)

Transformations of global interpretive frames: "in this final frame alignment process, the scope of change is broadened considerably as a new primary framework gains ascendance over others and comes to function as a kind of master frame that interprets events and experiences in a new key." (ibid.,475)

" One of the major consequences of this more sweeping variety of frame transformation is that it reduces ambiguity and uncertainty and decreases the prospect of "misframings" or interpretive "errors" and "frame disputes" (Goffman, 1974:301-38) In short everything is seen with greater clarity and certainty." (Snow and others, 1986:475)

Frame transformation strategy is crucial in the mobilization of valley people as it is such a social group that inherently has no tendency or capacity to oppose in any organized and collective way. The emergence of the mobilization has started with unorganized reactions of a reflexive sort by the confused valley people. In order to transform those reflexes to an organized collective action, frame transformation has been invoked in a multi-leveled fashion to enhance radical cognitive shifts in certain perceptions of the people to be mobilized within DVRtSM.

Those levels can be identified as;

1. Transformation of the negative perception of opposition as -transformation of domain-specific interpretive frame-

2. Transformation of perception of gecekondu -as transformation of domain-specific interpretive frame-

3. Introduction of a new concept: right to sheltering
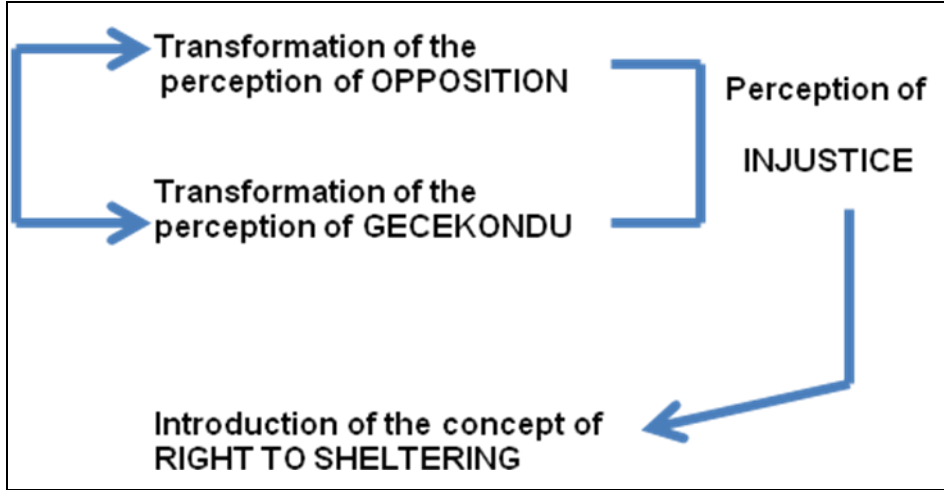
Figure 4 3 Levels of Frame Transformation in the DVRtSM

4.1.2.4.1.Transformation of the negative conception of opposition: the organization of reflex as collective action

In order to discuss how the frame transformation processes have been carried out, it is necessary to start by telling the initial mobilization processes. As for the presence of feeling of injustice: it was not readily present in valley people's minds in the beginning. It was not the perception of an unjust situation or a clear understanding of a certain grievance that urged people to act in the first place. It is possible to claim that all of the first reactions given by valley people in response to the newly heard situation were survival reflexes of the poor or reactions given to an unfavorable, confusing situation; but not conscious organized collective behavior of opposition. In other words, the beginning of the mobilization was based on the sum of natural, unorganized, non collective reactions to an unfavorable situation.

> "In the first process it was like this for example: I have a house, where shall I go, I have no alternative, if I rent a place, I am out anyway."[31] (Cemile, 30, HE activist)

> "Above all I did not have anything else to rely on, my child was ill my husband does not have a proper job, what attached me here was my house. If I left this house the

---

[31] "İlk süreçte şeydi mesela benim bir evim var nereye gidiyim yani, başka bir alternatifim yok, kiraya gitsem, şey olcak, yine ortada kalıcam."

76

place I go would be very bad. Why? Because I was going to pay rent. I could afford the rent or not, I was concerned about it. I did not have a regular job, I was concerned about that. First of all, I made effort for this place; I would not let them destroy this work in a moment."[32] (Ayşe, 33, Homemaker)

It is also important to note that prior to the early mobilization efforts in response to the project, there were no neighborhood organizations operating in the area. People mainly relied on citizentry; muhtars[33] and heads of the cooperatives, dedes[34] were the main source of influences regarding neighborhood issues. "Precarious legal status and the lack of basic infrastructure are obvious reasons to build up organizations in slums, squatter settlements and low-income quarters. Although the problems faced are shared by all members of a local community, they are not necessarily perceived as common interests which require collective action. If individual strategies fail people may rely on clans, cliques or patron-client relations rather than on forming organized groups." (Berner, 1997: 171) Likewise as Nelson suggested it was only when the project and the threat of eradication were came to known a substantial core of residents felt it is an important problem enough to devote time and energy. "At least a substantial core of residents must feel that some aspect of neighborhood life creates a high-priority problem for them- a problem important enough so that they are willing to devote time, energy, and usually some money to its solution. The most dramatic instance of a high-priority, shared problem is the threat of eradication. (Nelson, 1979: 255)." (Berner, 1997:174)

In the beginning people were getting together simply to make sense of the situation; to understand the terms of the project and to discuss the advantages and disadvantages. Meanwhile there have been going a continuous pressure from municipality: official vehicles were touring the valley annoucing that it they won't sign the contract and leave the land in 15 days, their gecekondus will be demolished by force. In addition to that the mayor was giving speechs very often at that period in

---

[32] "Bir de güveneceğim başka bir şey yoktu herşeyden önce, bir tane çocuğum vardı hastaydı eşimin doğru düzgün bir işi yok, bei buraya bağlayan bu evdi. Yani ben bu evden çıkarsam gideceğim yer çok kötü bi yer olcaktı, çünkü niye kiraya gidecektim. Ödeyebilir miyim ödeyemez miyim onun endişesi vardı. Düzenli bir iş yok onun endişesi vardı. herşeyden önce ben buraya emek vermiştim, benim bu emeği de bir anda silip atmalarına da göz yumamazdım."
[33] Muhtar is the elected authorized person who administers the neighborhoods and villages
[34] Alevi dedesi: "Alewi Grandfather", religious leader of Alewis

written and visual media, threating gecekondu dwellers about the demolishing. There was a chaotic atmosphere and people were confused and afraid. There were various sources of influence with different suggestions and claims. Beside the municipality officials, there were muhtars of the neighborhoods and heads of cooperatives who mostly encouraged people to sign the contract. Whereas Halkevleri members and some skeptic gecekondu dwellers were suggesting not to rely on the accounts of the municipality about the project.

"Because, until that time none of us had taken part in a protest or something. Because we were afraid and discouraged. We were thinking that we might get into trouble. But we have to do something against injustice done to us, that is raging inside us first. My home is taken from me, I need to do something, what can I do: there is an office here, I gotta go there, also I must be there. That way we came together."[35] (Mualla, 47, Homemaker)

"...there is a very simple problem, to develop a reflex against that, a reflex of not signing the contracts. You translate this into a call, and people, maybe as they don't have anything to loose, as they would loose their houses alone, they respond to this call. A trust based relation is established in a longer period though. But a certain behavior comes out, I mean a certain way of resistance comes out, and a concrete response of this is maybe the right to sheltering bureaus that we establish in Ankara." [36] (Serkant, 33, HE activists)

The major part of the valley people is low wage workers or people who work temporary jobs, without a stable income. Unemployment rate is also high. Therefore loosing their gecekondu is a real economic threat to their livelihood. Households who had better economic conditions left in the early stages of the process as they could afford not being able to stand the psychological pressure and physical threats coming

---

[35] "Çünkü hiçbirimiz o zamana kadar eylem, etkinlik şeyinde bulunmamışız, korkmuşuz, çekinmişiz. Gidersek başımızın belaya gireceğini düşünmüşüz. Ama bize yapılan bu haksızlığa karşı bir şey yapmamız lazım, yani içimizde ilk kabaran o. Benim evim elimden alınıyor buna karşı bir şey yapmam lazım. Ne yapıcam, burda bir büro var, ben oraya gitmeliyim, orda ben de olmalıyım. O şekilde bir araya geldik."

[36] "Çok basit bir sorun var, ona karşı bir refleks geliştirmek: sözleşmeleri imzalamama refleksi. Bunu bir çağrı haline dönüştürüyorsun, insanlar kaybedecek bir şeyleri olmadığı için belki, tek başlarına evlerinden olacakları için ilk önce buna icazet ediyorlar, ama bir güven ilişkisi daha uzun vadede kuruluyor. Ama burada bir davranış biçimi açığa çıkıyor, yani bir direnme biçimi açığa çıkıyor ve doğalında bunun somut karşılığında da bizim Ankara'da yaptığımız Barınma Hakkı büroları oluyor belki."

from the municipality. Nevertheless, there are also considerable emotional attachments to gecekondus and neighborhoods as people built the houses, gardens and roads themselves and improved the living conditions by time. In addition to that their social network is spatially defined, there are very effective networks of solidarity to cope with poverty and hardship.

As it was denoted before, the feeling of injustice is crucial for an organized mobilization to emerge and evolve. So far, what I accounted for, refers only to a natural resistance, a reflex but not an organized set of actions regarding a situation which is perceived as unjust. In this case, there are peculiar reasons that made it difficult to transform this reflex to opposition. It is possible to say that the major part of the audience subjected to be mobilized is inherently reluctant to contradict in any way with the state and any state institution. There was a path to follow to convert this reflex to conscious attitude throughout the ensuring of perception of injustice. Thus the first impediment to overcome over the mobilization was to break this negative perception of opposition.

Valley people vary in terms of political orientation and the perception of the state and state's law enforcement agencies. The major part of the residents is consisted of right winger traditional families coming from rural areas who was voting for AKP and MHP and other right wing political parties. There are also people who defined themselves as leftists and indicated that they voted for CHP, ÖDP. Despite this heterogeneity, it is possible to say there is not so much variation in terms of the perception of opposition. Even left oriented people who were critical of state politics did not necessarily have strong oppositional tendencies in terms of protesting and demanding their rights. This was either due to that they were afraid of the police forces or they were not optimistic about the outcome. Most of the valley people had no connection with any political organization and had not ever attended in any kind of march, rally, protest or any kind of public opposition. They often denote that they were not sympathetic with political organizations, movements, protests and protestors; they would rather criticize them for being unrealistic or refer to their actions as being pointless if not immoral. They would avoid any kind of interaction with such a group. They didn't believe that any effort can actually change something

whether it is made alone or collectively. In addition to that major part was trusting and relying on the state and public authorities; state was something that could not be unjust per se, therefore opposition to state was out of question. They also didn't think they could rely on each other; they were skeptic of other people's participation and support to the movement. People relied on formal institutions, for them, municipality, police were respected and feared authorities that would defend and protect citizens and work in favor of them. It is possible to say that "father state"[37] perception was common.

> "Me, Ayşe, Nadire Cemile we visited houses and told people that it is so, our houses would be demolished, let's struggle and don't let it happen. Many people said all right, but many others said: "are you stupid, what can you do?"[38] (Fatma, 39, Worker)

> "...there were both people who believed us and who didn't believe us, who said we were working in vain, because who we had in front was not an ordinary mayor: he is a person of whom everybody is scared, intimidated, more a monster than a person. There were also many people who voted for him, plus there were people who were getting social aid from municipality. So people were in-between: if we participate our social aid will be cut, the party we voted for will turn us it's back. So we were working very hard to convince them." [39] (Ayşe, 33, Homemaker)

> "I have talked about this also with the head of our cooperative, and Brother Arif, would always tell me, my daughter you try in vain, you walk the streets and houses, but who you have in the front is a very big person." [40] (Ayşe, 33, Homemaker)

---

[37] Father state is a common expression which acounts for the perception of the authoriterian state by its complacent subordinates. The state is referred to as *devlet baba* (father state) and it is historically and popularly assocaiated as the source of bread, and rule. Anarchy has always been perceived of as a demonic concept in Turkish villages. (Bacık, 2001: 56-57) The popular term Devlet Baba (Father State) reflected this patriarchal image of a state that interfered in everything and that was supposed to take care of all needs. (Vanderlippe, 2005: 19)

[38] "Ben, Ayşe, Nadire, Cemile, ev ev gezdik, işte böyle böyle dedik, evlerimiz yıkılacakmış biz yıktırmayalım mücadele edelim. Çoğu insan tamam dedi, ama çoğu insan da bunlar salak mıdır yani siz ne yapabilirsiniz dediler."

[39] "...ondan sonra da tabii bu süre içerisinde bize inanan da oldu inanmayan da oldu, emeğimizin boşa gittiğini söyleyen de oldu. Çünkü karşımızdaki sıradan bir belediye başkanı da değil, Ankara'da herkesin korktuğu çekindiği bir insan, insandan ziyade bir yaratık. Bi de o insanlara oy veren insan da çoktu burda. Artı belediyeden yardım alanlar da çoktu. Böyle olunca insanlar iki arada kalmış oluyordu: biz size katılırsak yardımımız kesilir, oy verdiğimiz parti bize sırtını döner. Öyle olunca da biz onları ikna etmek için baya bir çaba harcıyoduk."

[40] "Ya işte bunu izim kooperatif başkanı Arif Abi'yle de konuşmuştum: Arif Abi de bana hep

"I thought like this: I said, will 3 people overthrow the state? … you don't understand at that time. But by the time I frequented the office, you start to understand. You go to health you have problem. Then I started to participate." [41] (Kerime, 46, Homemaker)

"I mean, even people in the neighborhood, our own people relatives, would say: what can they do, they want what they say to be done. Even my father-in-law and father-in law of Sultan would have been talking on our back: they will save the country, they will save Dikmen Valley. But we didn't care, we toured (the people in the valley to convince them to act together-interpreter's note)" [42] (Fatma, 39, Worker)

"Can we really cope with Melih Gökçek? I was thinking on my own. But sometimes I would also think that if all Dikmen Valley rises up, yes we could do it. I would sit and think, I would think in the bed. What I understood is that you can."[43] (Fatma, 39, Worker)

"Sometimes we laugh at ourselves and wonder whether ours is the courage of the stupid. We made great effort for this place that is maybe source of power. We carried stone on our backs. My house is on the slope, cars cannot enter. We have worked so much for here."[44] (Mualla, 47, Homemaker)

And even some of them who always defined themselves as leftist and denoted that they have been on the streets to protest for different reasons, were also reluctant to support the mobilization efforts in the valley.

"First they told me "there is man with a beard and he will save this place". I did not go

---

söylüyodu, kızım işte boşuna çabalıyosun, boşuna emek harcıyosun, sokak sokak ev ev geziyosun, karşındaki çok büyük bi insan"

[41] "Şöyle düşündüm, üç kişi koca hükümeti mi yıkacak dedim, anlamıyosun ki… ha gidip geldikçe yerleşti işte sağlığa gidiyosun sorun yaşıyosun. Ondan sonra gitmeye başladım."

[42] "Yani mahallemizdeki insanlar bile, kendi çevremiz, kendi akrabalarımız bile: bunlar ne yapabilir, napıcaz, bunlarınki de desinler olsun. Kayınbabam bile, Sultan'ın kayınbabası bile, bunlar da ülkeyi kurtaracak, Dikmen Vadisi'ni kurtaracak diye arkamızdan konuşuyolarmış. Biz hiç aldırış etmedik, dolaştık."

[43] "Ya Melih Gökçek'le baş gelebilir miyiz? Kendi kendime de düşünüyodum. Ama bazen de düşünüyodum ki yani bu Dikmen Vadisi hepsi ayaklanırsa gelebiliriz de. Oturup düşünüyodum, yatakta dşünüyodum. Demek ki geliniyomuş."

[44] "Bazen kendi kendimize gülüyoruz bizim ki aptal cesaretimi diye. Biz buraya çok emek verdik herhalde onun gücü. Sırtımızda taş taşıdık. Benim evim bayırda, araba girmiyor. Burada çok emeğimiz var."

down (attend the meetings-interpreter's note), because it sounded ridiculous. I said, "whoever he is, first he must save his own house and then he can save ours." Because I did not know how and where he came from."[45] (Güllü, 32, Secretary)

"So we thought: we worked a lot for this place, we gave our youth here, there are mistakes here, and they have to be solved, therefore we will act together, we will be an organized society. But maybe it took one year so we could full grasp what is being an organized society. We could only understand then that labour is power, when we act together we can achieve evertything and mistakes are confronted more courageously." [46] (Mualla, 47, Homemaker)

Hence the primary thing to be transformed was this negative perception of opposition, and the idea that they had no such power to oppose the state and even if they do oppose in some way they would not get any result. The very first thing to transform in order to make the mobilization such an audience possible is this negative perception of opposition. This process integrates with belief amplification process where the belief for a positive outcome is enhanced. Negative perception of opposition goes hand in hand with a passive perception of citizenship, acting as a subservient vassal, rather than the demanding citizen. Frame transformation here works simultaneously and while it reframes opposition and it also transforms the self-perception of the individuals, return them the power to demand, to criticize, to oppose, to question. The first level of frame transformation is an example of domain specific interpretive as there is reframing of self-perception which stems from a powerless conception of citizenship and jettison of the old understanding state-vassal relationship.

Accordingly, the image of demanding powerful citizen is continuously consolidated within the movement discourse. "What we have done till today is that we give and we don't call to account, we go and vote, we don't call to account. We shall become a

---

[45] "Bana ilk önce şey dediler "sakallı bir adam var burayı kurtaracak", bana çok saçma geldiği için ben de inmedim (büroya ve toplantılara-çevirenin notu). Dedim ki, "o kimse önce kendi evini kurtarsın sonra bizi kurtarır" falan dedim ben, nerden nasıl geldiğini bilmediğim için."
[46] "Öyle oluncadedik ki doğru biz buraya emek verdik, gençliğimizi verdik, burda yanlışlar var, bunların çözülmesi lazım öyleyse biz burda birlikte olacağız, örgütlü bir toplum olacağız. Ama belki 1 yılı uldu örgütlü toplumun ne olduğunu tam kavramamız. Kuvvetin emek olduğunu, birlikte herşeyin başarılacak demek olduğunu, yanlışın üstüne daha cesaretle gideleceğini anca o zaman anladık."

community which calls to account."[47] (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Head of İlker Halkevi, leader of the movement) The emphasis made on the effectiveness of collective action and solidarity gave its fruits

"Whatever it is, it is not only sheltering; if you fight, and above all if you believe, I believed that everything could be achieved. Because it is not only sheltering, health or education, in every issue you cannot achieve anything individually. But when you insist in something that you believe collectively, there is nothing you cannot achieve, I learned this. Struglle is this, to believe first of all and hang on that belief. But of course this is communal, things do not happen individually".[48] (Ayşe, 33, Homemaker)

"While fighting you understand the importance of some values: being strictly together with other people, sharing this life. With strangers you enter a struggle together."[49] (Cemil, 37, Unemployed)

There are several aspects identified by the movement leaders which served to overcome the difficulty of negative perception of opposition. These overlapping aspects will be discussed under tree headings:

1. Right to Sheltering Bureau,

2. Principle of "No Politics"

3. The attack of 1st of February

---

[47] "Bugüne kadar yapamadığımız şey zaten bir tanesi şudur: veririz, hesap sormayız, gideriz oy kullanırız, hesap sormayız. Hesap soran bir topluluk haline gelelim."

[48] "Ne olursa olsun bir tek barınma konusunda değil, mücadele edilirse herşeyden önce inanılırsa herşeyin başarılacağına inandım. Çünkü bir tek barınma, sağlık, eğitim değil, her konuda yani toplumsal olarak. Yani birey olarak zaten bir şey yapamazsın, ama toplumsal olarak inandığın bir şey üzerinde durduğun zaman başaramayacağın bir şey yok bunu öğrendim. Yani mücadele budur, yani herşeyden önce inanmak ve inandığının üstüne gitmek. ama tabii ki bu toplumsal, yani bazı şeyler bireysel olmuyor."

[49] "Mücadelede insanların daha birbiriyle sıkı bir şekilde beraber olmasını, bu hayatı paylaşmayı bazı değerlerin ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlıyorsunuz. Hiç tanımadığınız insanlarla bir mücadele içine giriyosunuz."
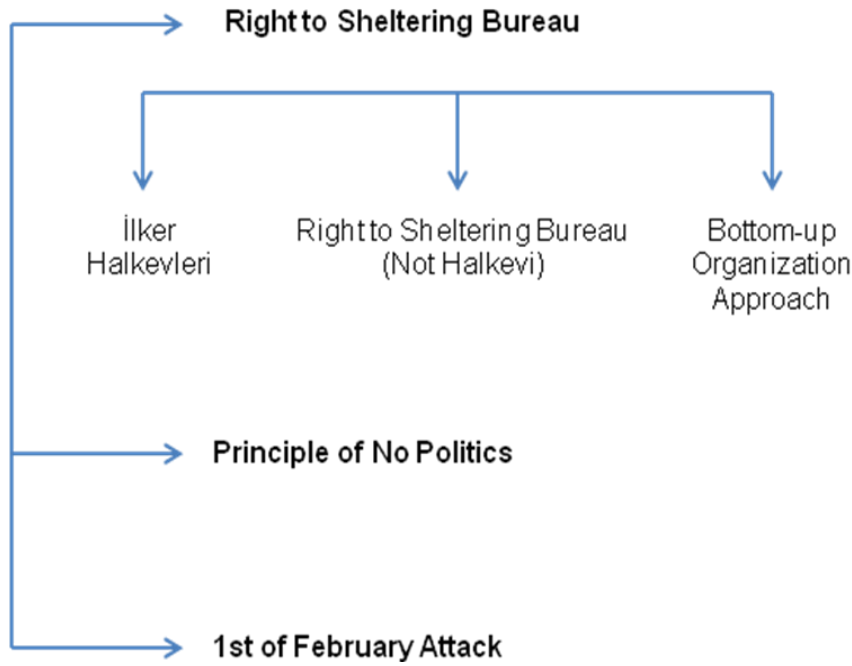
Figure 5 The Factors Helped to the Tranformation of the Negative Perception of Opposition

4.1.2.4.1.1. Right to Sheltering Bureau

Right to sheltering bureau is a key factor in the mobilization of the DVRtSM for several reasons. It functioned as a center of meeting and constituted an address and communication center for the external connections of the movement. A spatial entity was essential to maintain the continuity of the mobilization; it was a haunt not only for organizational matters but also for socializing which was very critical for the valley people in the beginning as they hardly knew or trusted each other. It was very important for the solidarity building. The ways in which the existence of the Bureau helped the transformation of the perception of opposition can be categorized in three aspects:

1. İlker Halkevi

At the time when the project was announced, there was İlker Halkevi, one of the

district branch of Halkevleri, located very close to the valley neighborhoods. It has been functioning in the area for several years and had connections with the valley neighborhoods especially with alevi neighborhoods and the neighborhoods that have been established in 1970s with Dev-Yol endeavor and populated by people with leftist background. The head of İlker Halkevi was Tarık Çalışkan who has been living in the valley in one of the gecekondus since 1970s, who was also from Dev-Yol tradition and known by those populations. There were other few valley people who had contact with İlker Halkevi, mainly women who have participated to handcraft courses. When the project was herd, one of those women from one of Alevi neighborhood, namely Sultan, visited the bureau to get informed about it. With this first attempt, Tarık Çalışkan and two other young Halkevleri members who were volunteering in İlker Halkevi started to get informed about the project and organize meetings.

There are several important factors here that worked in favor of the early mobilization attempts to succeed. The first, is the the fact that there was an Halkevi very close to valley. Halkevi provided the organizational experience and knowledge necessary to create and maintain the mobilization. Although few people from valley, -with respect to the sum-, had connections with Halkevleri, that little acquitance served in a great extent in the beginning. It had also disadvantages regarding the same issues, but they have been overcome by several ways which will be accounted in the following titles.

The second aspect is that the head of İlker Halkevi was a gecekondu dweller living in the valley. This helped people to trust more easily to the mobilization efforts of Tarık Çalışkan and his team, as they thought "He has the same interests as we have so he won't cheat us". Besides, Tarık Çalışkan's political background and his leadership in İlker, provided the movement with the leadership quality.

2. The organization of the movement under the Bureau instead of Halkevleri

As the social structure in the valley is heterogeneous in terms of political orientation, ethnicity, race and religion, Halkevleri was not sympathetic to all valley people. Even for the ones who identified themselves as leftists or who are sympathetic with leftist

politics and political organizations of this sort were distant and hesitant: they were afraid to be blacklisted or they were afraid their children would be involved in noninstitutional politics and got into trouble with the state. Besides there were many people who were openly against Halkevleri because of the ideology it represents. In such conditions, to unite all the valley people together with all of their political diversities did not seem possible under the name of Halkevleri. As a consequence of this the office they opened in the valley was not a Halkevi, but a Right to Sheltering Bureau, which had the potential to neutralize the political diversities by highlighting the commonality of the grievance.

3. Bottom-up organization approach

As a coherent continuation of the fact that Bureau was established under the name of Right to Sheltering but not Halkevleri, in the organization of the movement Halkevleri members were trying to remain at the background not as the leaders to manage the movement from top to bottom, but as the entrepreneurs who facilitate the mobilization and be effective in the framing of it while encouraging the valley people to be the implementer and decision makes in every level of the organization. There was a people's assembly representing the neighborhoods in the valley, to discuss and decide about the valley issues. By this way the movement would evolve as independent body of grassroots.

4.1.2.4.1.1.İlker Halkevi

The facts that there is a Halkevi in İlker close to the valley neighborhoods, and the head of this Halkevleri is Tarık Çalışkan, the leader of the movement, one of the oldest residents of the valley, a gecekondu owner without document and there are valley people who frequented this office, who participated to the courses given by the office are very important factors for DVRtSM could emerge in the first place.

> "The main reason this struggle became permanent is that there was a Halkevi in "Ilker" and that we were in this Halkevi. Because we were carrying out an activity there. How did this organization came out, I can say on my own behalf if we have not interfered here this organization would not emerge. (Tarık Çalışkan in Focus Group 2, 61,

Leader)" [50]

İlker Halkevleri provided the organization experience and knowledge and network necessary for the mobilization to emerge and to evolve. It provided the leadership capacity for the movement. Tarık Çalışkan, as a member of Halkevleri, as a person who has been in political organizations since his youth, as a person who had gecekondu in the said problem area, thus share the same problem, was a big chance for the movement. He had the experience and capacity to appeal to people and the fact that he had a gecekondu, and that he was also from valley, provided people listen and trust him.

> "For instance, a woman friend asked me a nice question. She said: "Tarık, I clearly need to hear something from you. If you did not live here, would you go there and organize this?" I stopped and really, if I was not living there I would not organize them; at least I would not feel that. Later, I said no, I would not, because in many different parts of Ankara this same thing happened and but this couldn't achieved why it could not be achieved? For instance, what provides us to organize, one of the biggest chances of this place, was that there was a Halkevleri very close to us." [51] (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)

Halkevleri provided other young agents who devoted themselves to the movement like Cemile, Özgür and Serkant. Those agents carried their mobilization experience and knowledge and devoted their full time for the organization. Halkevleri also provided the expertise by city planners, lawyers, professional chambers and municipality officials by the help of its social and political network. Ender Büyükçulha, was another member of Halkevleri, who worked as the voluntary lawyer of the movement.

---

[50] "Bu mücadelenin kalıcı bir duruma geçmesinin ana kaburgalarında bir tanesi İlker'de bir halkevinin oluşu ve bu halkevinin içersinde bizim oluşumuz. Çünkü biz orda bir faaliyet yürütüyoduk. Bu örgütlülük nerden ortaya çıktı? Ben kendi adıma söylüyorum, biz buraya müdehale etmeseydik, bu örgütlülük olmayacaktı."

[51] "Mesela bana sorulan hoş bir soru vardı, bir bayan arkadaş bana dedi ki, Tarık senden çok net duymak istediğim bir şey var dedi, sen dedi burada oturmasaydın, sen dedi oraya gidip örgütler miydin? Durdum şöyle, hakkaten ben orda olmasaydım örgütleyemezdim, yani onu hissetmezdim en azından. Sonra hayır dedim, yapamazdım çünkü Ankara'nın bir çok farklı yerinde bu gerçekleşti, yapılamadı niye yapılamadı? Mesela bizim burda örgütlülüğümüzü sağlayan şey, buranın en büyük şanslarından bir tanesi hemen yakınımızda Halkevleri vardı."

İlker Halkevi had organic ties with very small amount of valley people, but even that much of relation helped a lot. People, mainly women who frequented İlker Halkevi, became the pioneers of the mobilization.

4.1.2.4.1.2. The organization of the movement under the Bureau instead of Halkevleri

Tarık Çalışkan indicates that to organization of the movement not as a branch of Halkevleri but as an independent body of right to sheltering was critical. He mentions the process that determined the role of Halkevleri when he tells the story of emergence of the movement. Tarık Çalışkan was the head of İlker Halkevi[52] at the time, when he, two other young Halkevleri members, Cemile and Özgür and some other people from different organizations and a couple of valley people, first started to hold the first meetings, there was not so much of interest, and soon there was a rumor spread in the neighborhood, saying that they are from Halkevleri, hence they are against Melih Gökçek and his mentality independent of the situation about the project, and calling others not to align with them. Tarık Çalışkan denotes that they continued anyway and organized another meeting in İlker Halkevi to test the waters. "We organized another meeting and we saw that again there is no result. Then we found another place and held a meeting there, and we saw that the number (of attendents-tn.) increased. This meant, I mean the practice itself told us: you won't be able to do this through Halkevleri; you should different methods and means. Then we decided to go to valley and settle there because it is a big area, people don't come up here, and they don't want to as there is an intense rumor." (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)[53]

"We saw that in political and religious terms, there are very different cultures here. While we were thinking about how to enter here, it would not happen with Halkevleri

---

[52] The district branch of Halkeleri: İlker is the district of which valley neigborhoods make part.

[53] "...sonra biz şöyle bir nabız yokladık bir Halkevi'nde toplantı yapalım kimler gelcek, sayı çok iyi bir sayı olmadı, sonra bunlar mahalleye şeyi yaydılar. Bunlar halkevciler bunlar zaten Melih Gökçek'e o zihniyete karşılar bunlara yanaşmayın gibi dedikodular yayılmaya başladı, biz yola devem dedik. o toplantıdan çıkan şeyleri bir bildiri haline getirip yine mahalleye dağıttık. Gelenler genelde eski solculardı, bir kaç da hakikaten mahalleden biraz daha duyarı adamlar geldiler. bi toplantı daha yaptık sonra baktık yine sonuç yok. Sonradan farklı bir yer bulduk orda toplantı yaptık baktık sayı yükseldi. Bu şu anlama da geldi, yani pratik bize onu söyledi, halkevleriyle yapamayacaksınız bu işi, başka yöntemler araçlar bulun dedi. Sonra biz dedik vadiye gidelim yerleşelim, vadi zaten büyük bi yer, adam buraya gelmiyor, gelmek de istemiyor çünkü yoğun bir dedikodu var.

of course. Because people fed grudge towards Halkevleris more accurately they fed grudge towards public opposition." [54] (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)

Thus, they established an office, an office that would function as the center of the organization, represent the movement, to become an address for people for solidarity. It was named not as Halkevi but as "barınma", sheltering, which pointed out the relative independence of the movement.

"They say that down there, there is a formation going on; they say a bureau has been established. But who established this bureau? For instance, why I did not know about Halkevleri before. They say there are Tarık Çalışkan, Ali Şenol, lawyerthere . We hear these all the time, but there is also Halkevleri, we do not know about that at all." [55] (Mualla in Focus group 2, 47, Homemaker)

"We used to know Halkevleri. We used to know friends from Halkevleri but we do not go there. I went to Ilker Halkevi. I said I want to get some information. I met Tarık Çalışkan there." [56] (Mahmut, 52, Gateman)

Cemile also indicates, how the expression of their identity as Halkevleri members, relates in terms of concerns about trust building and breaking the common prejudices regarding left and opposition. "In the beginning, our identity as Halkevleri member was always at the back. We were there as people from the neighborhood[57], we hired there a house for instance. After one and half year we hired a house and we settled there. For example, there is a movie screening "down" (where the office is-interpreter's note), I would gather and bring the women down. We would go walking, we would go running together (with women-interpreter's note)... As I said, by things

---

[54] "Şöyle gördük burda siyasal anlamda, politik ve dinsel anlamda çok farklı kültürler var burda, biz buraya nasıl girebilirizi düşünürken tabii ki Halkevleri'yle olmayacaktı zaten .... Çünkü insanların Halkeveleri'ne karşı, daha doğrusu toplumsal muhalaefete karşı içinde beslenen kinler vardı."

[55] "Aşağıda bir oluşum var diyolar, bir şeyler oluyor, bir büro kuruldu deniyo ama bu büroyu kim kurmuş, yani mesela ben ilk önce he nden de haberim yok. işte tarık çalışkan, ali şenol, avukat var diyolar. Hep bunları duyuyoruz, ama burda Halkevleri var, onları falan da biz bilmiyoruz hiç."

[56] "Halkevlerini biliyoruz, Halkevi'nden arkadaşları tanıyoruz ama gidip gelmiyoruz. İlker Halkevi'ne gittim. Bilgi almak istiyorum dedim. Tarık Çalışkan'la orda tanıştım."

[57] It is important to note here that Cemile had relatives living in the neighborhood so she was relatively familiar to alevi community living in the valley, which surely facilitate the tust building process.

89

as such, for example if someone would get sick, we visited." (Cemile, 33, HE activist)[58]

4.1.2.4.1.3. Bottom-up organization approach

Finally it is possible to state that, the organization approach was also critical in the success of participation. A bottom-up organization approach is adopted, where the Halkevleri and the movement leaders preferred to be in the background as much as possible. They also kept their Halkevleri identity at the background. In other words there were there not to direct the movement in a hierarchical order but to facilitate the mobilization processes. Politicization of people has been constituted by these processes where adherents are involved actively in every process of the movement, whether be it decision making regarding the attitude to be taken for a certain political issue, or the organization of distribution of leaflets in a certain place at a certain time.

Özgür states that what made mobilization possible in such conditions was to provide the organization of the movement realized by the adherents instead a top-down approach where HE members are the leaders to say people what to do and what no to. HE members state that they preferred to be invisible with their HE identity and to learn within the process together with the valley people, letting them to become agents of the organization.

> "...,we saw we have to build this by the bottom,..., because the neighborhood is very big,..., and we (organizers-interpreter's note) are very few in number, people to whom we can express our aims are very few, it is a mass that we have never contacted before, actually we dealt with a crew of which 80 per cent who doesn't know us, who calls us as (pejoratively) leftist, alewi...". (Özgür, 33, HE activist)[59]

> "We never said no to urban transformation without discussing for instance, because

---

[58] "İlk dönemde Halkevci kimliğimiz hep gerideydi. Biz de oranın şeyi olarak, orda oturan gibi. Mesela ev tuttuk orda, 1.5 sene sonra ev tuttuk yerleştik. Mesela aşağıda film gösterimi yapılacak, yukarda ben kadınları topluyodum. Koşuya çıkıyoduk, yürüyüşe çıkıyoduk...Dediğim gibi bu tür şeylerle, biri hasta olsa yanına gidiyoduk."
[59] "...bu sefer şunu görmüş olduk, bizim bu işi alttan örmemiz lazım, ciddi bir süreç gelmeden, çünkü mahalle çok büyük,..., ve bizim sayımız çok az, derdimizi anlatacak meramımızı anlatacak insan sayısı çok az ve hiç temas etmediğimiz bir kitle aslında, %80'i bizi hiç tanımayan, bize tipik solcu, alevi bunlar vs. diyebilen bir kitleyle temas ettik aslında."

then it would be something like; some people come from outside and say something, and people would not take it serious, and we could never build something like this."[60] (Özgür, 33, HE activist)

"In this neighborhood, the organization is actually made by the neighborhood people, for instance, the flow of information regarding the organization, with the announcements and megaphones. We made several meetings and we made this organization through the neighborhood representation. They talked about their problems themselves and they called for the mobilization. There was no such a situation where we were at the front or I was visiting the houses one by one and calling people to something."[61] (Özgür, 33, HE activist)

"At that time I was at Saimekadın, and something is happening at Dikmen, we were trying to intervene. Many discussions had been made at that time: should we defend gecekondu or not and if we were going to defend it, through which demands we would do it, how we would expose this to the public opinion? … Yet, in fact, what taught us was the condition of community, the demands of the community, the approach of the community. Of course when our revolutionist, political friends' involvement into the case was combined with the consciousness of the people there, there emerged a very positive thing." (Ferhat, 31, HE activist) [62]

Such an approach is also identified as a new method within the leftist movement. The practices of the prevalent leftist organizations are identified as the interventions of the outsiders with a top-to-bottom approach. Özgür expresses that "...left, in years, in neighborhoods, built a kind of relationship that introduces alternatives which function as external interventions, calling people to this certain place (to protest, tn.),

---

[60] "Kentsel dönüşüme kafadan hayır demedik mesela hiçbir zaman, çünkü o şöyle bir durum olurdu, birileri gelip dışardan bir şey demiş olacaktı, birileri bunu ciddiye almıcaktı, hiçbi zaman böyle bir şey kuramıcaktık."

[61] "Bu mahallede asıl örgütlenmeyi bizim bu mahallenin insanları yaptı, Mesela kentsel dönüşüme dair bilgi akışını, mesela bildirilerle, megafonlarla, çeşitli toplantılarla yaptık ve bu organizasyonu mahalle temsilciliği üzerinden yaptık. Onlar kendi dertlerini kendileri anlattılar ve kendileri aslında örgütlenmeye çağırdılar. Bizim ön planda olduğumuz, mesela benim evleri tek tek dolaşıp milleti bilmem neye çağırdığım bir durum olmadı aslında."

[62] "...ben o zaman Saimekadın'daydım, ve Dikmen'de bir şeyler oluyor, biz de müdahil olmaya çalışıyoruz, çok fazla tartışma döndü o zaman, yani işte, gecekondu, savunmalı mıyız savunmamalı mıyız, savuncaksak hangi taleplerle, bunu nasıl anlatıcaz kamuoyuna, filan gibi baya bir tartışma döndü, ama bize öğreten aslında ahalinin durumu, ahalinin talepleri, ahalinin olaya yaklaşımı bize öğretti, tabii ki bizim devrimci arkadaşlarımızın, politik arkadaşlarımızın olaya müdehalesi de ordaki insanların bilinciyle birleşince çok pozitif bir şey ortaya çıkmış oldu."

saying that there is a certain price increase made. We did just the opposite and I don't know if we did it consciously, but probably it came up that way due to our general working habits". (Özgür, 33, HE activist) [63]

"What we learned was actually this: not intervening from outside but you need to listen to people. Many people who never met us here, who voted for AKP, in the course of time saw, its exactly their statement, " we saw you in that way, you people who would protest on the streets, who would seek for their rights and justice, and today we see you in this way. What we wanted to build was this actually, we could sit as well and for example could make various decisions together with 3-5 people about the protests, this is the way it usually works generally, but we preferred just the opposite here." [64] (Özgür, 33, HE activist)

"Yes when there is no politics involved, when you establish a real relationship in regard to struggle of rights with who is really in need, then there comes out something, people embrace. And we don't try to canalize people politically." [65] (Özgür, 33, HE activist)

"When you realize the process of politicization not from above, but together with them by learning with them you get more successful in every area."[66] (Özgür, 33, HE activist)

Cemile indicates the continuity of the activities and meetings as an important factor that facilitated participation. She also mentions the spatial aspect is important, when the bureau was constructed it functioned as a center of mobilization and provided the common space for all kinds of activities that helped people primarily to get to know

---

[63] " Yıllardır memlekette, sol mahallelerde çok dışardan müdahele eden bir biçimde öneri sunan, zam varan gelin diye bilmem nereye çağıran bir ilişki kurdu. Burada biz tam tersi bir şey yaptık, bunu çok bilerek mi yaptık bilmiyorum, çalışma alışkanlığımzdan kaynaklı muhtemelen böyle bir çizgimiz oldu."
[64] "Burda öğrendiğiiz şey şuydu aslında, dışardan müdehale etme değil, insanları dinlemek gerek. Burda bize hiç buluşmayan, aslında AKP'ye oy atmış bir dizi insanın zaman içerisinde şunu görmüş oldu, aynen kendi beyanları sonuçta, " biz sizlere, dışarda eylem yapan hakkını hukukunu arayan insanlara şöyle bakıyoduk, bugün böyle bakıyoruz" . Bizim de biaz kurmaya çalıştığımız şey buydu burda. Biz burda böyle oturup, şöyle mesela bi dizi eylemlerde 3-5 kişi oturup çeşitli kararlar da alınbilirdi, hani genelde işleyen sistematik bu ama biz tam tersini tercih ettik."
[65] "Evet işin içinde siyasetin olmadığında hakkaten hak hukuk mücadelesinde ihtiyacı olanlarla gerçek bir ilişki kurduğunda, burdan bir şey çıkıyor, insanlar soruna sahip çıkıyor, biz burayı bir şeye yönledirmeye de çalışmıyoruz siyaseten."
[66] "Politikleşme sürecini çok fazla yukardan değil, onlarla birlikte öğrene öğrene yaptığın oranda her alanda başarılı olursun."

each other.

> "We have founded the Right to Sheltering (Bureau-interpreter's note). Events and Meetings were being regularly held there. We were trying to do something from below, like house meetings… we were organizing teams, women gatherings, we had a youth team. For instance we were trying to discuss other things as well, such as education, health, other than sheltering. I mean a lot has been done actually." [67] (Cemile, 33, HE activist)

4.1.2.4.1.4. No politics

The second factor that helped to overcome the difficulty regarding opposition is the organic rule of "no politics, no religion, no ethnicity, no race". This was not an assumption readily present in the mobilization agenda and knowledge but a formula that emerged by time in response to the sensitivities of the adherents observed by the movement leaders.

This strategy functioned in two ways: for the beginning it was effective in calling for more participation by the inhabitants, getting them together independent of their political or religious attachments, highlighting the common interests and grievances, dissolving the differences. And for the rest, it was essential in preserving the movement strength and integrity against the possible disengagement due to counter attacks coming from municipality and other sources.

Valley people vary in terms of ethnicity, religion, political orientation and origin of the hometown. There are Alewis, Sunnis, and Kurdish people, people who identify themselves as leftists, rightists or conservatives. The established social networks are based on those sections and the sections are manifested spatially; for example there are Alewi neighborhoods or people from Erzurum are living at a certain part of the valley. People from different networks hardly knew eachother and it was common that they had negative ideas about eachother.

---

[67] "Barınma hakkını (büro-çevirenin notu) kurmuş olduk...Orda düzenli toplantılar, düzenli etkinlikler falan yapılıyodu, biz alttan şeyler yapmaya çalışıyoduk, ev toplantıları, ..., ekipler kuruyoduk, kadın şeyleri vardı işte gençlik ekibimiz vardı, mesela orda başka şeyler de tartışmaya çalışıyoduk, eğitim, sağlık, barınmanın dışında..yani bir çok şey yapıldı aslında."

"And there were gaps between this neighbourhood[68] and that neighborhood[69]. I mean other neighbourhood seems close but it was far from us actually. I mean nobody could make us unite." (Güllü in Focus Group 1, 32, Secretary) [70]

"When this place was first established it was all relatives, most of them was alevi or from leftist side. Absolutely they did not come here, to this neighbourhood. With down under we did not have any word. But whenever we started this struggle, it brought us together. This struggle brought us together. I mean they came in such a time, the thing they managed well was here our struggle is not political we struggle for our homes. "(Güllü in Focus Group 1, 32, Secretary) [71]

"When we were united, from the municipiality they started calling us terrorist and they started saying this is ideological. They were in televisions frequently. Alevi's are dealing with these kind of things because of ideological reasons they gather together for instance our neighbours that went from here were told I wont go after alevis you go and you will be left half the way." (Mualla, 47, Homemaker) [72]

"We have friends of every kind living in canyon but we united here. There are friends of us who supported AKP as well. People of different religions are also involved in our struggle." (Mualla, 47, Homemaker) [73]

To sum up such a population was not an easy task. It was needed to make it clear first that they were all at the same side, sharing same poverty, suffering from the same problem, disadvantaged and unjustly treated by the same grievance. In order to emphasize this aspect of the situation the catch phrase was at work: here in the

---

[68] The lower neighborhood where people from Erzurum (a city at the east of Turkey) live

[69] The upper neighborhood where Alewi people from "Sivas and Yozgat" (two cities in the Middle Anatolia region at the east of Ankara)

[70] "...ve o mahalleyle bu mahalle arasında büyük bir uçurum vardı. Yani bu çok yakın gibi ama aslında bize çok çok uzak bir mahalleydi, yani kesinlikle kimse bizi onlarla birleştiremezdi"

[71] "Bura ilk şey olduğunda, kurulduğunda hep akrabaydı, çoğunluğu alevi kesimi solcu kesimdi. Kesinlikle şeyler gelemezdi buraya, bu mahalleye. Aşağıdakilerle selam sabahımız kesinlikle yoktu. Yani ne zamanki bu mücadeleye başladık, bizi biraraya getirdi, yani bu mücadele bizi biraraya getirdi. Hani öyle bir dönemde girdiler ve hani çok iyi yaptıkları bi şey şuydu, biz burda siyasi değil, biz burda ev mücadelesi yapıyoruz."

[72] "Bu birliktelik oluşunca belediye tarafından bunlar törerist, bunlar ideolojik demeye başladılar. Televizyonlara çok sık çıkıyorlardı. Aleviler uğraşıyor bu işlerle ideolojik sebeplerden dolayı toplanıyolar mesela burdan giden komşularımızın çoğu alevilerin arkasından gitmem siz gidin gidin yarı yolda kalırsınız denildi."

[73] "Vadide yaşayan her kesimden arkadaşımız var. Ama biz burada birleştik. AKP'ye emek vermiş arkadaşlarımız da var aramızda. Farklı inançlardan insanlar da mücadele içerisinde."

office, there is no discrimination regarding ethnicity, race, religion or language. We don't make politics here, we struggle for our shelters.

""When someone asks whether people are leftists or rightists, I say that "here there are rightists, leftists, Christians, Jews, Armenians. I mean you don't know the half of it. However, if you mess up language people speak or their religious beliefs, it's not OK but if you come up with poverty or class matters, then it's OK." (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)[74]

"The question is: Are we going to make an ideological workout, or try to enable public unity and solidarity? If I said that I am a member of Halkevleri and I will fight for this in such a way, today we wouldn't achieve such an environment. But what did we do? We didn't take into account anyone's political, cultural or religious commitment and we said that 'look, here there is an attack on us, no matter who does, there is an attack and how are we going to fight against this attack?' and we recruited many people by virtue of this." (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)[75]

"We put up people's religion, language, race and we united for the sake of our houses. They attacked on housesof all of us. If we have not united, everyone would lose their houses." (Mahmut, 52, Gateman) [76]

"We danced halay here, people came here with their cakes and böreks, we formed a family environment here. No one never took into account other's political view, ethnic identity. This is one of our main objectives that ties us into this environment. (Nadir, 26, Computer operator)[77]

---

[74] "Buradaki insanlar sağcı mı solcu mu diye sorduklarında, valla burda sağcı, solcu, Hristiyan, Yahudi, Ermeni var, yani var da var diyorum. Siz insanların dilleriyle, dinleriyle uğraşırsanız olmaz ama yoksulluk anlamında, sınıflar anlamında yaklaşırsanız olur."

[75] "Soru şu: Biz burda ideolojik bir çalışma mı yapacağız, yoksa gerçekten halkın büünlüğünü ve beraberliğini sağlayacak bir çalışma mı yapacağız? Şimdi ben deseydim ki, arkadaşlar ben Halkevciyim, şöyle bir mücadele yapacağım, bugün bu mücadele olmazdı. Ama biz ne yaptık? Hiç kimsenin siyasi, kültürel ve dinsel inancını ele almadık. bBakın burada bir saldırı var, kim yaparsa yapsın bize karşı bir saldırı var, biz bu saldırıya karşı nasıl bir duvar olacağız, dedik ve böyle örgütlendik."

[76] "Dini dili ırkı bir tarafa bıraktık ve evlerimiz için birleştik. Hepimize hakkına saldırdılar. Birleşmeseydik herkes kaybederdi."

[77] "Burda halaylar çekilde herkes evinde pasta börek yapıp buraya gelindi, bi aile ortamı oluşturuldu burada. Kimse kimsenin siyasi görüşüyle etnik kimliğiyle hiçbir şekilde değerlendirme yapmadı, bizim asıl buraya bağlı olan amaçlarımızdan bir tanesi de budur."

It was no coincidence that the bureau is called Right to Sheltering. As it was denoted before, when it came to light/fore that the stigma/label of Halkevleri or any political organization is an impediment in front of solidarity building due to negative associations made for left or any political organization, the office was named after the common demand seeked by all valley people. Sheltering here represents a clearly articulated demand and grievance, and it is politically neutral. It doesn't represent any section of the society, any political party or organization. It directly points out at the grievance and it invalidates the arguments over property issue.

Cemile, also denotes for the importance of the independence of the movement. According to Cemile, left is the organization of life, so it is not necessary to canalize people to Halkevleri or any political organization.

> "DikmenValley endorsed a genuine identity. It did not become Halkevleri or this or that... It achieved many things. For instance in health issues… Once, health center was going to be demolished and it recruited people against this…Actually, left means to organization of life when you look at it his way. I mean, the matter is not to recruit people under Halkevleri or somewhere else. It should aim to unite people, acquire consciousness and set a leftist perspective. This is my point. And I think, this is what Halkevi does; setting such a leftist perspective, what left means is to organize the life under the principles of freedom, equality and peace." (Cemile, 33, HE activist)[78]

Serkant accounts for the importance of subjectification, which served for the transformation of self-perception.

> "For example every Saturday there are meetings, the feelings of "we can take collective decisions" or "they listen to my word, I can also be a part" are ingrained, and they are empowered, participate and solve problems. From the simplest problem regarding neighborhood, to a problem of lawyer, they can find common solutions and there (office-interpreter's note) becomes an address. Here, to be able to find solution is

---

[78] "Dikmen vadisi özgün bir kimliğe büründü, ne halkevine, şuna buna değil de...bir çok şey yaptı mesela, mesela sağlıkda,..., bir dönem sağlık ocağının yıkılması gibi bir şey vardı onu örgütledi…Aslında sol bir anlamda hayatı örgütlemektir burdan baktığında. Yani şey değil, halkevlerine örgütlemek değil ya da şuraya buraya, insanların biraraya gelmesi, bir bilince sahip olması, sol algıyı oturtturması ban göre, ben öyle tanımlıyorum. Bana göre de bunun şeyi nedir, Halkevi'dir. Ama işte o sol algıyı oturtturmak, sol denen şey, hayatı örgütlemek işte, özgürlüklerle kardeşlik barış ilkesiyle."

important, resistance against demolition, reflex of not letting him/her house to be demolished, becomes a very big will"[79] (Serkant,35, HE activist)

The framing of no politics is integrated with the unmobilized sentiment pool of solidarity, brother and sisterhood and neighborliness. These are values that are already appreciated by the "common culture" and once discriminatory factors are eliminated solidarity frame functions well.

"What did it contribute? Such a communication among people, coming together with different views, even a supporter of MHP, carrying out the same struggle in the same path; I still find those things strange. I believe that, if such different views came together, something will sure change." (Sevinç, 36, Unemployed) [80]

"When we create a feeling that we can achieve this stuff altogether, quietly creative things even that challenges our scope would emerge." (Serkant, 35, HE activist) [81]

"If we make a barbecue in front of our door, we wouldn't have it alone, our neighbourhoods would join us as well. Even a man passing through the street is welcomed. Here, there is such a unity among us. If we lived in apartments, we wouldn't know our next door neighbours. (Pınar, 18, Student) [82]

"When I came here in 2006, there was not an atmosphere of unity and passion in our neighbourhood. Neighbours didn't properly know each other. When demolition came, …, we established unity, like a family, we stand back to back, we cooperated."(Ali, 45, Retired) [83]

---

[79] "Ama mesela her cumartesi toplantılar yapılıyor, "ya biz toplantılarda ortak kararlar alabiliyoruz", ya da "benim de sözüm dinleniyor, ben de katılabiliyorum" duygusu yerleşiyor ve özneleşiyor, katılıyor, sorun çözebiliyor. Mahelledeki en basit sorundan tutun, avukatlık sorununa kadar bir ortak çözüm üretilebiliyor ve orası bir adres haline dönüşüyor. Burada çözüm üretebilmek önemli, yıkıma karşı direnç, evini yıktırtmama refleksi gibi bir sürü şey içinden çıkıyor ve kocaman bir iradeye dönüşüyor."
[80] "Neler kattı? İnsanlardaki o iletişim, bi MHPli, ne bilim bi başka görüşteki insanların biraraya gelmesi, aynı kavgayı aynı şekilde yürütmesi, mesela halen benim çok tuhafıma gidiyor….Şey düşünüyorum bu görüş bu kadar biraraya geldiyse mutlaka bir şeyler değişeceğine inanıyorum."
[81] "Bu işi hep beraber yapabiliriz duygusunu ürettiğimiz zaman o çalışma içinde, gerçekten daha yaratıcı, belki bizi de aşabilecek, bizim ufkumuzu da aşabilecek şeyler çıkabiliyor."
[82] "Kapımızda bi mangal yakalım tek biz yemeyiz, üst komşumuz da gelir, alt da gelir, yukardaki de gelir, yoldan geçen adamı da çağırırız, burda böyle bir birlik var yani bizde, apartmanda otursaydık karşı komşumuzu tanımıcaktık."
[83] "2006'da geldiğimde bu kadar birlik, tutkunluk yoktu mahallemizde, komşu komşuyu tanımıyodu

"This neighborhood, I mean we, didn't know each other; there were people from Kars, Erzurum, Sivas; and now we became like btrothers… we support each other. I mean we will carry on to the end, there is no other way" (Ahmet, 69, Retired worker) [84]

"People became graduates of university without becoming literate. Discriminations removed. We learned to live fraternally" (Ateş, 16, Student) [85]

The no politics frame helped also to deconstruct certain images associated with unlawfulliness, like distribution of leaflets, participating to marches, collective acts, shouting slogans. Once the demand is regarded as legitimate demand in response to a unjust situation, no politics frame helped to legitimized the previously negatively associated acts. Hence people who didn't ever make part of any political act, started to participate in marches, take part in the organization of acts, thinking for new slogans to shout.

"There were demonstrations in Kızılay and we were afraid of going there. For instance, we saw those things on TV; our youth was demonstrationing, fighting for their rights. But I understood that they were not only fighting for their own rights but for the rights of all of us. I comprehended this fact." (Fatma, 39, Worker)[86]

"When I saw people in demonstrations, I was thinking why are you shouting instead of going and talking. But I saw that the problem is not solved because we went and talked a lot. I realized that people who have real problems go out on the street and shout. " (Mualla in Focus Group 2, 47, Homemaker)[87]

---

doğru dürüst. 2006'da yıkım gelince,…, birlik olduk, aile gibi olduk, sırt sırta verdik, elele verdik."
[84] "Bu mahalle yani biz birbirimizi tanımıyoduk, karslısı orda, erzurumlusu orda, sivaslısı orda. Hepimiz bir kardeş gibi olduk,…hepimiz şimdi kaynaştık birbirimize destek veriyoruz, arka veriyoruz. Yani sonuna kadar devam edicez, başka çaresi yok."
[85] "İnsanlar okur yazar olmadan üniversite mezunu oldular. Ayrımlar kalktı, kardeşçe yaşamayı öğrendik."
[86] "Kızılayda yürüyüş olurdu, kızılaya gitmeye korkardık. Mesela televizyonda izlerdik, gençlerimiz yürüyüş yapardı, hakkını arardı, sadece kendi hakkını aramıyomuş ki orda, hepimizin hakkını arıyomuş. Bunun bilincine vardık."
[87] "Eylem yapan insanları gördüğümde niye bağırıyorsunuz gidin konuşun diye düşünüyordum. Ama çözülmediğini gördüm çünkü biz çok gittik görüştük şunu farkettim gerçekten derdi olan sokağa çıkıyormuş derdi olan bağırıyormuş."

"Before, when I would see people protesting in Kızılay, I used to change my way but now, I go and ask them. If I see something wrong, I can say that this is wrong. I can express my opinions. Before, we were sitting home and watching TV… Now I go and say that 'what is wrong dear? What is your problem?" (Mualla in Focus Group 2, 47, Homemaker)[88]

"Yes, our ideas changed. Because, we didn't know the content of the activities. Why do people protest? For example, in the simplest term, the government officials. I was telling that they are sitting and getting up until night, they take the highest salary. Yet, the content was not that, sure enough that there is a point they were done wrong, so they had been attempting these protests. Unless somebody is hurt, nobody resorts to protest, this-and-that." (Kerim, 30, Worker)[89]

4.1.2.4.1.5. 1st of February

1st of February of 2007 was a very important day for the movement. That day at 3.00 in the morning there had been an attempt by the municipality to demolish 7 of the gecekondus which have not signed the contract yet, between which there was the gecekondu of Tarık Çalışkan. Municipality, and police came with many vehicles - according to a valley resident who was working at the police department at the time and who claims that he saw the formal paper documenting the case, there were around 5300 policemen, 100 ambulances, 84 tracks, 44 graders, 40 fire trucks which surrounded the valley- Valley people denote that looking at the number of people and vehicles it was hard to believe that they were there only for 7 gecekondus.

There had been a long and violent conflict between valley people and police forces,

---

[88] "Eskiden Kızılay'dan geçerken kalabalık görünce yolumu değiştiriyordum şimdi gidiyorum soruyorum. Yanlış bir şey görürsemde bu yanlış diyebiliyorum. Fikrimi söyleyebiliyorum...daha önce evde oturuyoduk,televizyon izliyoduk...mesela Kızılay'da diyelim bir olay gördüm öneden yolumu değiştiriyodum belki, ama şimdi gidiyorum diyorum ki, ne var yavrum, burdaki sorun ne sizin derdiniz ne?

[89] "Fikirlerimiz değişti evet. Çünkü eylemlerin içeriğini bilmiyoduk. İnsanlar niye eylem yapıyor mesela en basitinden memurlar. Ya diyodum akşama kadar otururlar kalkarlar, eylem yaparlar, aldıklaır da en yüksek maaş. Ama içeriği o değilmiş, muhakkak onları da haksızlık yapıldığı bir nokta varmış ki, onlar da bu eylemlere kalkışıyormuş. Kimsenin canı yanmayınca kimse kalkıp da eyleme şuna buna başvurmaz."

valley people fought with the police by throwing stones or sitting in front of or in the gecekondus to be demolished. They showed a great simultaneous coordination, the moves were coordinated by the bureau and people were informing eachother about what was going on in different parts of the valley over the cell phones. After hours of resistance, police forces had to leave before they could demolish any gecekondu.

This incidence is very important for valley people, they remember it with great detail and they tell their 1st of February stories with a great excitement even today. They recall it as a great story of success, and they often denote that they could succeed it with the power of solidarity and collective action.

> "I mean we were not afraid neither about ourselves nor for our children, we struggled as if were walking towards death....we went through many things, we were running all over, we were not protecting only our own houses, our neighbors, our vicinities, people we don't know as well." (Fatma, 39, Worker) [90]

This experience functioned as a very effective triggering effect on the breaking down of the negative perception of opposition. First of all, it showed that collective action can bring success. Secondly it changed the perception of the state, what was seen as a respectful and fearful body became suspicious regarding its justice and came to be seen as something that could be fight against and defeated. This perceptual transformation brought empowerment of the individuals; they felt that they had the power to assert for their rights and to fight back against injustice. It strengthened the solidarity among valley people as well, as they experienced the effectiveness of collective action and acknowledged that their problem and their enemy were the same.

> "I think 1st of February attack is something critical, in regard to the struggle there…To beat back the attack, the fact there had been an attack, and in regard to the relationship that the state establishes with the people, and the relationship that the people establish

---

[90] "Yani kendimizdne korkmadık çocuklarımızdan korkmadık o zaman yani sanki ölüme gidiyomuş gibi mücadele ettik yani. ...Yani neler yaşamadık ki valla, ordan oraya koşturuyoruz, sade kendi evimizi korumuyoruz ki, çevremizi komşularımızı bilmediğimiz tanımadığımız insanların evini."

with the state, it made it interrogated. But provide the neighborhood not to be demolished had naturally created self-confidence and everybody saw this: when you come together and unite, we can resist and we can struggle over this." (Serkant, 35, HE activist) [91]

"1st of Februray was a milestone, it was very important. When we looked at our friend who remained here, there were still dilemmas in their heads. My government, my state, my rulers would ever assault me. But when we arrived at 1st of February, they saw what did "their government or their local state. And they also saw this, our friends worked really very hard in 1st of February. They saw invincibility thanks to our effort. Now those friends who were saying that you could not oppose the state, they saw what it is in 1st of February very clearly. It means that sometimes you can oppose the state too and to who violates our rights too..." (Tarık Çalışkan, 61, Leader)[92]

I thought about 1st of February these for example: I mean a state, we are living here, we are living in the republic of Turkey, we are citizens of Turkey's Republic, whay this is being done to us? We are the people, it is thanks to us, that they are coming to there..." (Sevinç, 36, Unemployed)[93]

"You are hungry and it takes away your bread, bread is standing here, it takes your bread away. As they say, how can you not become the thief then... well people ask; why people oppose the state, why those people are like this, but if you (the state-interpreter's note) do those things..." (Sevinç, 36, Unemployed) [94]

---

[91] "1 Şubat saldırısı bence kritik bir şey, ordaki mücadele açısından,…, 1 şubat saldırısını püskürtmek, yani saldırının olması evet devlet, devletin halkla kurduğu ilişki, halkın devletle kurduğu ilişki açısından bir sorgulayıcı şey yarattı ama orda mahalleyi yıktırmamak meselesi doğalında bir özgtüven yarattı ve herkes şunu gördü, yanyana gelince birlik olunca bir direnç noktası oluşturabiliyoruz, ve burdan mücadele edebiliyoruzu gördü."

[92] "Tabii başka yönleri de var burası 1 Şubat'ta bir dönüm noktası yaşadı yani o çok önemliydi. Burda kalan arkadaşlarımızın baktığımızda yani, hala kafalarında bir çelişki vardı, benim hükümetim benim devletim ya da benim yöneticilerim bana saldırır mı yani öyle bir şey mi var işte bilmemne derken 1 Şubat'a geldiğimizde işte o kendi hükümetinin ya da kendi yerel yönetiminin ne anlama geldiğini orda gördü. Şunu da grdüler, mesela 1 Şubat'ta bizim arkadaşlarımız gerçekten çok yoğun çaba sarfettiler. Yenilmemezliği öğrendiler o çabamızın sayesinde, limdi burda kalan arkadaşlar devletle baş gelinir mi, devlete karşı konulur mu derken 1 Şubat'ta bunun ne olduğunu çok net gördüler, demek ki devlete de karşı geliniyomuş zaman zaman, bizim haklarımız gasp edenlere de

[93] "1 Şubat olayında şunları düşündüm mesela, yani bir devlet, biz burada yaşıyoruz, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde yaşıyoruz, bunların vatandaşıyız, T.c. Vatandaşıyız, neden bize bu yapılıyor? Biz halkzı, bizim sayemizde onrlar oraya geliyo yani neden diye düşündüm. Neden onlar orda dururken, burda bu kadar avuç insanı niye böyle yok etmeye çalışıyolar diye, neden diye düşündüm."

[94] "Hani açsın ve ekmeğini elinden alıyo, ekmek burda duruyo, ekmeğini elinden alıyo, hani derler ya gel de hırsız olma derler ya. O zaman be şey demiştim, şu duyguyu da düşündüm mesela, hani

People already detested Melih Gökçek for his policies and tactics, but after this incidence he became the main target of blame.

> "I mean I can never forget how much we suffered at that time. I mean if Melih Gökçek dies in front of me, I mean if they say me, his medicine is in your hands, I really mean that I would turn my back and go away...definitely..." (Fatma, 39, Worker) [95]

Although 1st of February incident can not be considered as a frame transformation strategy as it is an external fact, it was successful articulated to the movement discourse as a day of success against the state, a day that proved the power of solidarity and collective action. Its anniversary is still commemorated today, in the form of protest in front of the main municipality building. It is invoked as a source of moral when there were new demoralizing news about the project.

4.1.2.4.2. Transformation of the perception of gecekondu

Second important transformation process is realized in the perception of gecekondu. Both in the academy and media, gecekondu issue is mostly regarded as illegal housing with infrastructure problems; invasion of the public and private land. It is an example of unhealthy and uncontrolled urbanization. And the periodic legalizations through amnesty laws and gradual improvements didn't help gecekondus to be associated with invasion.

---

insanlara diyolar ki, neden devlete karşı geliyolar, neden bunlar böyle, ama sen (devlet-çevirenin notu) böyle yaparsan."

[95] "Yani neler çektik o zamanı hiç unutmama ben asla unutamam. Yani Melih Gökçek karşıda ölse, yani bana deseler ki m g in ilacı senin elinde, gerçekten ben şöle arkamı dönüp çeker giderim. hiç kesinlikle..."
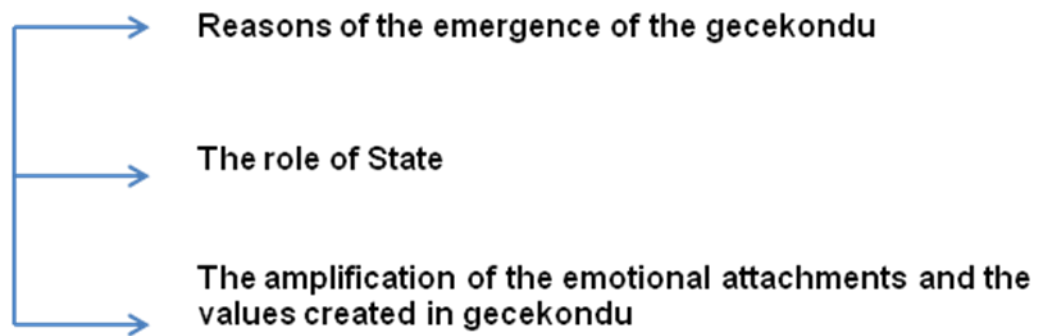
Reasons of the emergence of the gecekondu

The role of State

The amplification of the emotional attachments and the
values created in gecekondu

Figure 6 Levels of the Transformation of the Perception of Gecekondu

The presence of right to sheltering concept itself accounts for a transformation in the
perception of gecekondu by the valley people. Prior to the mobilization, sheltering
was not perceived as a human or a social right and squatter housing was referred as
an informal way of sheltering. In Turkey's context, due to occasional legalizations, a
gecekondu is not necessarily informal, but in public opinion it is still associated with
invasion of the public land and low urbanization standards. Although right to
sheltering is recognized by the constitutional law -despite the vagueness of the
definition- it is neither recognized by institutions nor by individuals. For the valley
people what determined whether they are 'holder of a right', was the document of
land registry.[96] The common understanding shared by major part of the gecekondu
residents, be it with document or without document, was that if you don't have
document, you are an invader. In line with this understanding, a typical pro-project
argument was this: "You gecekondu people invaded the public land, and state didn't
ask for anything for all those years. But it won't condone this invasion any more so it
is time for you to leave." This argument could be considered as counter framing
applied by the other sources of influence who favored or promoted the urban
transformation project. It is also possible to say that it worked out, around 650 of the
households without document who signed the contract and left the valley, were

---

[96] But it is important to note that this doesn't mean that all the households who didn't have document
regarded themselves as invaders or that they don't have a permanent right. Mualla, for instance, a
female middle age active adherent without document, denotes that in the beginning when the project
was first came to known, they didn't think that the terms of the project would be different for them
from the ones who had the title deed certificate, because they considered themselves as holder of
right, as the state recognizes them, as they pay their taxes and bill.

convinced by this argument. Whoever remained either wasn't convinced by this argument with the help of other influences, mainly Halkevleri or by individual skepticism or had no means to move out to another place.

DVRtSM transformed this perception of gecekondu in a radical way that the feeling of injustice is constituted and consolidated; the problem and the demand are clarified in a way that mobilization could evolve to an independent movement with a clearly articulated identity. This is succeeded with the help of continuous efforts of Halkevleri cadre of the movement who informed valley people about the project and its legal terms, provided legal consultation by voluntary lawyers, while presenting a new understanding of gecekondu by discussing it in terms of state's duties and market's needs. Halkevleri was familiar with the fact of urban transformation project and its changing meaning; it had organized resistance to another urban transformation project in another gecekondu area, namely Çöplük Neighborhood. Thus it had a certain approach to gecekondu fact and urban transformation project issue in the context of the political system and economy. In the beginning of the movement this approach has been introduced to valley people and with the evolvement of the movement it has been developed and integrated with the organization methods and principles.

Serkant recounts how they discussed gecekondu issue in the movement discourse and how the way that they discussed it helped to transform the perception of gecekondu by valley people as well as the self-perception of gecekondu residents. They first discussed the causes of the gecekondu development, that it was a result of the incapacity of state in solving the sheltering problem, and governments felt free to manipulate the problem for political benefits. The reason for people to build gecekondus is the basic need of sheltering and in the end state recognized those gecekondus, made people pay taxes, they provided electricity, water, constructed roads. As a consequence of this recognition people remained there and took pains with their gecekondus and neighborhoods, they improved the livelihood in the neighborhoods with their own means.

Then they discussed the state's role in housing and sheltering. They reminded that

state has responsibilities towards its citizens. They started to discuss the meaning of social state with people. All those arguments provided people to perceive gecekondu as a result rather than the cause. Serkant states that this was an important moment in the transformation.

> "...first we are invaders, right, we are people who consider ourselves as invaders. But, then, people started to think that state has also some responsibilities towards us,… For this reason, from now on, gecekondu is perceived as a result rather than a preference." (Serkant, 35, HE activist) [97]

Another important moment of transformation is the elimination of the discrimination regarding the property status. Serkant denotes that in the beginning there was a class division among land registry holders and gecekondus without document. The registry holders considered themselves as 'right holders'[98], and they overlooked the vagueness of the terms with their reliance/trust on/for the municipality and this state of them as 'right holders'. The 1800 land registry holders left the valley mainly with this way of thinking but such an understanding draw away any kind of resistance in such a situation from/by a struggle over sheltering and make it stuck in the framework of private property struggle. Hence what the movement achieved is to eliminate this differentiation over document and frame the movement over right to sheltering based on the idea of basic human needs, rather than the vested right.

Serkant adds that the approach of the professional chambers have also been transformed within the evolvement of movement. In the beginning chambers were distant to any gecekondu movement, as gecekondu either represented illegal urbanization or another arena of property struggle.

> "There is basically the thing that 80 (coup d'etat-interpreter's note) created ... Mainly revolutionists recruited gecekondu regions and they gave place for everybody. But when the movement loosened, it turned out to be everyone's own property. We had to face with this discussion but the heat of the struggle, reactions there helped us challenge this. Otherwise, if there weren't Dikmen Canyon, we can make this

---

[97] "...hani ilk başta biz işgalciyiz kendimizi işgalci olarak hissden insnalar evet ya bu devletin de bize karşı sorumlulukları var…onun için gecekond bir tercihden çok bir sonuç olarak algılanmaya başladı."
[98] Property holders, households with title deed certificate

discussion as much as we like; we couldn't stimulate chambers, NGOs. Our basic concept was need and then it is not private property; we set that general framework. Now we determine our own discourse on this basis." (Serkant, 35, HE activist) [99]

"A ground was constituted which is not only restricted to this place, occupied with this neighborhood but it was occupied with the city in general, it took the issue to the urban level. And I think this was also a significant contribution; there were various visits; chambers, unions and NGOs were on our own side; we achieved this. Because those organizations, like chamber of architects and some others, were making discussions of property relying on this fact. Are we going to defend the property?" (Serkant, 35, HE activist) [100]

"Some difficulties are experienced, at the point where the public acts independently. In other words, the demand is caught between these: I mean there was a discourse like one flat or 3 flats; it was like this in Dikmen. But now, I am going and looking, we are sitting with brother Tarık, we are talking; now nobody cares, like 'he/she gives 3 flats', I did not hear such things. Currently, approaches like 'we just want to live here, we also want some nice places are build here, we also want to live here but our situations should be considered'; 'the environment and the green here should be protected', especially this emphasis is a significant emphasis. But as I have told, at this long struggle, there is also one thing we learned, currently Dikmen Valley in the last one-two years is not active any more, the project had been cancelled etc. from now on the matter at hand is a new life, it turned into establishing a new life like 'we will cultivate, we will plant a tree'". (Ferhat, 31, HE activist) [101]

---

[99] "Orada temel olarak o 80'in yarattığı şey var ... gecekondu bölgelerini ağırlıklı devrimciler örgütlediler ve herkese yer verdiler. Ama hareket çözülünce, yenilince doğalında herkesin mülkü haline dönüştü. Bu tartışmayla yüzleşmek zorunda kaldık ama mücadelenin sıcaklığı, ordaki reflekslerin kendisi bence bunu da aşmak konusunda bir şey yarattı. Yoksa mesela Dikmen Vadisi olmasaydı, bu tartışmayı istediğimiz kadar yapalım, en azından odaları, demokratik kitle örgütlerini bu noktaya getiremezdik. Ordaki temel kavramımız da ihtiyaçsa mülkiyet değildir gibi bir genel çerçeve oluşturduk. Bugün onun üzeridnen temel olarak lafımızı da kuruyoruz."

[100] "Ve yani işin örgütlenmesi açsınan da b sadece oraya kapanan, sadece mahelleyle uğraşan değil, kentle de uğraşan, bunu bir kent meselesi haline de getiren bir çalışma zemini oluşturuldu, b da bence önemli katkı oldu, bi sürü ziyaretler, işte sendikalar demkroatik kitle örgtleri odalar bu noktada taraf oldu, taraf edildi daha doğrusu bu somut durumdan kaynaklı çünkü mülkiyet tartışması yapıyodu odalar o dönem yani mima odasından tut bilmem nesine kadar, biz bu mülkiyeti mi savunucaz?"

[101] "Doğrudan halkın kendisinin kendi başına hareket ettiği nokta da, bir takım sıkıntılar yaşanıyor, yani talep şuna sıkışmaya başlıyor yani 1 daire mi 3 daire mi filan gibi söylem vardı, dikmen'de öyleydi ama şimdi gidiyorum bakıyorum, Tarık ağabeylerle oturuyoruz konuşuyoruz, şimdi kimsenin umrunda değil, 3 tane daire versin gibi ben hiç duymadım öyle şeyler, şimdi söylene biz sadece burada yaşamak istiyoruz, burada biz de istiyoruz güzel mekanlar yapılsın, biz de burada yaşayalım istiyoruz ama bizim de durumlarımız gözetilsin istiyoruz gibi yaklaşımlar, buranın çevresi buradaki

Nevertheless gecekondu, to people who live in gecekondus meant more than a temporary solution to their sheltering problem. They value the effort they put in the course of time to improve the living conditions both in the house and outside the house. They built infrastructure, roads, planted trees, they devoted time, money and energy to make the place livable. Their social network is located where they live, their relatives usually live close in other gecekondus. When they need help, they go to those relatives and neighbors and that's how they cope with poverty.

Movement leaders worked on this emotional base, and introduce right to sheltering as a social right which is also named by the constitutional law. They tackled gecekondu as a result of certain policies under the control of state, not as a cause of ill urbanization or property invasion.

> "If we are raiders or invaders, why he has been taking tax from me for 23 years? Why he has been taking electricity, water money for 20 years from me? He takes money for drain water. While he supplied all the facilities, İ. Melih Gökçek's naming us as invaders, raiders because of the increase in the value of land, is a big mistake." (Tahir,31, Worker) [102]

> "As gecekondu what we were thinking? We were thinking that what happens to everyone will happen to us too. If it is destroyed, it will be destroyed; if to stay, we stay or maybe planning amnesty comes, they give our title deed to us, they debit us for a specific amount, we pay this debt little by little, we become owner of a house here; we thought gecekondu as such. But it is not, in a place where you make effort 20 years suddeny they see you as occupant. 20 years and I do not know why it brought me service. It brought service, electricity, water, infrastructure; in a place where asphalt is put over, suddenly, how it became that after 20 years we are occupants, I could not

---

yeşil korunsun özellikle bu vurgu önemli bir vurgu, ama dediğim gibi bu uzun bir mücadelede bizim de öğrendiğimiz bir şey oldu, şimdi dikmen vadisi son bir iki yıldır hareketli değil artık, proje iptal oldu vs, artık tartışılan şey yeni bir yaşam, işte ekicez biçicez, ağaç dikicez gibi, yeni bir yaşam kurma biçimine dönüştü."

[102] "…eğer biz çapulcuysak, veya işgalciysek, benden neden 23 senedir vergi alıyor, nende benden 20 senedir elektrik su paramı alıyor, atık su paralarımız alıyor, her türlü imkanlarımı sağlamışken, çıkıp buranın toprak arazi bedellerinin artışında dolayı i meklih gökçek'in bizi işgalci çapulcu olarak adlandırması çok büyük bir hata."

understand." (Kerim, 30, Worker) [103]

"I am very happy to live in gecekondu, in my own house, because I grew up here. Whenever even when we visit my unckle in the apartment. In the end, I have a house where I feel comfortable." (Nadir, 26, Computer operator) [104]

"She thinks in this way for example: I was pregnant and what was I doing: I was harcını karmak, I was carrying the stuff, this is my right." (Cemile, 33, HE activist) [105]

"We won't get out of here, ever. We won't go even if he yıldırmak, we won't leave the place, no. I don't like apartment blocks. No we don't leave here, do you know how much we suffered to build this place? There was no water, no toilet, no electricity, no road, no nothing". (Sevgi, 51, Homemaker) [106]

"We came and built the house. I lived 4 years in this small room. My relatives would come with 3-4 children. We added those two rooms later. I can't forget those days. We built the house, we built it through many difficulties, how come we just leave it. It snowed over my child. We lived under water for a year, it has snowed and I said to my husband, wake up, the kid died, then we looked and saw that kid was sleeping, her face was covered all over with snow. There was no roof, the walls had holes....Even if I have 10 or 100 apartments, I can never forget that pain, I suffered a lot." (Kerima, 46, Homemaker) [107]

---

[103] "Gecekondu olarak ne düşünüyoduk? Ya diyoduk ki herkese nolduysa bize de o olur hesabı. Yıkılcaksa yıkılır kalıncaksa kalınır, veya da belki bir imar affı gelir. Tapularımızı bize dağıtırlar bizi belli bir miktar borçlandırırlar. Biz d ebu borcu ufak ufak öderiz, burda bir konut sahibi oluruz diye, sanıyoduk gecekodulaşmayı. Ama öyle değil, 20 sene emek verdiğin bir yerde, bir anda seni işgalci olarak görüyolar, ...20 sene peki bana niye hizmet getirdiğini de bilmiyorum. Hizmet getiriyo, elektrik, su, altyapı, her sene asfalt atılan bir yere, bir anda, 20 sene sonra nasıl oluyo da işgalci oluyoruz ben de onu anlayamadım."

[104] "Ben gecekonduda oturmaktan çok mutluluk duyan bi insanım, kendi evimde, çünkü orda büyümüşüm, hiçbir şekilde amcamlara apartmana gittiğimizde bile, sonuçta rahat nefes aldığım, oh be diyebildiğim, geldiğim bir evim var."

[105] "Şey diye düşünüyo mesela ben diyo hamile hamile işte napıyodum harcını karıyodum işte şeyini taşıyodumişte bu benim hakkımdır. "

[106] "Biz buradan çıkmayık, hiç gitmeyek, isterse yıldırsın gitmeyik, burayı bırakmayık yok. Ben apartmanı sevmiyorum. Ne kadar olursa o kadar uğraşırım. Bırakmayık bacım burayı, ne çileyle yaptık burayı biliyo musun? Su yoktu, tuvalet yoktu, yol yoktu bir şey yoktu."

[107] "Geldik ev yaptık,mesela şu biz göz şu bi arada, ben 4 sene oturdum, kayınlarım geliyodu,..3-4 tane çocuk, şuraylan şurayı sonra ekledik. O günleri hiç unutamıyom yani. Ev yaptık da biz nasıl bırakak, yani ben bu evi çok zorluklaklarla yaptım çok, benim çocuğumun üstüne kar yağmış yani, bi sene su altında oturduk, kar yağmış, eşime dedim, kalk çocuk ölmüş, açtık baktık ki çocuk mışıl mışıl uyuyor, yüzü sade kar, Çatı yok ki, çatı, duvarlar delik. Benim 10 tane de dairem olsa, 100 tane de şeyim olsun, buranın acısını hiç unutmam, yani gerçekten de çok çektim.

"We built the house ourselves. First we built 2 small rooms, If I had the conditions would I ever build gecekondu. I couldn't lay concrete, plaster and glass of a house with 2 rooms. We lived with nylon for 3 months...I used my bedroom as kitchen for 5 years...That's how we lived. We planted our trees. There was nothing but mountain here, we united with other neighbors and built the road. In the election time, we made the house bigger, we got the electricity and water." (Yasemin, 38, Homemaker) [108]

"It has been 23 years. We went through many difficulties. 3-4 years without electricity, water. The asfaltlanma of our roads is for 15 years. Before that it was stabilize yol. Of course all of those çabala, to leave doesn't work for us. Did we give everything we have, we did, in short we gave our youth, our life to here." (Tahir, 31, Worker)[109]

It is possible to say that this emotional base facilitated the transformation process. Another aspect is the taxation issue. All the households, whether with document or without document, are registered and they regularly pay their taxes and the bills. This means to them that state recognizes their presence in that specific land. They all agree that state had the power not to allow them settling there in the first place, establish their life there, thus if it did allow, this is a poof for their legitimacy.

The specifity of the case is very important for the fate conceptual development of Right to Sheltering Movement. In DVRtSM, the valley people who embraced the movement are people without document, this helped to conceptualize right to sheltering movement independent from the usual property struggle. They are not seeking for their property rights, they aren't struggling to get the highest value possible, they are demanding for their social rights as disadvantaged citizens.

"Seeing that I am not a right holder, seeing that I am invader,…why did you give this right to me? Why didn't your eject me when I built this house and when I received electricity, water. IF he has said I don't connect you neither electricity nor water, you

---

[108] "Kendimiz yaptık evi. Önce 2 göz yaptık. Benim durumum iyi olsaydı ben buraya gelip gk yapar mıydım, 2 göz yaptık buraya. 2 göz evin betonu atamadım, sıvasını yapamadım, camını takamadım, naylonla oturduk 3 ay...5 sene yatak odamı mutfak olarak kullandım. Yaşantımız böyle gitti, ağaçlarımızı diktik. Buralar dağyıdı, mahalleli olarak birleştik yolunu yaptırdık... Seçim zamanında evi büyüttük… Birleştik yol yaptık. Su, elektirik aldık."
[109] "23 sene geçmiş. Çok zorluklar geçiridk 3-4 sene susuz elektriksiz mum ışığında. Yollarımız yoktu, yollarımızın asfaltlanması 15 sen, daha önce stabilize yoldu. Tabi bu çabalardan sonra da bırakıp gitmek kimsenin işine de gelmiyo açıkçası. Her şeyimizi verdik mi verdik, gençliğimizi ömrümüzü hayatımızı kısaca buraya verdik.

do whatever you want, it was at most 1 year the time I would have stayed here. Because you can't live without electricity and water in the middle of nowhere. But by giving this opportunity to me, you bonded me here. What did you say, I provide you service, you are going to live here but you are going to pay tax and that's what I did, now why I am not considered as a right holder, or why I am considered as invader. I mean I didn't come from outside, if I carry identity of Turkish Republic, if Iserve for this country, if I pay tax for this country, I am citizen of this country. So I said I am a right holder as much as everyone and I participated, and I was right." (Ayşe, 33, Homemaker) [110]

At the scholl for instance our friends as well as our teachers were saying that they came there, they built their houses and they live there for free, of course Melih Gökçek will take it from them" and things like that. I took them in front and said: "Look, it is the state which is responsible for me to be dragged to the city from village. We built a gecekondu as we couldn't find a place when we arrived. Did I live for free or without permission in the gecekondu? Why did it give electricity, water, door number, or why did it come in the voting time to my door and give toys. I lived here and I paid even garbage collection tax, I didn't live here for free, I paid my electricity vill every month. I made my duty as a citizen of Turkish Republic I paid my taxex. If he will throw us out , give me the money I spent till now." (Pınar, 17, Student) [111]

---

[110] "Madem ben hak sahibi değilim, madem ben işgalciyim, mg tabii oydu neden bana bu hakkı veridn, ben bu evi yaparken elektiriğini suyunu telefonun alırken, vergisii öderken, nedne bana itiraz etmedin, almıyorum senin elektiriğini de bağlamıyorum suyunu da bağlamıyorum, ne halin varsa gör deseydi benim burada taş çatlasa yaşayacağım 1 yıldı, çünkü elektriksiz susuz ulaşımsız yaşayamazsınız dağ başında. ama ben sen bu imkanı vermekle sen buraya beni bağladın, ne dedin bana sen buraya hizmeti getiririyorum ayağına sen burada yaşayacaksın ama yaşarken de bana vergini ödeyeceksin ve ben öyle yaptım nedne ben şimdi ben hak sahibi olmuyorum, ya da nedne ben işgalci oluyorum yani ben dışardan gelmedim, ben TC kimilği taşıyorsam bu ülkeye hizmet veriyorsam, ben bu ülkeye vergi ödüyorsam ben bu ülkenin vatandaşıyım, yani herkesin nasıl hakkı varsa benim de o kadar hakkım var dedim ve böyle girdim doğru da yaptım."
[111] "Okulda mesela şey diyolardı öğretmenlerimiz olsun arkadaşlarımız olsun. Gelmişler oraya, Everini yapmışlar bedevaya oturuyolar, tabii alıcak Melih Gökçek gibisinden konuşmalar yapıyodu. Ben onları kaşıma aldım bakın dedim, benim köyden kente sürülmeme neden olan zaten bu devlet. Geldiğimde bi yer bulamadığım için gecekondu yaptık. E peki ben bu gecekonduya geldiğimde bedevaya mı oturdum veya da izinsiz mi oturdum, bana elektiğimi vermeseydi, suyumu vermeseydi kapı numaramı vermeseydi veya oy zamanı geldiğinde benim mahalleme gelip oyuncaklar falan dağıtmasaydı...Ben burda oturdum da çöp vergisine varana kadar verdim, bedava oturmadım ben burda, her ay elektrik faturam geldğinde ödedim. Ben TC vatandaşı görevimi yaptım, vergimi ödedim. Madem bizi atacak o zaman sana bugüne kadar verdiğim paralarımı ver kardeşim, emeklerimi ver, bedavaya mı oturmuşum ben."

4.1.2.4.3. Introduction of a new understanding: Right to Sheltering

Transformation of the perception of opposition and gecekondu was a simultaneous process of the acknowledgment of the concept of right to sheltering. The concept was introduced by HE cadre to the valley people and HE cadre locates the concept within the line of a general struggle of rights and right to sheltering denotes there the need for housing defined in terms of social rights instead of property. Whereas, in the perception of adherents, the concept is vague and abstract. What right to sheltering denotes to them is everything that is comprised in the struggle they are giving for.

> "In the beginning of the struggle in dikmen valley for example, there wasn't a consensus about the claims among the contenders, because then the struggle for sheltering right was a recent form, there were many debates about how to put our claims into words, but now I just saw yesterday in yenimahalle, we have memorized, we know our claims, we know what we demand, we know how to approach and community also knows." (Ferhat, 31, HE activist) [112]

> "After all, concept of sheltering right determines our standpoint, I mean we refer to the concept of right. In fact, in the period before dikmen valley, sheltering was described as a problem, it was mentioned as sheltering problem in many activities, it's being used as sheltering right since dikmen valley period has started and so our standpoint and also public opinion's, that is a struggle carried out on the basis of a struggle for a right, rather than describing as a humanly problem, has been fixed to our consciousness. Thus, we see sheltering as a right and we describe our struggle as a struggle for a right." (Ferhat, 31, HE activist) [113]

---

[112] "Örneğin dikmne vadisinde m nin ilk zamanalrında mü edenler arasında da talepler net değildi, çünkü barınma hakkı mücadelesi daha yeni yeni ortaya çıkan bir biçimdi, bizim de dilimizi nasıl oluşturacağımıza dair bir sürü tartışmalar yaşandı, ama şimdi yenimahalle'de dün gördüm, artık ezberlnmişiz, taleplerimizi biliyoruz, ne istediğimizi biliyoruz, nasıl yaklaşmamız gerektiğini biliyoruz ve ahali de biliyor."

[113] "Sonuç olarak barınma hakkı kavramı zaten bizim bakış açımızı belirliyor yani hak kavramını kullanıyoruz. Aslında dikmen vadisinden önceki süreçte barınma sorun olarak tarif ediliyodu, bir çok etkinlikte barınma sorunu olarak geçiyodu bu dikmne vadisi süreciyşle birlikte bu barınma hakkı diye kullanılmaya başladı ve dolayısıyla da bizim de bakış açımız genel kamuoyunun bakış açısı da bunun insanca bir sorun larak tarif edilmekten çok, bir hak mücadelesi temelinde yürütülen bir m olduğu bilincimize yerleşmeye başladı. Dlayısıyla biz de barınmayı bir hak olarak görüyoruz ve yürütülen m yi bir hak m olarak tarif ediyoruz."

"Anyway, why we call it as a right, you see, in dikmen and in other neighborhoods, you see, is it leads us to a point beyond the debates whether someone is a rightholder or not, that is we started a debate besides whether one has a document or not, and it's become the new agenda. That is, we started to say that the ones who don't have documents also have a right to shelter, the tenants also have a right to shelter, chamber politics has started to mature in this way." (Ferhat, 31, HE activist) [114]

"Every living thing that lives in RT (Republic of Turkey), including cat and dog, everybody should have a home to shelter. State should supply (home) for the ones who do not have. For me this is the housing right. In a sense, Turkey is not such a low-income country; certainly we have power to do. (Kerim, 30, Worker) [115]

The concept of right to sheltering movement has been in use much before the Dikmen Valley case. It was discussed in circles of architects and city planners in the chambers in 1970s but it is possible to say that it became more meaningful and gained wider recognition today as it correspondences to a current social phenomena actively contested in the political arena. It constitutes a very important branch of Halkevleri's right of people struggle and HE is considered as a strong influential organization within the noninstitutional leftist politics.

The fact that the target audience is space-specific therefore heterogeneous in social and political terms, provides a genuineness to the sheltering issue. In Dikmen Valley case, the concept opens a wide space that consists of a new perception and practice for politics. The current utilization of the concept makes the negative associations related to politics evaporate and opens up a fresh space to politics which involve people who do not necessarily identify themselves as leftists or opponents. Without pronouncing the words politics or class, which are negatively associated by some of the adherent groups, it prepares the base of class based politics. As to this, the target

---

[114] "Zaten burada da hak dememizin nedeni de işte dikmen'de de başka bölgelerde de işte hak sahibi mi değil mi gibi tartışmaların ötesinde bir yer götürüyor bizi, yani belgesi var mı yok mu tartışmalarının dışında bir şey tartışmaya, gündeme sokmaya başladık. Yani belgesi olmayanın da barıma hakkı vardır, ora kiracı olanın da barınma hakkı vardır demeye başladık, oda politikası da böyle olgunlaşmaya başladı."

[115] "T.C:'nde yaşayan her canlının, bu kedi köpek dahil olmak üzere, herkesin sığıncak bir yuvası olması lazım, olmayan kişilerin de devlet sağlaması lazım. Benim için budur barınma hakkı....yani Türkiye aslında o kadar dar gelirli bir ülke değil, muhakkak ki yapabilecek gücümüz vardır."

audience, the actual and potential adherents are poor people and workers, whereas the source of mobilization and opposition is the violation of rights.

I want to offer a new conceptualization of the right to sheltering concept regarding its current utilization in DVRtSM case. Accordingly the current utilization of the concept in DVRtSM connotes three levels of perceptual transformation.

1. The distinctions among valley people dissolve within the process of mobilization. The identities related to ethnicity, religion, political orientations stopped impeding the unification as there is a common identity constituted, that is poor people subjected to injustice by the state and public agencies. Also the distinction regarding the property ownership -depending on having the title deed certificate- dissolves as the concept of right to sheltering refers to the usage right instead of the property right.

2. The concept of right to sheltering also refers to the role of the state regarding the sheltering issue. As to this, sheltering is not recognized as a problem of the individual but a responsibility of the state, and when gecekondu is perceived in those terms, gecekondu people become citizens instead of invaders is the self-perceptional level. The rage rose against the anti-valley campaign of Melih Gökçek who labeled valley people as invaders, terrorists, raiders facilitated this transformation to precede faster.

3. The perception of the state had been transformed to a great extent. As it was something to be respected, to be afraid of and trusted, the process they went through the mobilization showed people state can also be unjust and they have the individual and collective power to oppose the state, to demand their rights and they can be successful in their objectives while doing it. Therefore father state became the social state. Counter-opposition of Melih Gökçek also facilitated this transformation process, the tactics it used to oppress people to make them sign the contract and the language he used for valley people and the 1st of February attack all together worked in favor of the enhancing the feeling of injustice and consequently raising the participation to the mobilization.

Figure 1 shows those overlapping levels of transformation which all together constitute what right to sheltering concept connotes:
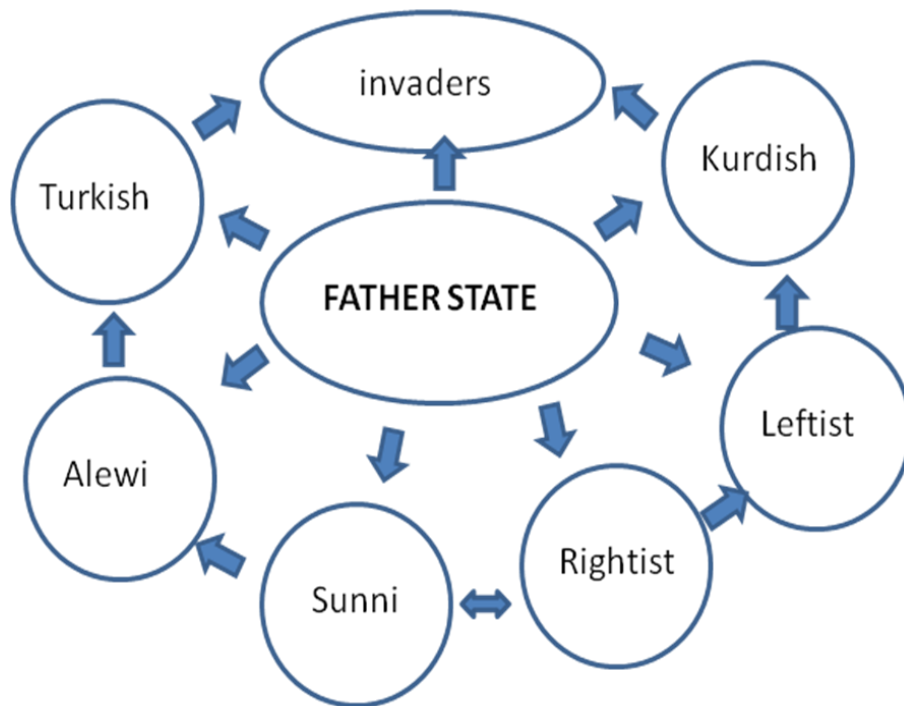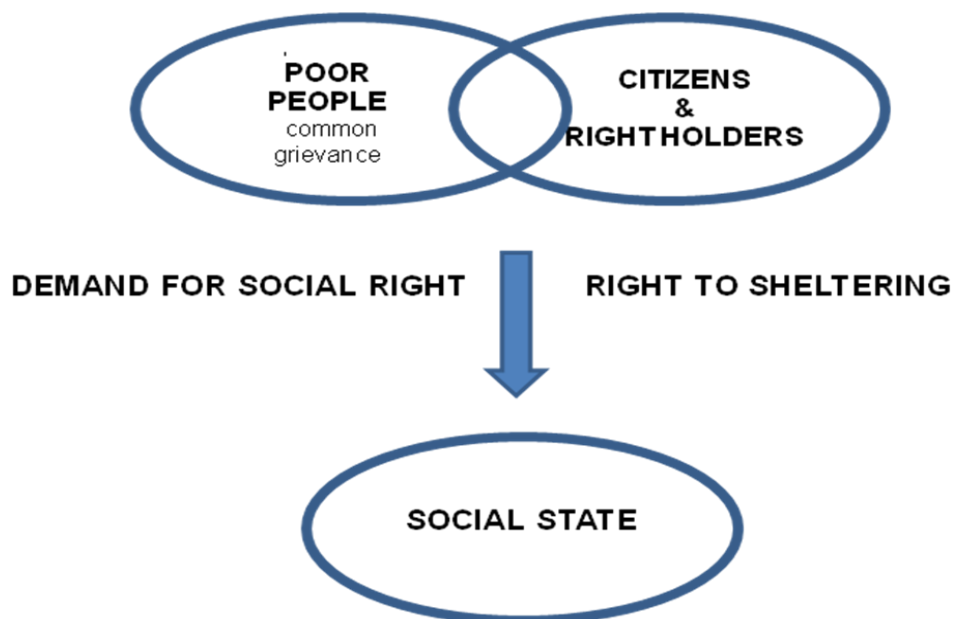

Figure 7 Prior perceptions

Figure 8 Introduction of the Concept of Right to Sheltering

4.1.2.5. Proposal of Frame Narrowing as the 5th Frame Alignment Strategy
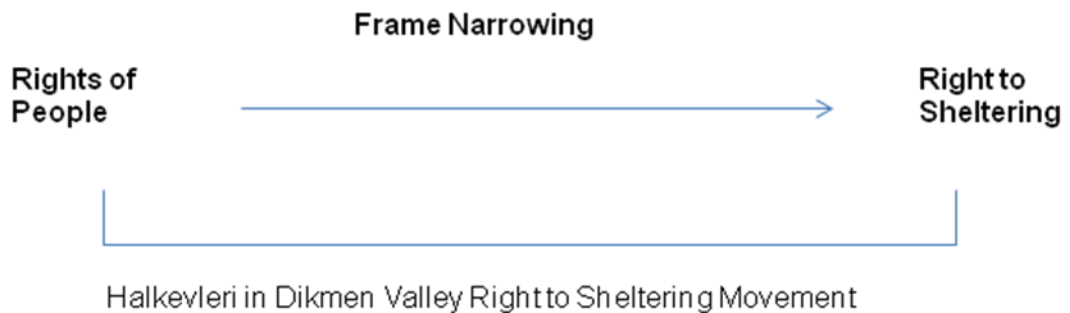

Figure 9 Frame Narrowing Strategy

HE endorses a semi-hidden leadership position in the organization of the movement. 'Semi-hidden' denotes here that Halkevleri, didn't automatically get its hands on the movement, it strategically chose to take a back seat and let the RtSM to evolve to an independent movement. Now it is possible to claim that if it wasn't for the Halkevleri, there would be no persistent resistance to evolve to a consistent stable movement. But this fact is not solely due to the extensive support of a long–standing movement having an established organization experience and tradition but also due to how Halkevleri appealed the valley people, how it framed the situation in this particular case. This quality of being hidden deserves a special attention as an important layer of framing processes. What I claim with this thesis is that this consciously adopted peculiar position of Halkevleri can be identified as a specific frame alignment strategy, namely 'frame narrowing' that has not been defined by Snow and Benford but is proposed here.

What is peculiar to RtSM movement in terms of both framing processes and mobilization factors is the way that it overcomes the tension between inclusivity and resonance (reality presentation). The assumption is that it has been overcome by applying the strategy of 'frame narrowing'. The leaders of the movement are from Halkevleri but the movement potential adherents whom they appeal to are people

with different political orientations, many of who are not engaged in political activities and have no sympathy for leftist and noninstitutional politics. This fact was risking the participation to the movement; hence Halkevleri strategically masked its attributional orientation as it was not resonant with the potential recruits'. It managed this by not identifying itself as 'Halkevleri' in the area, but by employing cadres for establishment of DV RtSM. The leaders of RtSM don't primarily introduce themselves as from Halkevleri but from RtSM. Instead of displaying the broader action framework regarding the grievances which included radical criticism of capitalism and neoliberalism, it limited its scope with 'right to sheltering' frame and focused on the shared grievances sourced by the project. The frame of right to sheltering was an effective mobilizing idea; as it is respectively new to the audience, it had no association neither with left nor with any other political inclination. It was directly addressing the current problem which was same for all valley people. It is possible to say that right to sheltering frame is 'neutral' in terms of politics as it addresses a legal basis and it is pointing directly the grievance. It provides also an efficient transitory basis for the extention of the framing to 'rights of people'.

So I suggest that these strategic acts of hiding more comprehensive frames can be defined as 'frame narrowing'. Nevertheless the frames are hidden not for ever but temporarily enough to provide the unification of as much as adherent possible because all the advantages that frame narrowing provides, DV RtSM can be considered as suicidal because of its limited scope. As a movement with the specific goal of struggling against a specific project and for the rights of the people who are subjected to the terms of this project, it is destined to dissolve right after the project is reformulated in a more favorable way for the squatter residents. The real frames are let out gradually when the audience is found to be ready, and this is done by frame extension as it has been mentioned above.

5. CONCLUSION

With this thesis I wanted to analyze the strategic framing processes of the organization of Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement (DVRtSM) in Ankara-Turkey, which are believed to be critical factors that provided what has started as a resistance first, to develop into a successful movement. The conceptualization of frame alignment strategies which is defined under strategic framing processes, is found to be a useful theoretical tool to account for the movements success and to present it as a model of organization. I believe Dikmen Valley experience has a lot to teach to the leftist politics and the exploration of the strategic processes of this case will hopefully contribute to the social movement research.

The most outstanding question that to be posed for this case is, how such a socially and politically disintegrated sum of people -valley population- could unite and established a long-lasting movement. Framing processes are believed to be decisive in these terms. It is for sure that the structural factors such as political opportunity and resource mobilization, account for the emergence and development of the movement, but what is proposed here that even when all the structural conditions would be ripe enough for this movement to emerge, the cognitive and ideational processes are the decisive factors of its emergence, development, continuity and success. Framing perspective provides the most efficient theoretical and methodological tool to analyze the ideational factors of a movement.

Besides emphasizing the decisive role of the cognitive and ideational factors, framing perspective also points at the interactive and ongoing character of those cognitive and ideational processes. As to this, the meanings, ideas, values which are at work in the mobilization of the movement, are socially, strategically and contentiously constructed in an everlasting ongoing fashion. In addition to that, the processes defined in different headings under framing activity are all interactive,

117

concurrent and overlapping. Hence it is important to note here that all the categorizations in this are made rather to focus on different aspects of a whole, integral framing process.

The concept of frame alignment strategies defines the strategic factors of the interactive-discursive processes of framing work of a movement. Since the initial efforts in the valley were weak, unorganized, disconnected and individualistic in character, it was thanks to Halkevleri's strategic efforts that those developed into coherent, organized, collective acts and finally a social movement. That is why frame alignment strategies are proposed to be critical for accounting for the success of DVRtSM. Therefore I focused on those strategic processes; tried to analyze which of them are working for this case and try to propose new concepts for the parts that can not be fully grasped by the present conceptualization.

It is necessary to specify here again, why I refer to DVRtSM as a successful movement. Municipality did not give up with the project, neither had it changed it in a radical way which would satisfy the valley people, hence we cannot claim that the movement achieved its definitive goals. It is nevertheless considered to be successful as first of all it achieved to eliminate social disintegrations among its audience and unite them to establish a lasting movement which influences other movements and functions as a model of resistance for similar cases. Secondly, it could establish links with other cases of grievances, other than right to sheltering, such as health, employment, education, privatization and so on. Thirdly, the movement has celebrated its 5th year, meaning that it succeeded to prevent the project to be implemented for 5 years and provided that valley people could continue to live in their houses without paying rent, with their established livelihood and social network. Finally, though with its limits, it achieved a perceptional transformation of its adherents, and provided empowerment of valley people as demanding citizens, who can identify injustice and link the grievance with the system and perceive themselves as poor people, as working people

Before going deeper with the concluding remarks regarding the frame alignment strategies, it will be useful to remember again the particularities of the Dikmen

Valley case.

Firstly, DVRtSM is a neighborhood based organization, which means the audience to be mobilized is spatially defined. Hence the target audience was a group of people who lived in the same area, in four different neighborhoods which were subjected to be transformed throughout the same project. This condition provided some organizational advantages and disadvantages to the organization of the movement. Advantage is that as the audience is concentrated in the same area, there is a great deal of energy saving when it comes to basic organizational practices such as distribution of the leaflets, making of announcements, and gathering. In addition to that, there were groups within the target audience which were closely connected within themselves, which facilitated the flow of information and news within these groups. Whereas, the disadvantage is that, the potential adherents were not a sum people who shared common attributional orientations, and tend to get together and act collectively. Instead, they were a sum of different groups of people which were socially and politically segregated from each other, experiencing the same grievance in the same area but varied terrms of the perception of their situation. The segregations were mainly due to religion, ethnicity, the town which they had migrated from and politics. The segregation was also remarked by the neighborhood borders and there were almost no interaction between neighborhoods. Therefore it was not an easy task mobilizing such a group of people.

The second particularity is the relation of the movement with Halkevleri Organization. The border between the movement and HE is not a clear-cut one. It is not clear, to what extent DVRtSM can be regarded as independent from HE. HE identifies right to sheltering movements as a very important component of their general mobilization line; it appropriates those movements with all their pros and cons. Whereas DVRtSM perceives itself rather as an independent body which is supported by HE. In the rallies of May Day, right to sheltering movements carry their own placards, on which it is written only the names of the movement like "Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering", "Mamak Right to Sheltering", and slogans primarily referring to the struggle of right to sheltering. Whereas they stand at the end of the Halkevleri cortege, wearing shirts and hats of the same color, which is orange -

symbolic color of HE- and carrying placards and flags procured by Halkevleri. HE provides free buses to carry those people from their gecekondu areas to rally area; they designate the order and position of the right to sheltering cortege. So at these rallies, it is very typical to see a gecekondu woman with her children who doesn't identify herself as a Halkevleri supporter, but wearing an orange shirt procured by HE and carrying a placard saying that "sheltering is our right and we're gonna get it". I guess this picture gives an idea how HE and right to sheltering movements are connected in a peculiar way. The financial support that HE provides is important for right to sheltering movements but it is not essential, because HE itself doesn't have strong financial resources and those organizations do not require big amount of money. But the organizational and ideological support of HE can be identified as the most critical factor in terms of this connection. HE provides primarily the small cadres to initiate and establish the movement. They start to frequent the area, to get to know the people and inform them about the situation, then they preferably move into one of gecekondus in the area once they are trusted by valley people.

It is believed that it would be useful to analyze core framing tasks, diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framings of the movement as to provide a more comprehensive account of the movement's framing processes, but it was beyond the limits of the research. These are all overlapping processes; interactive and discursive processes go hand in hand with core framing tasks or discursive, strategic and contested processes which are defined under the interactive-discursive processes are actually integrated. They just focus on different levels or aspects of the whole process. As for the most outstanding question identified above, the most critical factors appear to be the strategic processes and they are mostly managed by the small Halkevleri cadre in DVRtSM case.

Snow and Benford, the builders of this conceptualization of frame alignment strategies, identify 4 types of frame alignment strategies. Not all of them are functioning in the valley case. In addition to that, there is an important strategic process which cannot be explained within one of those 4 strategies. Hence I identify a new strategy as to account for this process, namely frame narrowing.

As for the first frame alignments strategy, frame bridging, it is possible to say that it doesn't function in the case of DVRtSM. Frame bridging require the "the linkage of a movement organization with an unmobilized sentiment pool or public opinion cluster, or across social movements." (Snow & Benford, 2000:624) In DVRtSM, the adherent pool is space-specific, meaning that there is a certain aggregate of people which do not constitute a cluster of sentiment or public opinion but only subject to the same grievance. We can neither talk about linkage across frames or social movements in the same movement industry as there were no other right to sheltering movements at that time in Turkey. In Dikmen Valley, a socially and politically disintegrated group of people united for the common grievance under a new movement of their own and the process was/has still been strategically managed and directed by Halkevleri cadre. Therefore there is no condition of any kind of frame bridging in DVRtSM.

The second frame alignments strategy identified by Snow and Benford is frame amplification and the examples of different levels of frame amplification are observed in DVRtSM. Firstly, there is an evident value amplification that can be traced in any speech or writing of the movement. The values of solidarity, neighborliness, sisterhood and brotherhood are continuously amplified to emphasize the effectiveness of collective action. Such amplification helps to overcome the present disintegrations within the valley population as it points out the commonalities instead of the differences. The amplification of those values is also crucial for the movement to establish itself as a coherent and lasting body as the values of solidarity and unity lies at the core of collective action. Additionally, there is this double effect that when the solidarity was established in a great extent, this fact has started to be emphasized as a positive outcome of the movement: it was thanks to the movement that people who didn't know or like each other before, became friends and neighbors and now acting collectively for a common purpose. It is typically stated by the leaders and the adherents that the presence of the movement helped to overcome the drawbacks standing in front of the activation of these values. Hence it is possible to say that there is this double effect of the value amplification strategy: first, the values

121

were amplified strategically by the movement leaders and this helped the establishment of the movement, then the fact that those dormant values had been activated was attributed to the presence of the movement. In other words, if we call the aforementioned amplified frame as the 'solidarity frame', solidarity frame functioned as one of the effective tools of uniting socially and politically disconnected people.

It is important to note that solidarity frame functions simultaneously with other frames like "no politics frame" and "right to sheltering frame". It might be an appropriate moment to state again that framing processes are interactive and overlapping, working simultaneously and often consolidating each other. As it will be discussed in the following pages, the main goal of the "no politics frame" is to achieve solidarity among valley people, to overcome the present disintegrations by neutralizing differences and to cut the association of the movement with Halkevleri - or leftist politics in general-. Similarly right to sheltering concept, as it refers directly to the grievance in terms of the state's responsibility, has also a neutralizing capacity; it points at the commonality, at the shared problem, and it sets up a demand in addition to that.

As to continue with the frame amplification strategy, examples of belief amplification are also observed within the framing processes of DVRtSM. Prior to the movement, most of the valley people are hopeless regarding potential impacts of any individual or collective resistance to the state, municipality or the police. They perceived the state and its formal institutions as great, fearful bodies, and they were reluctant to oppose them because of a combination of feelings of fear and respect. Accordingly, any attempt to resist to the decisions of the state was being regarded as pointless if not improper. The transformation of such a perception has been achieved by the strategy of belief amplification and its combination with other strategies and factors: the power of the collective action and solidarity has been amplified continuously meanwhile small positive outcomes were being achieved as outcomes of decisive persistent collective acts. The first of February had a very important triggering effect on this amplification process: valley people fought against police

forces, against thousands of armed policemen and they achieved to fight them off, and this proved that they can succeed when they act collectively.

In addition to that, belief amplification strategy works simultaneously with the strategy of frame transformation of the perception of opposition. The negative perception of the opposition is consolidated by the pessimism about the any potential positive outcome. Therefore when the strategies of belief amplification and the transformation of the perception of opposition are invoked simultaneously, those processes accelerate each other.

Another contribution of the belief amplification strategy is that it legitimizes some actions necessary for mobilization and resistance which were perceived as illegal, dangerous and inapporiate. Once people identify their situation as unjust and feel themselves right and powerful, they don't hesitate to participate in a demonstration, to carry placards or distribute leaflets which were previously associated with radical politics.

The third frame alignment strategy is identified as the frame extension strategy. Dikmen Valley is a peculiar case for the implementation of this strategy which is invoked by Halkevleri. As to Snow and Benford's conceptualization of frame alignment strategies, the primary goal of frame extension strategy is to enlarge the adherent pool. Nevertheless in valley case the goal is rather oriented towards a gradual consciousness rising of the present adherents. The group is aimed to be transformed to a collectivity which conciously makes part of public opposition from being an ordinary subservient vassal. Initial framing of right to sheltering has been extended towards rights of people, pointing at the structural and systemic character of the grievance. When such a comprehensive understanding of the situation will be achieved, the movement will have the potential to go beyond the primary interest of sheltering by articulating with other movements and collectivities, and finally to constitute a persistent part of the public opposition. In that case, this struggle will support other cases of grievances and will strengthen them and will be strengthened by them. All together they will gain wider influence on people and eventually bring social and political change.

If you look at the framing of the movement when you define the movement as an independent organization, the aforementioned alteration of the framing can be regarded as an extension. There is this simple picture that, the initial framing was limited to right to sheltering but within the course of time it has extended to cover all the social rights. Nevertheless, once you put that the organization of the movement rather depends on Halkevleri organization and the Halkevleri cadre which is working actively in the organization of DVRtSM, then the framing processes take a different appearance. As this extension doesn't constitute an example of the primary goal of enhancing the participation to the movement, and as the final framing achieved within the process of this movement is actually the initial framing of Halkevleri, we can propose another concept of framing for this case. "Frame narrowing" can be useful to conceptualize the case.

The participation issue had its challenges in Dikmen Valley case, to gather people who are socially and politically disintegrated around a very political issue was not easy. Besides, Halkevleri label was very disadvantageous for the movement as the major part of the potential adherents was not sympathetic with the organization. Therefore Halkevleri strategically masked its attributional orientation and endorsed a semi-hidden leadership position in the organization of the movement. This way the tension between inclusivity and resonance (reality presentation) has been overcome. Halkevleri narrowed their actual framing of right of people and limited the scope as right to sheltering for the beginning. Instead of presenting the actual action framework which covered demanding of rights against all kinds of grievances which are presented as the outcomes of capitalism and neoliberalism; it limited its scope with 'right to sheltering' frame and focused on the grievance sourced by the project. This was necessary for participation, the focus on the grievance -that was being experienced most strongly by all at that moment- could be more effective in the overcoming of the segregation and disintegration between various groups as it was pointing at a common problem with politically neutral terms on a legal basis –as it nominated in the constitutional law-. Nevertheless, when the solidarity was established and the perceptual conditions of the valley people were ripe enough, the

narrowing could be removed and extension or better to say *re-extension* towards 'right of people' has been offered. In this respect it is possible to state that right to sheltering frame provides also an effective transitory base for this re-extension.

I think frame-narrowing strategy is an effective frame alignment strategy in the cases where the movement initiators and ideologues differ in a great extent from the potential recruits in terms of political scope and consciousness. In addition to that, it could be a strategy to be invoked in different cases as well, not necessarily only in the case of Right to Sheltering Movements. For instance, for the ecological movements, when a green group organizes a mobilization in a new area at risk, the population living there may have reluctance to cooperate with such a group. They may have relation with the governing body which poses as the opponent of the group. In such a case, the ecological movement may mask its radical elements and its oppositionary identity, and focus on the potential disadvantages of the project to be implemented for the people living in the area as to achieve participation. I believe this would also constitute an example of frame narrowing and other examples can be given for the relevance of frame narrowing strategy in different cases.

In addition to the effective utilization of aforementioned strategies, the most effective frame alignment strategy invoked in DVRtSM can be regarded as the frame transformation strategy. It has been invoked on different levels which worked in a way to consolidate each other. The reason of that this strategy has been invoked to this extent is about the character of the adherent group and the cognitive and political gap between this group and the ideological leaders of the movement. The adherent group is not a group that had the capacity to unite by its all means and carry out an organized movement against the urban transformation project. It is possible to say that there will be no DVRtSM if Halkevleri had not provided the leadership of the movement. But it is also true that there will be no Halkevleri either if this leadership would have represented the Halkevleri instead of the valley people alone.

There were various cognitive barriers on the mobilization of the valley people and Halkevleri cadre invoked frame transformation strategies to overcome those

impediments. The feeling of injustice or the perception of the situation as an outcome of unjust public policy was not present in the beginning of the mobilization. First of all opposition in general terms was not positively regarded. The major part of the valley people had not tendency to oppose in any way to the situation that were subjected to and the feeling of injustice was not strong enough to break this reluctance regarding the opposition. Hence Halkevleri cadre tackled first to transform this negative perception of opposition so that feeling of injustice would be consolidated and the collective action could be mobilized. There are three factors which served to transform this.

The first one is the organization of the movement under the Right to Sheltering Bureau. The Bureau provided the spatiality of the mobilization by constituting an area of gathering and socializing for people. This common space served to a great extent especially in the beginning for the people to get to know each other and break the ices between disintegrated groups. It constituted the center of the mobilization where the decisions were made and announced, where the organization was being managed. As the Bureau was not named after Halkevleri or İlker Halkevi but as Right to Sheltering, which is the grievance shared by all, it also helped to break the association with Halkevleri which was an impediment in front of participation to the movement.

Another aspect was that the bureau was managed by the valley people under the leadership of Halkevleri cadre, which means that Halkevleri cadre was trying to feature the valley people in the organization processes and was trying to remain at the background themselves. They adopted a bottom-up organization approach, where they were encouraging the active participation and leading of the valley people. They kept their Halkevleri identity at the background and tried to learn from the community acknowledging that they were the actual subjects of the grievance and they could have their own original solutions to their problems. Such an approach differed from the traditional leftist approach of organization where the main aim is to enhance participation to the organization or the party.

The second factor that worked in favor of the transformation of the negative perception of opposition was the no politics principle. This principle was crucially effective for the establishment of solidarity. As it was stated before, the valley population varied to a great extent socially and politically. There were groups which were segregated on the basis of ethnicity, religion, political orientation and origin of the hometown. This situation was a great barrier in front of building the solidarity. The movement itself was being associated with leftist politics due to its relation to Halkevleri which was also a big difficulty in front of the participation for the people who didn't want to involve in something that was associated with left. Hence the principle of no politics was being articulated continuously by the movement leaders as to highlight that the political differences were disregarded within the movement; the movement has not been involved in any kind of party or organization politics; the movement covered all the valley people who were suffering from the sheltering problem independent of their political choices. Such discourse was dissolving the differences among valley people and focusing on the commonalities instead. The concept of right to sheltering is also neutral in terms of political associations as it points at the common grievance and a fresh term with no mnemonic baggage which matched perfectly with the no politics principle.

The third factor is the attack of 1st of February which is not strategically put forward but strategically managed to be a part of the movement discourse. It was an externality in terms of the organization and strategic framing of the movement, meaning that the attack was made by the municipality therefore the movement had no impact upon it. Nevertheless, it worked in favor of the participation and solidarity building. Valley people came to see the efficiency of the collective action and that they have power and the state can be unjust. The victory won that day against the police forces were made a part of the movement discourse, highlighted continuously as a symbol of power of collective action against injustice.

The second level of perceptual transformation that helped to the consolidation of feeling of injustice was the transformation of the perception of gecekondu. As to this, gecekondu was introduced as an outcome of state's policies and inefficiencies.

Gecekondu was being discussed in terms of migration issue and market's needs in the context of industrialization. Valley people were introduced with the concepts social state and right to sheltering; and that right to sheltering is a social right which is recognized by constitutional law. This has been combined with the already present feeling of injustice that rage from the fact that while calling them invaders, municipality recognize them by providing infrastructure and services and tax and invoice those services. Throughout these discussions valley people started to perceive themselves as right holders

The introduction of the concept of Right to Sheltering followed those transformations of the perception of opposition and gecekondu. Here the concept endorses a wider meaning that goes beyond the demanding of a social right and refers the cognitive transformations that prepared its basis. It primarily proposes sheltering as a social right, different from property right and it defines gecekondu issue in terms of social rights. Accordingly gecekondu building is regarded as neither invasion nor a rent seeking individual endeavor but a survival mechanism of the poor who had to migrate from rural areas and whose sheltering need was not met by the state. State appears here as an authority that can be unjust, insufficient and as the target of opposition.

Secondly, it has a neutralizing capacity as it is fresh as a term that doesn't have any association with left or oppositional politics. This facilitates the engaging of people with different political affiliations together in the movement. By this and by continuous articulation of no politics discourse, without pronouncing the word class, a class-based politics is being prepared. As to this, the target audience, the actual and potential adherents are poor people and workers, whereas the source of mobilization and opposition is the violation of rights.

Notwithstanding the enemy is recognized as Melih Gökçek, it is continuously noted that the problem is systemic and do not depend on the individuals or parties. The urban transformation process in a Mehmet Akif Ersoy neighborhood (in Yenimahalle) contributed a lot to the cognition of the structural character of the

problem by the valley people: the project has been declared in the ruling of AKP municipality and CHP won the next elections by the propaganda that the project was unjust and should be stopped. As soon as CHP took the seat, it adopted the same position of AKP regarding the project and tried to start the urban transformation process. The struggle is still going on.

The current utilization of the right to sheltering concept in DVRtSM connotes three levels of perceptual transformations:

1.Disintegrations among valley people dissolved, they united in terms of their commonalities which is primarily the injustice they are subjected to.

2.Gecekondu fact is being perceived in terms of the responsibilities of the social state. The concept of right to sheltering has been recognized in those terms.

3.The perception of the state has been transformed to a great extent which facilitated most the establishment of the feeling of injustice and collective action. State which was being recognized as something fearful and respected now is perceived as something that can be unjust and superable. Hence instead of the perception of father state, the demand for a social state has been posed.

There are various titles within the DVRtSM, and RtSMs that deserves particular attention. I could not focus on those due to limited scope of my research, but I think that other research questions regarding those aspects could contribute to the social movement literature. The agency of women and the oppositional framing, the discussion regarding the cognition of "class" are one of those. The participation of women in RtSMs has its particularities; it is possible to state that women are more eager to participate in RtSMs compared to other areas of resiatances, for various reasons. First of all due to their gender based role in the family, they embrace their shelters with a stronger sense; there is the association of home with the woman, therefore the mother. Mothers feel the responsibility to protect their houses which they associate with their children. In addition to that there are also organizational

advantages that RtSMs present for women's participation. As the organization is managed within the borders of neighborhoods that they are living, women can be more easily be a part of the movement. In the case that the organization center would be distant from the lived space, participation of women would be more limited due to traditional conditions that women have to stay at home as they have to take care of the domestic work or they are not allowed to be in the public space alone or even in the case they have the freedom and time to be out, they simply do not feel comfortable as individuals outside the houses. There are organizational advantages that women offered to RtSMs once they make a part of the mobilization. Women are more easily accepted when they visit houses to inform people about the project and make the initial calls for mobilization. They are more easily trusted by families and welcomed inside the houses. In addition to that, it is stated by the DVRtSM's Halkevleri cadre that women are more effective in the spreading of the news and developments compared to men which is evident after the weekly meetings and men simply go home and do not talk about the meetings, but women share the content of the meeting with their neighbors and comment on them. Although men's participation is still higher in DVRtSM and other RtSMs, the participation of women still stands out in RtSM case. In the meetings, marches and any kind of activities it is possible to see women at the front expressing their ideas in front of public, carrying placards and shouting slogans who have never been in any kind of demonstration ever before. Women denote that being a part of the movement provided empowerment of them that they are more confident and demanding in the public now. They feel themselves as more powerful as citizens now and this empowerment is also reflected to gender relations at home. In some of the houses the domestic work is now shared when the woman is participating in a meeting or activity. They denote that now they are more demanding at home too, and while they would ask for permission to go out before, they never to that anymore. Despite those important advancements regarding gender equality, that are denoted by "some", it is not possible to state that participation of women in the movement have radical impacts on the dislocation of gender roles at homes. In most of the households the inner structure is kept as much the same. Nevertheless it could be argued that RtSMs poses advantages in terms of women's empowerment in traditional areas and neighborhoods therefore a women's

organization that work together and simultaneously with RtSM could be very effective both for women's movement and RtSMs.

Another title to focus on regarding the framing processes of DvRtSM and RtSMs in general is the counter framing processes. It is possible to claim that counter framing made by the municipality and mostly by the mayor had very positive impacts on the mobilization of the valley people. The denomination of Melih Gökçek of the valley people as invaders, terrorists and raiders, have steamed them up and consolidated the feeling of injustice. Melih Gökçek became the enemy and the common enemy helped to the solidarity building among valley people. The brutal tactics the municipality implemented to force people to sign the contracts were effective; the continuous treats and pressures provided many households to leave the valley nonetheless they were also effective in the strengthening of the determination of the people who remained. Most of the people nominate Melih Gökçek when they try to explain their persistence to carry on the struggle.

Here this enemy issue propose a challenge to the framing of the movement which also carry the discussion to the class consciousness dimension of the DVRtSM. Whereas the identification of Melih Gökçek had important contributions to participation and solidarity building, the primary goal of Halkevleri to raise the consciousness of the audience and provided them to analyze their situation in the context of structural political factors, entailed the identification of the enemy not as an individual but as the neoliberalism and capitalism. DVRtSM highlights these in its discourse continuously but to what extent the acknowledgement of the systemic character of the situation is shared by valley people can not be measured. At this moment of the mobilization the politization of the movement adherents is not accomplished; despite that DVRtSM have demonstrated solidarity with working class movements like Tekel workers, and the protests against sub-supplier system and the contracting social security system, etc., it is neither possible to talk about an established class consciousness. There are individuals who are politicized enough throughout the process of mobilization to be considered as potential activists of leftist politics but most of the valley people are still not ready to be involved in any

political organizational body other then RtSM. This could be referred as a negative manifestation of frame narrowing strategy; in order to guarantee participation frame is narrowed to the extent that re-extension proceeds slowly and in a limited way. It was an important concern for Halkevleri to convince people that they were not carrying out an ideological activity in the valley, so that they focused on the sheltering issue and tried to dissolve within the movement providing the activation of the valley people, but this way they may have dissolved too much and the goal of establishing the link of the experienced grievance and neoliberalism may not function so well. In my interviews I usually asked questions to the interviewees to bring out whether they were associating the movement with Halkevleri and whether they were associating the success of the movement with the organized opposition. They were hardly pronouncing the name of Halkevleri or attributing the success to the organizational character of their mobilization. I was trying to understand if they would get involved in any organizational politics once this struggle was over in this or that way: I could not get accurate evidence in that regard, it was rather denoted that they would claim their rights in any case of injustice. Nevertheless there is an adherent group that is demanding, interrogating and opposing whose perception of state and gecekondu has been transformed radically. And as a solution to this problem, Halkevleri cadre plans to start a kind of school in the valley where political presentation and discussions will be made with the participation of the leading figures of the movement.

It is not known whether Halkevleri cadre will able to overcome this problem. It is not either known whether DVRtSM will eventually reach its demands. Nevertheless struggle is going on and valley people express their determination to remain in the valley in every occasion. Last week there has been another attack made by municipality and police forces. Valley people resisted and they achieved to repel the police forces out once again without any important demolishment was achieved. Now they are getting prepared for the next attack which was announced by the municipality. They have already organized some gecekondus as first aid units in case of injuries and as crèches for the kids to be looked after during the fight so they would get the minimum impact. They stored construction materials and tents as to

rebuild the demolished houses right away or set up tents in case rebuilding is not possible. Households who had left the valley to visit their villages for the summer came back and valley people invited their relatives and friends to stay with them in order to increase the population for the fighting. The news of the attack had wide media coverage and there is already an extensive public support to DVRtSM for the next expected attack. It is very impressive to see the level of determination and organization against this expected attack.[116]

It is expected that the cases of grievances resulting from neoliberal restructuring will continue to proliferate with the solidification of neoliberalism by AKP's economic and social policies. DVRtSM emerged in recent neoliberal context and had significant achievements as a movement that fights against neoliberal urban policies. It is not considered as a significant example only because it is the first right to sheltering movement, or as it is an example of a unification of originally non political people; but as it received a wide media attention and public support from various sorts of groups and bodies from chambers, to students and art groups. It can be argued that it contributed to the vitalization of public opposition. It became and address for other cases of urban transformation; when a new project is declared somewhere, people of that area call the Bureau and get information and consult. In addition to those, it provides a new organization model for leftist politics and proves that it is possible to mobilize people independent of their political orientation. Summing all of this DVRtSM proves to be a model movement in front of similar cases of grievances within an expanding solidarity network and although limitedly for the moment, it is open to integrate with other movements. And a strong articulation of the resistances and movements of anti-neoliberal sort is believed to have the potential to challenge government's policies and eventually bring social change.

I want end my conclusion by sharing my wishes for Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement. I wish that they are going to reach their demands and will continue to live there and make it a better place. And I finally hope that people are

---

[116] Here you an find the text that tells about the recent preperations fort he expected attack.

going to find new research questions regarding Dikmen Valley case and it will continue to be discussed within the social movements' research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aras, M.Ö. and Alkan L., "Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamalarının Ankara Kent Makroformu Üzerinde Ekonomik, Politik, Sosyo-Kültürel Etkilerinin Değerlendirilmesi", *TMMOB Harita ve Kadastro Mühendisleri Odası, 11. Türkiye Harita Bilimsel ve Teknik Kurultayı*, 2007

Ayres, J.M., "Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the "Anti-Globalization" Movement*", Journal of World System Research*, Vol:10, No:1*,* (2004):11-34

Bacık, G., *"Turkey and Russia: whither modernization", Journal of Economic and Social Research*, Vol: 3, No: 2, Preliminary Issue, (2001,2002): 50-71

Bedirhanoğlu,P., Yalman,G.L., "State, Class and the Discourse: Reflections on the Neoliberal Transitions in Turkey", in *Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle-Income Countries: Policy Dilemmas, Economic Crises, Forms of Resistance*, edited by Alfredo Saad-Filho, Galip Yalman, London and New York: Routledge, 2010,

Benford, R.D., "An Insider's Critique of The Social Movement Framing Perspective", *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (1997): 409-430.

Benford, R.D., "Frame Disputes within Nuclear Disarmament Movement", *Social Forces,* Vol. 71, No. 3 (1993): 677-701

Berner, E., "Opportunities, and Insecurities: Globalization, Localities and the Struggle for Urban Land in Manila", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1997): 167-182

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N., Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", in *Spaces of Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden, MA: Oxford's Blackwell Press, 2002

Candan, A. B and Kolluoğlu, B., "Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in İstanbul", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No: 39, (2008): 5-46.

Devecigil, P. T., "The Role of Local Actors in Transforming Informal Settlements in Turkey for Sustainable Urban Development: The Ankara- Dikmen Valley Case", *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 11, No: 3&4, (2006): 167-186

Deniz, M.B., *Grassroots Action Against Gecekondu Renewal Projects: The Case Of Istanbul Başıbüyük and Ankara Dikmen Vadi*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, İstanbul: Bosphorus University, 2010

Ergin N.B, *Grassroots Resistance Against Urban Renewal: The Case of Güzeltepe, İstanbul,* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2006

Goffman, E., *Frame Analysis, An Essay on the Organization of Experience,* Cambridge: Harward University Press, 1974

Gümüş, N.A., *Becoming a Neo-Liberal City: Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2010

Güzey, Ö., "*Urban Regeneration and Increased Competitive Power: Ankara in an Era of Globalization*", Cities 26, (2009):27-37

Hackworth 2007, *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology and Development in American Urbanism*, New York: Cornell University Press.

Harvey, D., *Spaces of Hope*, Berkeley, CA:University of California Press, 2000

Harvey,D., *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005

Harvey D. "Neo-liberalism as Creative Destruction", *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, Vol: 88, No: 2, (2006): 145-158

Harvey, D., *Umut Mekanları,* Translated by Zeynep Gambetti, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2008

Howard, M.C. and King, J.E., *The Rise of Neoliberalism in Advanced Capitalism: A Materialist Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Jessop, B., *Good Governance and the Urban Question: On Managing the Contradictions of Neo-Liberalism, Comment on Urban 21*, Mieter Echo, June, 2000

Johnston, H.; Larana, E.and Gusfield, J. R., "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements", In *New Social Movements: From Ideology To Identity*, edited by Hank Johnston, Enrique Larana and Joseph R. Gusfield, 3-35, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994

Johnston, H. and Noakes, J. A., "Frames of Protest: A Road Map to a Perspective*", in Frames of Protest, Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*, edited by. Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes, 1-33, Lanham, MD: Rowman& Littlefield Publishers, 2005

Kalyoncugil, M.M*., Toplumsal Dönüşüm Bağlamında Halkevleri*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2006

Karadag, R., P*olitical Capitalisms: Power, Elites and the Economy in Turkey and the Philippines.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Cologne: University of Cologne, 2010

Klandermans, B. and Roggeband, C., "Introduction", in *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband, 1-13, New York, NY: Springer, 2009

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D. and Zald, M. N., "Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes-Toward a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements", In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, edited by. Dough McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, 1-23, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C., *Dynamics of Contention*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001

Morris, A.D. and Mueller, C.M., Introduction, in *Building Social Movement Theory,* In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, 1-25, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992: 3-20

Mühürdaroğlu, A., *De-regulatory Urban Redevelopment Policies in Gecekondu Areas in Turkey: The Case of Dikmen Valley,* Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2005

Nelson, J.M., Access to Power Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Nations, Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univesity Press, 1979

Noonan, R. K, "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy", *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1995): 81- 111

Özdek, Y. "Neoliberalizm, Devletin ve Toplumun Dönüşümü, Toplumsal Yaşama İlişkin Haklar Oturumu", in published text of *Halkın Hakları Forumu*, Milkiyeliler Birliği ve Halkevleri, 2008: 4-25

Peck, J. and Tickell, A., "Neoliberalizing Space, in *Spaces of Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden, MA: Oxford's Blackwell Press, 2002

Sakızlıoglu, N.B., *Impacts Of Urban Renewal Policies: The Case Of Tarlabaşı-Istanbul*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2007

Smith, N., New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy,

in *Spaces of Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden, MA: Oxford's Blackwell Press, 2002

Snow, D. A, "Framing Processes, Ideology and Discursive Fields", In *Blackwell Companion To Social Movements,* edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, 380-413, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing, 2004

Snow, D. A. and Benford, R. D, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest", In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol Mcclurg Mueller, 133-155, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992

Snow, D. A.and Benford, R. D., "Clarifying The Relationship Between Framing and Ideology", In *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*, edited by. Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes, 205-213, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005

Snow, D. A. and Benford, R. D., "Framing Processes and Social Movements: an Overview and Assessment", *Annual Review of Sociology*, No: 26, (2000): 611-639

Snow, D. A. and Benford, R. D., "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization", *International Social Movement Research,* No: 1, (1988): 197-217

Snow, D.A., Soule, S.A.and Kriesi, H., "Introduction: Mapping the Terrain", In *Blackwell Companion To Social Movements,* edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, 3-17, Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing, 2004

Snow, D. A. and others, "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation", *American Sociological Review*, No: 51, (1986): 464-481

Tarrow, S., "Mentalities Political Cultures and Collective Action Frames", In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, 174-202, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992

Tarrow, S., "Framing Contention", in *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politic*s, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 109-122

Ulusoy, A. Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Ankara'da Toplu Konut Uygulamaları, Mülkiye Dergisi, V:32, Winter, (2008):151-160

Uzun, C. N., "Residential Transformation of Squatter Settlements: Urban Redevelopment Projects in Ankara", *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, V:20, No: 2, (2005): 183 –199

Vanderlippe, J. M. *The Politics of Turkish Democracy*: *İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the* Multi-Party System, 1938-1950, Albany: Suny Press, 2005

Weber, R., Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment,

in *Spaces of Neoliberalism, Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, edited by Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, Malden, MA: Oxford's Blackwell Press, 2002

Yardımcı, S. Transformation of Urban Sphere: Hacıbayram Square and its Environment, Ankara, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2008

Yılmaz, M.E., *The Anti/Alternative-Globalization Movement: A Case Study on Turkey,* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2006

Zald, M. N., "Culture Ideology and Strategic Framing", In *Comparative Perspectives On Social Movements*, edited by. Dough Mcadam, John D. Mccarthy and Mayer N. Zald, 261-274, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Zirakzadeh, C.E., *Social Movements in Politics: a Comparative Study Expanded Edition*, London, New York, NY: Longman, 1997

http://www.dikmenvadisi.org

http://www.barinmahakki.com

http://www.halkevleri.org.tr

APPENDIX

Picture 1: A view of gecekondus from valley

Picture 2: Tarık Çalışkan and visitors in the Bureau

Picture 3: Weekly meeting at the bigger room

Picture 4: Not invader, not Alewi, not Kurdish; demanding citizens, right holders, united poor people on the streets!

Picture 4: Right to Sheltering Rally

Picture 5: A gecekondu dweller from the valley is distributing leaflets to call people to Right to Sheltering Rally in Kızılay, city center

143

Picture 5: Women of the struggle

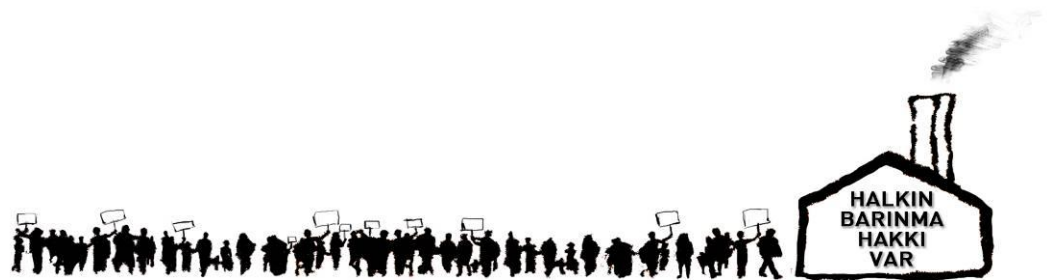**Picture 6:** Theatre Play showed in the Valley Festival, Festivadi, 25.09.2010

Picture 7: 1st of February Attack

Picture 8: 1st of February Attack

Picture 9: From one of the Memorial day of 1st of February at valley

Picture 10: Logo of the Right to Sheltering Movement: "People have the right to sheltering"