SPACES OF CONFLICT:
MEMORY, MUSEALIZATION AND HETEROTOPIA
IN THE CITY OF SIVAS, TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

SPACES OF CONFLICT:
MEMORY, MUSEALIZATION AND HETEROTOPIA
IN THE CITY OF SIVAS, TURKEY

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The thesis concentrates on how different groups of people challenge the practices of musealization which changes the signification of monuments in a city and bring a conservative lifestyle by the use of memorial material. The area of research is selected as the center of Sivas, an area which has strict claims of representing a Sunni, Turkish identity even though the mentioned identity is not shared by the entire population of the city.

While memory is analyzed in this thesis over its utilization by collectivities to emphasize their existence spatially, heterotopia, therefore spaces of the others, are discussed as the main form of spatial opposition produced by different groups of people. For the purpose of this thesis, musealization, the use of memory and heterotopia take place as the main elements to discuss how the space is constructed to regulate collectivities and how collectivities appropriate space against the domination of authorities.

Keywords: Musealization, Memory, Social Production of Urban Space, Socio-Spatial Dialectic, Sivas

ÖZ

ÇELİŞKİ MEKÂNLARI:
TÜRKİYE DE SİVAS ŞEHRİNDE BELLEK, MÜZELEŞME VE HETEROTOPİ

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Bu tez, farklı grupların şehirdeki anıtların anlamını değiştiren ve anıtsal yapıları kullanarak muhafazakâr bir hayat biçimi getiren müzeleşme pratiklerine nasıl karşı çıktığına odaklanmaktadır. Araştırma sahası şehrin tüm nüfusunca paylaşılmayan Sünni-Türk kimliğini sert bir şekilde temsil eden Sivas şehrinin merkezi olarak seçilmiştir.

Bellek bu tezde kitlelerin varlıklarını mekânsal olarak vurgulamalarındaki kullanımı üzerinden incelenirken, ötekilerin mekânı olan heterotopi farklı grupların mekânsal olarak gidişata karşı çıkmalarının ana biçimi olarak tartışılmaktadır. Tezin amaçları açısından, müzeleşme, belleğin kullanımı ve heterotopi mekânın kitlelerin denetim altına alınması için nasıl kullanıldığını ve otoritenin tahakkümüne karşı kitlelerin mekânı nasıl uygunlaştırdığını tartışmak için ana öğeler olarak yer alırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzeleşme, Bellek, Kentsel Mekânın Toplumsal Üretimi, Sosyo-Mekânsal Diyalektik, Sivas

To a country with boats, where dreams blossom

and

no force adopts the role of pirates.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKM	Atatürk Cultural Center
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	The Motherland Party
AP	Justice Party
BBP	Great Union Party
CEM Foundation:	Foundation of Republican Education and Culture
ÇKSE	Community Culture and Art House
Dev-Maden-Sen	Turkey's Revolutionary Labor Union for the Mine Workers
DISK	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
DP	Democrat Party
FP	The Virtue Party
KESK	Confederation of Public Laborer's Unions
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PSAKD	Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association
TÜDEMSAŞ	Turkey Industry of Railway Machinery)
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute
Türk-İş	Confederation of Turkish Trade Union

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The idea of starting the research of my doctoral thesis in Sivas followed the earlier research interest including a larger frame to analyze the link between the structures constructing a narration on a certain space and agency whose response to the narration includes a reciprocal relation. This narration's effect would be mainly on public space, on places where public groups develop an attachment or opposition. The timeline for this earlier research idea would begin from 1990s, which is an important decade in Turkey starting a transformation that can be traced until the present time. In this broader frame, street's presence was understood as a core element which implies an area of confrontation for the people living in an area which is both controlled by the authorities and both subjected to the human use and production. Additionally street has an inevitable connection to the surrounding memorial material having a complex relationship with the authorities and groups of people. The complexity is not an outcome of its centrality for human action nor has it an indispensable feature for the state or local governments. The monuments are important due to their surrounding effect, their presence in the middle of the daily life and the practical use they offer for the dissemination of ideas. These features enable the researcher to reveal the public action on street, authoritarian claims on space, the transformation of space throughout the challenge between groups and authorities and the divisions in the city. Therefore they have the capacity of serving as a tool to distinguish the mobility on the street. These relations are believed to be analyzed in detail since they embrace a complex structure.

The first complexity results from its differing features. A structure is memorial either because it is constructed as a monument to pause a certain moment in history or because it becomes one in the course of time by signifying something for authorities

or groups of people at a certain moment in history, often interpreted differently by groups of people and authorities. The second complexity relates with the rivalry of monuments with space and time. Whether they are initially constructed as monuments or later became one, their existence neglects the possible future changes in their meaning. In case of the transformation of a certain space into a counter-space, the conceived meaning changes completely and the change of time would bring the end of earlier significations. The third complexity ensues because of this very challenge against spatial and temporal changes. Both the authorities and people resist them for the sake of the future of memorial structures since they are the signifiers of their present stance. Simply, this frame does not incorporate monuments as dead structures, stagnant in terms of meaning and alienated from the development of everyday dynamics. Even though the frame has been altered during the following phases of developing research, the importance of this complexity stands since it explains an important but seldom analyzed feature of the relation between street, groups of people, authorities and monuments.

While the frame focuses on the present time, it still involves a concern for historicity. It does not concentrate solely on 1990s but starts the origins of the transformation from that decade. The center of the province of Sivas, Turkey, which was among the various places to be investigated in the first frame became the area of research for a couple of reasons. The first reason is related with the urban transformation in the center of Sivas, which is directed to the transformation of what is reflected on street by the effective use of memorial structures which signify a cultural and economic turn. Secondly, the city center has very clear borders in terms of the divisions between the living areas of different groups of people and the areas where the mentioned transformation is concentrated. It is not as great and complex as a metropolis and therefore offers a modest map easing to make an elaborate analysis.

Thirdly and more importantly, contrary to the modesty of the map and clarity of divided areas, the relations in the center, the organization of daily life on the street, the use of space by people and authorities display a complex and conflicting structure

offering a lot to investigate. This complexity has the feature to exemplify some of the conflicts and developments in Turkey which has been a matter of debate such as the rise of conservatism, the practices of conservative municipalities, the perception of otherness, the condition of women and the divisions in the public sphere in the last two decades which are all rendered more visible in the smaller frame of its map. After deciding the area of research, the development of the thesis structure followed the initial aim on deciphering the reciprocal relation between agency and space under transformation in which analyzing the acts developed by groups of people for altering and challenging space becomes the main motive.

Sivas is a city enclosing contradictory images in the country's memory such as the protection of republican values and an extremist attack on them. Before 1993 the city was known as a city defending the republican ideas and proud of being the place of the Sivas Congress (4-11 September 1919) where important decisions for the Independence War had been taken. On July the 2nd 1993 this appearance of the city in country's memory changed with the Madımak Massacre. Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Festival in Madımak Hotel hosting guests from all over Turkey was attacked by Islamist groups burning the Hotel. The assault ended with the death of 33 guests including artists and dance groups and 2 hotel personnel. Two of the assailants died as well outside of the hotel. The event brought a great shock to the entire country. Afterwards Sivas started to be remembered with the massacre called *Madımak Massacre* or *Sivas Massacre*. After the Massacre, Sivas has been the area of major changes, which are analyzed in this thesis as the primary signifiers to evaluate the public discontent and following public response. In addition to the importance of the *trauma* of the city, its economic condition has a signifying value. The present structure of the city where the economy is in decay and immigration and unemployment are constant problems also frame the discontentment in Sivas, which is attempted to be comforted by the mentioned transformation.

Statistical data is not part of the analysis of this thesis, but to introduce the city in terms of its position Turkey's economy related with labor force participation,

unemployment and employment, it is believed the rates and rank of the city have an importance. According to the address-based population registration data gathered by Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), the population living in the center of Sivas during 2011-2012 was 312.587, while the total city population was 623.535 during the same year.[1] Being a city having the constant problem of emigration and unemployment, many projects to prevent the factors leading to the decrease of population and general discontent about unemployment and living conditions have been implemented. Comparing the data on population, migration and employment for the years 2009 and 2012 (Appendix B), we see less mobility in terms of immigration, emigration and unemployment in 2012 than in 2009. These years cover the period beginning after the Municipality (the one active during my field research) was elected. Even though there are no critical differences between the numbers of immigration, emigration and unemployment, 2012 is seen as a year when the employment rate increased in comparison with 2009 and accordingly the unemployment rate decreased. However, the same table shows that there is still a difference in numbers of people migrated to and migrated from Sivas. According to the net migration numbers, 2012 has a higher number of people migrated from the city compared to the people immigrated. This value is higher than the net migration value in 2009. Moreover, when the levels of education of the people migrated to and migrated from Sivas are considered, it is seen that the condition in 2012 resembles 2009. People graduated from vocational schools or university and the people with postgraduate degrees migrated from the city more than the entrance of the people with the same qualifications. On the other hand, the numbers in 2012 are greater than in 2009. Therefore while the rates in participation to the labor force and employment increased, the city lost qualified people in increasing numbers.

To compare these results with the rank of the city among the 81 provinces of Turkey in terms of employment rate and unemployment including the comparison of average

[1] Turkish Statistical Institute. 2009 Address-Based Population Registration System Results. [Database Online]. Ankara, 2014 [Accessed January 05 2015]. Available from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1059.

rate and the rate seen in Sivas in 2009 and 2012, the table in Appendix C was prepared basing on the same statistical data. According to the results seen in this table, the employment rate in 2012 display a drastic difference from 2009. Sivas ranks in 72th among 81 provinces in 2009 with the rate of 33.9% (21% relative difference from the mean being 43.0%) while ranking the 40th in 2012, showing an employment rate of 46.6% getting closer to the average, 46.1% (1.1% relative difference). The differences between 2009 and 2012 in terms of labor force participation shows an increase from the 72th position to 42th. On the other hand, the unemployment rate of Sivas in 2009 as 13.2 places the city as the 37th among 81 provinces (7.3% relative difference from the mean being 12.3%). In 2012 even though the unemployment rate decreased to 7.8 % (6% relative difference from the mean being 8.3%), the rank of Sivas, 36th, did not show a major change.[2]

When the statistics meet with the daily life in the city, it is seen that, the politics regarding the organization of life are facing a high rate of migration from the city, including people with skills related with the high rate of unemployment. The cultural turn, which started to be emphasized more after the local elections in 2009, was placed against the problem as a possible solution which would be realized through increasing tourism and increasing consumption. On the other hand it is seen that this process, since it addresses a great change in the social life as well, leads different groups of people to take measures and develop fast and individual ways of opposition. Due to the monumental materials' use in this transformation to settle a new social life, a new version of history and an increasing control replacing the spontaneity of the street life, the oppositions often challenge the mentioned monumentality or its outcomes such as a debatable version of city's history. The agency here is not limited with supporting and protecting a certain structure. It is about opening an area. This area can have a counter structure or it can be limited with a closed environment to focus on further strategies. However, in this challenge, the role of the memorial structures takes many

[2] Turkish Statistical Institute. 2009 Address-Based Population Registration System Results. [Database Online]. Ankara, 2014 [Accessed January 05 2015]. Available from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1059.

forms from being the motivating source to being the border between the people's space and that of space dominated by authorities.

The analysis of structures and agency follows the aim supported by Henri Lefebvre on studying "the margin which separates what men are from what they think they are".[3] This aim involves both a spatial focus to decipher the production of margins and an archeological process to understand the roots creating those margins. When Sivas is considered, in terms of both islands of different realities shared by different groups of people and general lines of the difference between planned and settled space and its actual functioning, the margins are seen to be constructed as physical and fictional productions which have spatial reflections in each case. The spatial transformation of the city center and the challenge against it created various narrations affirming the city a different history. Various actions developed to alter this history and spatial settlement became visible especially on places adopted by people or authorities.

In this work, the spatial understanding of margins and the focus on how space functions relates itself with the mainstream approaches of the critical study of space and social relations. On my view, this approach enables the researcher first to be able to discover the spatial divisions of the geography of the research. For the avenues, streets, parks, associations, coffeehouses, houses, briefly all sorts of spatial units in this map also display the nodes where people meet, avoid to meet with some groups, develop and exchange their opinions which are −or potentially are− politically motivating. Consequently, this map becomes also the map of social interaction, social segregation and social movement since space embraces various features. Secondly and relatedly, it opens a way to gather the knowledge of small spatial units as well as the more visible and extended ones enabling shifting the focus between them.

[3] Henri Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life, (London: Verso, 1991),146.

These features as posed by Henri Lefebvre are composed of being the area of production and reproduction, the link between the structure and relations of production and the meta-language, the code creating various representations of space.[4] Therefore space becomes an agent itself during the process of formation of certain relations including production and reproduction. The continuous interaction between space and society creates the representational parts of it. Space also becomes an area of permanent transformation due to the agency of people and intervention of authorities. Edward Soja, following the path opened by Lefebvre offers the investigation of these features through a "socio-spatial dialectic"; so, the dialectic relations occurred between the society and space, which is to be analyzed over their availability to bring an in depth analysis of the social formations settled by both the surrounding economic and political systems and the organized action of collectivities.[5]

Musealization, the analytical tool adopted in this work for the investigation of control of authorities on space in Sivas, appear in these dialectics as the operational apparatus of authorities to alter both the significations inscribed on Sivas and the flow of daily life in the city. The development of this concept depends on earlier discussions on how memorial material is exhibited after the change in the structure of museums which leads the urban environment to exhibit the museal pieces, which naturally brings change in what museal materials are. According to Müller the application of museal exhibition on the urban context leads to the polarization between the character of a place and its new location in the museal imagination.[6] In many cities, by

[4] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991), 33.

[5] Edward W. Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 70, no. 2 (1980).

[6] Michael Muller, "Musealisation, Aestheticisation and Reconstructing the Past," The Journal of Architecture 4, no. 4 (1999): 362.

restorations, renovations or determination of nodes to present a selected part of history, spatial transformation shows itself in the form of heritage production which directly changes the relations of production in the city through adding the city into to the process of consumption. Having immediate effects on daily life, this transformation not only changes what a city signifies and what is signified in a city. In some cases, such as Sivas, it functions as a way to suppress the public and historic visibility of some communities and the exhibition of a purified history to interrupt the way the social relations are developed in an environment. Therefore musealization is referred in this work briefly as a process aiming to stabilize what is signified by the surrounding built structure to spread a dominant ideology while attempting to alter the relations developed inside this very structure. Similar attempts can be seen in many locations in Turkey, however in Sivas musealization targets directly the city center where the most of the political and social life in the city is interrupted by this way. Affirming a historic narration to some buildings, whether they are actually monumental or gained this status later, it supports a direct intervention to the social relations. When the entire process is analyzed, it is seen that the history narrated through recently renovated monuments are concentrated on the construction of a conservative Turkish, Sunni identity by not giving reference to any other community in the city. In this sense the function of musealization is seen as transforming the city center into a museum of Sunni-Turkish history rendering the political structure of the city center into a place where agency cannot develop any criticism or participate to the decision making processes related with the city. In such a structure, agency has the major role to challenge and appropriate the place according to the needs of the groups.

For this role of agency one of the vehicles of challenging the dominated space is using memory. Within this context memory takes its place against history as a production of authorities and musealization which is the apparatus of such production of history. Even though this work does not involve a research on social or collective memory; memory is seen as a very important element for collectivities to organize their space in contradiction with dominated space. This does not mean however that memory

cannot be interrupted by authorities or it is a pure form not intervened by collectivities who use it as a vehicle of opposition. Memory is flexible and it is open for interpretations related with the place of the community keeping it in time and space as discussed by Fentress and Wickham.[7] In addition to being a non-authoritarian form of remembering, it is this flexibility which makes it powerful for communities since memory allows a process of re-interpretation according to changing circumstances. In this way memory is more related with today than the past as emphasized by Nora.[8] The use of memory by collectivities is approached in this work both as a method to strengthen their existence on space as in the case of shopkeepers and craftsmen and Alevi community and as a way to gain power from the ruins of a culture such as Madımak Hotel. Both of the utilizations are discussed over their relation with space.

For the development of attachments to places, motivation of collectivities and memory's relation to space, a supporting factor brought into theory by Walter Benjamin which challenges the existence of the monumentality of structures adopted by authorities. This factor is composed of the *speech of the inanimate* explained by Benjamin on the power of spatial structures which lost their physical and practical function but support people in discovering the controversies in space.[9] Part of the debate between the authorities, agency and transformation passes through the use of such elements reminding the past which is attempted to be erased by the authorities. The best example in Sivas is the former Madımak Hotel, the Hotel which was burnt in the Massacre in 1993. The hotel became politically more motivating and powerful after the place has been turned into a science center instead of a museum commemorating the event. The death of the hotel takes a role in the political activities in Sivas more than any other *alive* structure in the center. By this way, these structures, the *ghostly material*, provide the effectivity of memory.

[7]James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

[8] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire," Representations 26.1 (1989.

[9] Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 874.

In this context agency appears as the unity of people who are subjected to these codes and structuring and who challenges them by developing in-group relations and who attempts to appropriate space according to their demands. Power groups who have a certain control in the planning, organization, settlement of codes of space are named as the authorities which broader than defining the authority as state. Still local governance has more visibility than the private associations collaborating with them due to the extended force of the state agents.

The divided map shows groupings in which a fully shared public opinion cannot be developed in such environment. The commonly shared and politically oriented opinions are rather shaped in the places where groups are formed and interact either in areas adopted by a certain community or in areas of conflict where groups act according to the orientations and objectives specific to their group. As a result, the approach of Nancy Fraser on multiplicity of publics and public spheres has been adopted. According to Fraser the commonly shared opinion about an all-inclusive public sphere encompass discriminations between the groups of people in the public sphere which leads to the imbalance between the weaker and stronger voices as well as including assimilation and exclusion practices. On the other hand, the act of the groups in smaller spheres show a tendency to challenge this discursive assimilation and exclusion and tend to create their micro public opinion in their smaller public spheres, which renders the solid structure of a single public opinion and sphere questionable.[10] The spatial emphasis and the idea about spatial research enables a deeper focus on the research area. In this frame, Fraser's adopted idea about multiplicity is applied to public places to stress the experience in the areas of creation of the ideas and practices.

As the map narrows, the methods of people −from smaller tactics to greater strategies − become more visible as are the nodes where some groups adopt to develop their action. The spatial translation of the outcomes of their action to the Lefebvrian

[10] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", Social Text, 25/26 (1990), 69, 70.

terminology can be made as appropriation, diversion and creation of heterotopia. Appropriation, the main antagonist of domination, appears when a spatial practice inscribes its own code and structure on space.[11] Diversion is the temporal failure in a similar act, which leads to a certain alteration but fails to make it permanent.[12] Heterotopia on the other hand, remains between these two acts by this different existence not bounded with the idea of temporality but the practice of being outside of the norms of the authorities as the other space and the other's space with a potential resistance towards homogenization.[13] In all three we see the agency in its resistant form which is not necessarily a conscious action against space or the authorities since it also includes altering the basic ongoing of the imposed life on the street without questioning the structure of it. As for heterotopia, which for me the main form of spatial resistance in the city, their common point is not the similarities in group structure nor is it the similarity between the types of heterotopia. It is rather the transformation of space under musealization by publics. This transformation is based on various conceptions on the life in Sivas. It can occur by taking support from an imagined idea of the city and the location of different groups of people inside its borders; by gaining power from the ghostly material and former action in the city or from the discourses related with the city. An indispensable part of this process is the tactics they develop to loosen the borders of the domination.

To confront the research interests of this work the research question was developed as "how multiple public places are produced by publics against the musealized space developed by authorities?" In the larger frame of analysis of the relation between public action and space, this thesis displays an example of the indispensable interaction between agency and space and delivers the link between different forms of agency and different spatial formations together with different methods and tactics developed by collectivities based on the use and impact of space. Agency's relation

[11] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 166.

[12] ibid, 167.

[13] ibid, 193.

to space is evaluated in this work not as a forced necessity but as a natural and reciprocal relationship. By this way the thesis discusses the spatial production of urban areas according to the demands of economies and cultural politics introduced to publics by both bringing agency and not only authorities into the core of the production process of space and introducing space as an indispensable element as well as surrounding of public action. By this way, the analysis which combines various spatial formations and action from the smallest node of challenge found in the city as well as examples of collective resistance which is known by the entire country, is believed to contribute to the discussions on the socio-spatial dialectics.

The thesis brings human experience and agency into the analysis of structure, which is attempted to be governed solely by authorities. Within the frame of musealization literature, which can be considered as a recent subject not studied widely, this work offers an extension in terms of the addition of public's experience of musealization and their appropriation of musealized space. In the context of new city policies evaluating cities according to the presentation of their museal heritage, I believe this approach enables a ground for further investigation of the dynamics of musealization not in isolation from the population they address. Similarly, by discussing this subject from a widened spatial approach through discussing it according to the socio-spatial dialectics, this work poses how dynamics of musealization are interlinked with the production of space by publics as well as authorities.

The impacts of musealization is seen in many cities and public discontent related with such spatial transformation is not an unknown issue. However Sivas exemplifies a special case for musealization. It combines both spatial interruption to the living space of some communities by functioning as a method to erase them from the new history and social space of the city and by directly addressing the city center, it brings the transformation of the social life, daily habits, daily routes, economy and politics of the city. By analyzing musealization over the clear example of Sivas, this thesis displays its different aspects by covering the areas of culture, economy and politics in the urban context. Additionally by being a part of Turkey which is highly affected by

the conflictual issues in the country such as rising conservatism and conservative municipalities, patriarchy, division according to gender, class and ethnicity as well as being the location of traumatic events in Turkey's past; the analysis of the dynamics in Sivas between agency, space and authorities offers a closer look at these issues and how they take place in the social space. The effects of some of the recent, academically not widely discussed subjects such as the Madımak Massacre are also discussed by their appearance in the present life of publics.

Dealing with how spatial transformation interrupts the living space of people in Sivas and how people organize their own spatial existence against this process of transformation by developing tactics, opening areas for themselves and protecting their part in city's history led to a division of parts related with the analysis of the data. The first part of the division is mainly to address the existing condition based on the acts of the authorities to transform space and aims to define the frame to analyze agency further in the following chapter. According to this division, the first part, therefore the fourth chapter (Attempts of Musealization in Sivas), deals briefly with how the transformation of space became dominant in changing the history of places which directly effects the daily life of. For this part the most visible theoretical tool is musealization as a way of transforming and dislocating the narrations, significations and locations related with the places in the urban area.

The fifth chapter, "Challenging Musealization: Four Heterotopia In The City Center", following the history of spatial and structural transformation by the authorities examined in the previous one, shifts the focus to the places where the agency of various groups transforms certain places, opens a place for themselves or challenges the existent places under the domination of the authorities.

The thesis apparently has a division in terms of investigating the structure to open a way to analyze the methods of people challenging the dominant space and the process of the production of a space which confronts their needs. However this does not lead to a strict division between a spatial analysis of dominated space excluding human

action and the analysis of agency not involving any spatial analysis. To the contrary, in both of the chapters we can mention the discussion and analysis of the actions of state and agency formed around the idea and acts of a spatial transformation either by supporting, producing or challenging it. The production of a narration which unites the selected parts of the history and the present dynamics in the life of the city can be shown as an example whose existence depends both on groups of people and authorities. Similarly, the acts of the authorities to erase the meaning of some memorial structures are discussed in relation to the motivating force of these *killed* places for the public action. Therefore while space is taken as interacting with public; agency is also discussed with its actions in the process of exchange with and production of the spatial reality of the city.

"Methodology" (1.1) section follows "Introduction" with the aim of presenting the process of development of the field research in detail including as well the limitations, problem in reaching certain communities and decided but later abandoned methods. It is believed that by this way, the circumstances in Sivas related with the subject of the thesis would be more clear. Similarly since the path created for the field research is highly important to display the nodes of musealization and public response against it, this way offers the opportunity to discuss the map of the field research in more detail.

The second chapter "Musealization and Counter-Acts in Multiple Locations of Publics" introduces and discusses theoretical frame of the work and includes sections on production of the dominated space in the center of the city, the methods of taiming or silencing collectivities and settlement an image of the city described by the authorities. The discussions also involve theories not adopted in the thesis related with the differences in possibilities they offer for the practices in the field and in analysis as well as the differences in signification. This section includes the same line of appearance of subjects with the analysis.

The third chapter “Historical Background: Interruption, Transformation and Localization of Space” discusses the historical background of the developments mentioned in this thesis over the issues of spatial interruption, economic transformation, changing in publics sphere and commodification of urban areas. This chapter aims to locate Sivas in the history of Turkey as well as displaying the city with its longer story and societal relations. In “A Concise History of Spatial Interruption in Turkey” (3.1), Turkey’s relation with spatial intervention is discussed over the production of the urbanized space by the state including the processes to create similar places with less opposition in character. The succeeding section “Attempts to Bring a New Face to Sivas” (3.2) places Sivas in the above discussions by referring to its cultural and industrial development and times of crisis from the early Republican era. The chapter ends with section 3.3 “Conclusion: Changing forms of Spatial Interruption” which discusses the previous two chapters by reference to the approach developed in this work related with spatial transformation and the role of publics.

The fourth chapter “Attempts of Musealization in Sivas” includes the analysis of dynamics of musealization in Sivas basing on how a governing discourse is created in the center related with the transformation of the history and monuments surrounding it and how musealization functions in practice in the city center. Instead of using the term *discourse*, I chose to use *narration*. To my view narration is almost identical to discourse but it is more understandable in use and brings the plot, the experience and movement forward. Narration is a personal, subjective act on the view of narrator based on an experience related with an event and it is the transmission of a plot of the event, created subjectively and transferred with a practice moving according to the different points of the plot. Since “Imagined Space: Development of a Narration to Adjust Publics to Transformation” (4.1) tells exactly this subjective division and production of space in relation with this narrated structure, narration is used to describe this discursive ground. This section includes both the analysis of the written works on Sivas and the interviews with actors who produce these works and with people having similar concerns or opposing ideas for the image of the city and

population narrated in those works. The next section “Lost and Re-vitalized Space” deals with the properties of the street life in Sivas related with transformation. For the analysis, the spatial methods developed by authorities to settle the memorial elements symbolizing their side and how they block the signification of the others are examined. The relation between authorities and publics motivated by narrations and monuments determined the main frame for this section. As the last section of this chapter “Conclusion Sivas as a Museum” (4.3) evaluates previous sections.

The transformation of the social life and utilization of the center described and analyzed in the fourth chapter opens the way for the analysis of counter actions developed by different publics and group of people, which is the subject of the fifth chapter “Challenging Musealization: Four Heterotopia In The City Center”. This chapter includes the analysis of four spatial units created by people to oppose the effects of transformation. The main and most common feature of these spatial units is operating as heterotopia. Each group create different walls to protect their places and develop tactics to intervene the process musealization. The first group analyzed in the first section “Keeping the Center: The Case of Market Area” (5.1) is the group of shopkeepers and craftsmen organized to keep their place and privileges in the center against the economic effects of transformation. The second section “Extending Space: The Case of a Women-only Cultural Center” (5.2) deals with the acts of a group of women who challenge the norms of the new publicity in Sivas using a cultural center as headquarter. The first two cases does not involve a conscious and strong opposition to musealization and the transformation of the city. They are rather self-directed in that way. The next two, which also have a relation in terms of their objectives, are politically well defined and active. The first among them, “Surrounded but Not Dependent: The Case of Ali Baba, Gökçebostan, Seyrantepe” (5.3), analyzes the life of the Alevi community in an area known as the Alevi neighborhood. Even though the borders of the neighborhood resemble a ghetto, it has a withdrawn life protecting itself against the interruption from the center, people in there collectively stay against the spatial transformation in the city. The second one, “The Ongoing Resistance of Madımak” (5.4) is on the former Madımak Hotel’s attaining a heterotopic feature by

the movement developed to transform it to a Museum of Shame, this movement embraces many groups including the ones attending from other cities. The third chapter ends by the comparison and analysis of four heterotopia in "Conclusion: Different Appearances of Spatial Resistance in Sivas" (5.5).

The chapter *Conclusion* (6) includes the overall review of the previous chapters and the conclusions derived from the analysis of the subject.

1.1 Methodology

The field research started without a definite map of the nodes of research in the central area of Sivas but with a certain knowledge on the relations inside due to the prior research on the history of city and previous visits. To test the feasibility of the research project, to develop a map and to gain a more definite idea about the dynamics in the city I organized a pilot research between15-25 August 2011 and met with some of the groups who were interviewed in the actual field.

During the pilot the first group I met was that of the shopkeepers and craftsmen who, except the associations in the city, constitute the group keeping the memory, especially based on migration and the entrance of the others. Secondly, I met with some members related with the publications in the city, which gave me the idea of a further research on the local publications. The third and last group of people I met was women from the middle class urbanite families whose different experience of the city enabled me to develop special questions for women. The pilot gave me adequate data to deal more with the urban-rural differences, the differences of experiencing the street between men and women and between people who migrated after 1950 and people who were there before the industrialization. Since the meetings during pilot focused mostly on the previous industrialization phase in the city and the recent fear about losing the remnants of the old city, which is highly related with July the 2nd commemoration activities which keep the Massacre alive in memory, the place of these two subjects became more concrete than the first ideas coming from the readings on the city. In addition to deciphering the nodes of separation in the city, the pilot field

also visualized the urban transformation in the city for which I had a more detailed understanding after the visits of the renovated and restored places.

Since I have not developed the actual questions for interviews which is required to take the official allowance from the Governorate, I did not attempt to visit the associations and chambers in the city but only got information about their work. The pilot research also included visits and city tours to the important nodes in the city center in which I visited all the open mansions, museums except the former Hotel which was not functioning as the science center then and developed the first version of the map. During my visit, it was Ramadan which is a highly contested time in Sivas where most of the shops and restaurants are closed in daytime and the social life is limited with celebrations and mass dinner parties for breaking the fast for Sunnies. During this time the Alevi public, except using the most necessary public utilities such as going to hospital, mostly does not enter to the central area. As a result I needed to build my networks with them from Ankara, which started the actual field.

After the pilot, under the guidance of my thesis committee, I developed the questions for the semi-structured interviews. While keeping the questions on the experience of the city similar for the people and associations in Sivas, the questions differ according to the features of the group of the interviewees which are:

- Middle class urbanite women,
- Middle class urbanite men,
- The group of shopkeepers and craftsmen,
- People related with the publications in the city either in editing or writing for the local press and magazines,
- The official institutions in Sivas dealing with urban transformation and the cultural transformation (Municipality, Governorate, Atatürk Cultural Center, Sivas Center of Science and Culture, Sivas Service Foundation, mukhtar of Seyrantepe),
- Alevi associations in Ankara (Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Foundation, July the

2nd Foundation),

- Alevi associations in Sivas, (Alevi Culture Association, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association, Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Foundation, CEM Foundation)
- The group composed of people and associations dealing with the urban transformation of the city including people once related with the official institutions (Chamber of Industry, Chamber of Architects, The Association to Spread and Sustain the Urban Culture, Sivas Culture and Art Association, former President of Culture, architects) and,
- People active in the Platform of Democracy.

For the two groups interviewed later, that of the conservative women and that of the inhabitants of the Ali Baba-Gökçebostan-Seyrantepe, the questions have been shaped during the field research. For the first group I did not have any possible network to reach them and decided to try first to access and then to shape the questions. Similarly for the second group I was not sure whether it would be possible to reach inhabitants due to the closed structure of the district, so I waited to meet with the representatives and then build connections with the inhabitants.

The questions were shaped for semi-structured interviews whose frame is definite but open to develop further questions in accordance with the data gathered during the interviews. This method especially helped me to cover more areas than a structured interview since I was mostly confronting a complex memory related with the city which was subjected to interventions to settle the idea of the new city by the authorities, especially after 1993.

The frame of the questions can be divided into three: the questions related with a comparison between the past and the present life of the city; the questions directed to the experience of the daily life and the experience of street during the important times of the city (especially for the associations) and the questions asked to understand the perception of the new map of the city center after the start of restorations. According

to the proximity of the interviewee to the decision making processes of the city whether it includes a participation or opposition and according to the occupation and the expert status of the interviewee (especially for shopkeepers, architects and art historians) additional questions have been developed inside the frame related with the expertise.

1.1.1 Entering Into the Field

The research field started in Ankara by visiting lawyer Kazım Genç (06.12.2011), the former president of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Foundation and also the joint attorney of the Madımak trial. The field in Ankara continued until 05.01.2012 including interviews done with the members of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association and the president of July the 2nd Foundation. During the time I spent in the two associations and with their former and present members of board, I was also invited to several meetings and the second to last Madımak trial which enabled me to apply the method of participatory observation to the decision making processes about the issues related with Sivas and to learn more about the general problems and claims of the representatives of the Alevi population.

The interviews in Ankara both formed the section 5.4 “The Ongoing Resistance of Madımak” since this section involves the action in the city in coordination with the associations in Ankara and both enabled me to meet with the representatives of the Alevi Associations in Sivas. Additionally, from these interviews I gathered information about the development of the workers’ consciousness in the city since two of the interviewees were active in the labor movement of Sivas before 1980s.

The field in Sivas followed the interviews in Ankara. The interviews in Sivas started on 20.01.2012 and continued until 07.06.2012. During the time, I spent approximately 20 days each month in the city by making interviews, doing participatory observation, collecting written data and visiting the nodes I determined to understand the active life of the dynamics of the city.

The field research including the pilot was not my first visit to the city, still developing the gaze of a researcher and dealing with the ways my identity was challenged introduced me a new experience and became the initial steps of the field. As a researcher I did not hide any aspect of my identity. However different aspects such as being a woman; being from Middle East Technical University whose impression in public may lead to negative behavior since it is commonly associated with former and present socialist movements; being someone who has urbanite, Sunni roots in Sivas, and who is apparently not a practicing Muslim in addition to sharing the same surname with one of the victims of Massacre without a family bond, equally eased and complicated some phases of research. Being an engaged woman that time was the only part that eased every phase of the field.

Except the interviews with ordinary people reached through networking which cannot be determined before, I tried to focus on one group in each phase of the interviews and continued observation by additional meetings. The reason for this choice is related with the active life of the city and the circumstances during the time such as new developments for the penalties related with the organization committee of commemoration activities, to the Platform of Democracy or such as the different times of the city. For instance, during semester break the city becomes relatively empty or during spring people choose to leave the center and a new spontaneity is brought to the public life by picnics and open air concerts. These all required a mobile and recurring observation.

I can define the features of the field under four parts: finding networks, doing interviews, practicing daily life by making house visits, visits to the important places in the city, to places where different groups gather and by attending to meetings, public concerts and public discussions. As the fourth part, I made visits to learn more about the publications and to gather the published material.

In a divided city like Sivas where groupings are the most apparent shape of living together, finding interviewees without reaching to someone from the group s/he

belongs to was almost impossible. For each group, except the experts and the official institutions for which my allowance from the Governorate was enough, I had the recurring process of meeting with a person first and meet the others through his/her introduction. The field in Ankara especially helped me for this phase of meeting the representatives of Alevi associations, who later introduced me to people living in the districts of Ali Baba-Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe, where the inhabitants are mostly Alevi and where all the Alevi associations are located. Similarly, I was introduced to the dominant, mostly male group of the center, the shopkeepers and craftsmen through a respectable shopkeeper. The same happened while reaching the agents of publications, people related with urban transformation and the conservative women I made interviews. The latter group was especially hard to reach since they were not accessing the streets as much as other women.

Meeting with ordinary people was the most difficult part for which I used the other networks I had with the above mentioned groups. To meet with women and men from middle class, urbanite, mostly republican families, therefore women from the majority, I used the meeting days and evening visits which are frequent ways of socialization in Sivas. Meeting days are women-only meetings mostly entailing an economic benefit for the host such as gathering golds from everyone visiting the house. Evening visits are family visits to a neighbor which may include a couple of families. Due to an offer from the wife of a shopkeeper, I met a greater group of women and their husbands in a night visit, who later introduced me to another group who were not in their meeting day list. With different women from both groups I made interviews as well as a lesser number of men who are more distant due to the gendered structure of the social life. In a similar way, when I met with a woman participating to the courses in the women-only Ladies Cultural Center functioning for conservative women, she invited me to her course where there was a birthday party and this is how I could meet with the other women in a more relaxed environment. These women allowed me to participate in their courses, make interviews and introduced me to the other women from different courses. Therefore this method (namely snowball sampling which will be discussed in detail below) helped me to reach and make

interviews with different groups and people as well as enabling me to use the map of the research actively since people offered me trips to make their narrations on the city more visual.

These meetings initiated the most important part of the participant observation, which provided a deeper insight to the relations in the field and enabled my access to places where I would not be able to enter in normal circumstances. One example of this was being introduced to the people in the coffeehouse in Ali Baba, which as the other traditional coffehouses in Turkey, was used only by men.

The visits to learn more about the written material opened a new aspect for the thesis subject since it provided me information about the development of a writers' group in the city. Thanks to these connections I was able to make interviews with people active in the cultural life of Sivas and to reach the magazines and books published in the city by those spheres. My interviews in the Municipality and Governorate enabled me to have the entire publications on Sivas published by these two institutions. For the rest of the material, which are composed of old magazines not published anymore, I used these connections with the publishers at least to learn the active websites having the online versions of these material.

All these steps, under the frame of the analysis of socio-spatial dynamics in the city, relates with two main features of the design of the field. The first feature is the snow-ball sampling method by which I developed my network in the city except the expert interviews. The second, is developing the map which involves the memorial material, the transformed areas or places, the daily path of the center where people confront different and sometimes conflictive narrations, all in a reciprocal relation to the agency. Consequently, meeting with different groups of people and discovering the significance of the areas, paths and nodes linked all the above steps to the operation of the field research.

1.1.2 Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling, which offered the most feasible method in my view to apply while researching the withdrawn communities, is based on entering the environment of a social community by meeting someone inside assuming that s/he would provide a link to meet with the larger circle.[14] In my case the link has been provided and I was able to decipher the relations of people with the spatial reality not detached from the instant actions of producing space and challenging the produced space. In addition to all its benefits, the possible problem such a method may create is to remain limited with a certain representative group where differences cannot be identified. To avoid this, especially in similar groups, I tried to reach the people who do not fit exactly to the first group I met. For example, the second group of women introduced me by the first group was not sharing the same gold-day routine with the first due to the differences in their works and locations. Another example which includes more differences is to meet with the representatives of the Alevi community and meet with the members of conflicting associations which gave me the chance of listening and comparing the life inside of the area from different points of view. Still, for some groups such as shopkeepers and craftsmen, the differences were so suppressed that meeting with another profile would take me outside of the borders of the group whose experiences I was studying. Still I believe that snowball sampling is the most appropriate method especially for this map using which I investigate where particular centers are owned and adopted by a particular group.

1.1.3 Recording Interviews

As will be discussed later under the title of “Limitations”, the semi-structure interviews have been realized during a stressed time for both the country and the city when people especially hesitated to inscribe an issue with their voice or writing. This hesitation reflected on the research by not taking voice records except the representatives of associations, experts and officials. Even though taking voice record

[14] J. Faugier and M. Sargeant, "Sampling Hard to Reach Populations," Journal of advanced nursing 26, no. 4 (1997).

was a problem, writing what I listened was allowed since I promised not to use the names and since they do not leave a personal sign.

1.1.4 Developing the Map

An additional benefit of snowball sampling for me was the city tours which in most cases depended on the kindness of some interviewees who wanted to tell the city's story by showing me the developments. In each case they ended up with a symbolic exhibition of what is not there and how its non-existence affected the today's situation. Those city tours were made with many people who are from different political views while narrators were commonly sharing the ideas on an interrupted space rather than a developed one. An area whose borders start from the Railway Station and ends in Seyrantepe, is marked by those city dwellers by the lack of past monuments, buildings and green areas. On the same path, there are monuments and buildings as well adopted by a strong sense of belonging even though what they signify has been changed during the time.

On the İnönü Boulevard which connects the path from the Railway Station to the hearth of the city, there lies TÜDEMSAŞ (Turkey Railway Machinery Industry inc), which used to be the Railway Repair Factory (Cer Atölyesi) and provided jobs for approximately 5000 people. The present number is 923 workers and 313 public officers. Even though it still exits, it does not function in full capacity.[15] By the loss of the prestige from the past starting from the end of 1970s, TÜDEMSAŞ become one of the key figures in the discourses for the stopped development of city.

Following the path, in the place of the destroyed park, the Seljuk Complex are seen which have a key role in symbolizing the transformation of the city, not only in terms of re-discovering the former Seljuk dominance in the city but also because of the change in the cultural events. While until 1980s this area used to display the Western

[15] The written Statement of Abdullah Peker (The vice president of Transportation and Railway Workers' Rights Union in Sivas) (21.02.2013) http://www.sivasinsesi.com/haber.aspx?Id=40827

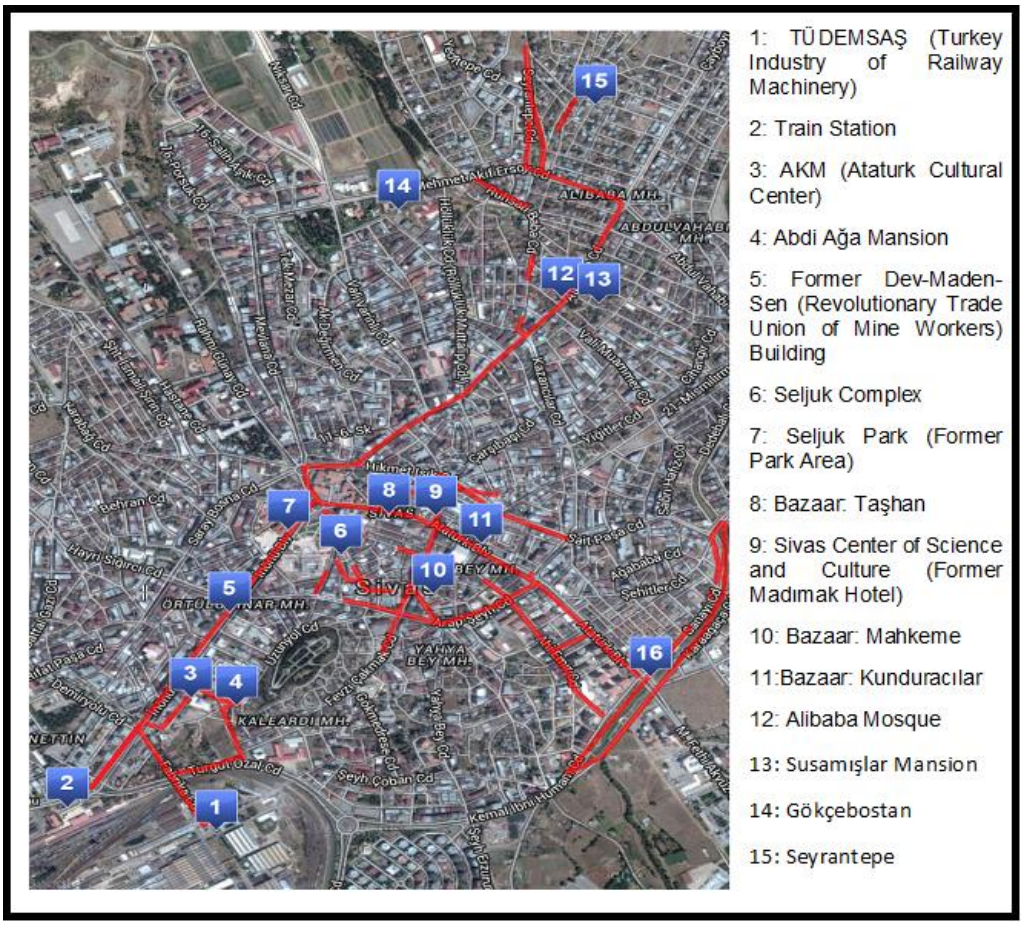
face of the city by foreign music concerts, today, with the help of the ambiance added by renovated complex, it is the area where conservative cultural activities are organized.

Close to this area, the building displaying fashion furniture is remembered by many people as the former building of Dev-Maden-Sen (Turkey's Revolutionary Labor Union for the Mine Workers) which operated as the meeting place of different socialist fractions during 1970s . In its life it was attacked by extremist nationalist groups a couple of times and thereby gained a symbol value.

During the walks to the narrow streets crosscutting the boulevard, people quite often narrated the interrupted history of craftsmen with references to the occupational failure resulted from the changed structure of passages and roads. After passing the node in the road bend, there used to stand the Madımak Hotel, which is now a science discovery center for children with its new façade, unrecognizable, but never forgotten.

Around that place, there is the former area of the former Armenian Church, demolished during 1950s to make Sivas "a city with the holy azan but not with a church bell"[16] as commented by A.O. Similarly, when the road to Ali Baba district is taken, one can visit the renovated house of Ali Baba, nowadays known as Susamışlar Mansion and the Ali Baba Mosque where Ali Baba, the selected brother of Pir Sultan Abdal is believed to rest. However, both of the places and the identity of Ali Baba resting there are also the subjects of a Sunni tradition in the city which leads to conflict between Sunnis and Alevis. Similarly, the house of the İnönü family is functioning as a restaurant despite being a museum before. This change in the quality of the place is interpreted by the republican and leftist public as an insult to İsmet İnönü, Atatürk's comrade in arms and second president of Turkish Republic, whose memory is attached to the ideal Sivas, as the *city of republic*.

[16] A. O., interviewed by author, Sivas, January 19, 2012.



Map 1 Research Area in Sivas.

The research area seen in Map 1, developed through the walks in the city prepared me a path to focus in more detail to the daily life path of the people where the narrations, discourses and methods are developed in an active relation with spatial structures in the city to struggle with the spatial dominance.

1.1.5 Analysis of the Written Data

After finding out that he city has an active publication life, I gathered most of the recent publications on the city which are composed of magazines on Sivas Hayat

Ağacı (Tree of Life), Altıncı Şehir (The Sixth City), Sultanşehir (The Sultan City); books on the city published by individual authors from Sivas and book series published by Municipality and Governorate related with events and important personalities from Sivas. These written data is analyzed over the relation between the text, context and the governing discourses which all create the new idea of the city and its life narrating a new story for the past using familiar elements from the past times.

For this purpose I applied the discourse analysis method to the data to explore the effects of socially produced ideas. When this particular method is applied on the written data it offers a way to connect the text to the dominant discourses by placing them in a social and historical context since it includes references to agency, experiences and relations as stated by Philip and Hardy.[17] Following their methodology I focused first on deciphering the common elements in the narrations. Secondly I compared and analyzed them over the conflicting parts and gaps in the construction of the imagined city. This process includes matching them also by the events in the history of Sivas and the narrations of interviewees on the same issues. This method due to the use of it to highlight the surrounding dominant formations penetrating in every part of life to which the researcher's life in the field is also attached, contributed to the reflexivity which is the adopted for this research reminded me the discursive borders surrounding me as well as the people living in Sivas.

1.1.6 Developing a Reflexive Approach

For the research and analysis of the data, I adopted a reflexive approach which aims to give enough space to the publics in the thesis for their voice not to be silenced as well as enabling me enough space to experience the city, if not as a local, not with a total alienation to what people live, experience and narrate. This approach adopted for the research and analysis is believed to be in harmony with the non-representative and

[17] Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, Discourse Analysis : Investigating Processes of Social Construction (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 4.

interpretative structure of the thesis in whose field an exploratory dimension is dominant in relation with the method. A theoretical distance or an experience based alienation (seeing the paths as any paths and people as mere sources of information) would, in my opinion, distance me from the process of the participant observation and discover the nodes people produce or become subjected to.

By saying this I am not favoring any approach on taking sides on being totally subjective nor do I equalize the public's experience in the city with my research experience. The peculiarity of the life in the city center, thinking its divided nature, needed a certain awareness on the condition of different groups and a certain flexibility. When their conflicts and bonds with the surrounding power relations in the city are considered, I believe the approach of reflexivity enabled me to witness different life styles from a deeper scale and as a result kept me from taking a particular side. With the addition of the interpretative structure, reflexivity functioned in disclosing the practices of production of meanings and through this way rather than speaking on behalf of groups their experience could come to front. Still, all these points does not offer a covered area for me to avoid the concerns about the reflexivity. The nature of the relationship between the researcher and the people involved in that particular research creates a natural distance between the two. The main concern of the reflexivity approach is that the more the asymmetrical the relationship is; the poor, the biased and the oppressive the research is. This possibility is believed to be challenged by researcher's forcing herself/himself to be aware of it as discussed by Susan J. Smith.[18] On the other hand, I cannot claim that I constructed a purely equal relation with interviewees, also I do not believe any researcher can achieve that. To deal with the possibility of suppressing my interlocutors I followed two principles of the feminist research which is briefly placing one's self in the frame of the research and to be responsible from the other part.[19] The most apparent face of responsibility

[18] Susan J. Smith, "Constructing Local Knowledge: The Analysis of Self in Every Day Life," in Qualitative Methods in Geography, ed. J. Eyles and D.Smith (Cambridge: Polity Press 1988), 17-38.

[19] Sandra Harding, Feminism and Methodology : Social Science Issues (Milton Keynes; Bloomington [etc.]: Open University Press ; Indiana University Press, 1987), 8,9.

in my case is hiding the names and special marks that can be traced back to the interviewees.

On the other hand, in such a text which uses the data from the interviews as a source to interpret the dynamics in the city, it is not as easy to claim that their voice remains outside of the content. It becomes a part of my interpretation which I believe I managed to underline the differences between their personal statements and mine, which I consider also in the frame of responsibility. Therefore, through the application of feminist approach on reflexivity, my experience became also a part of the work and I believe the way I add my interpretations to the text is designed to set the interviewees free from making my comments instead of narrating their own experiences.

1.1.7 Limitations

The research process confronted many restrictions due to both circumstances and the embedded cultural and social roles attributed to different groups of people having differences based on class, gender and religion. The restrictions had a natural limitation of the design of the field.

The first to be mentioned is the time of the research when there were countrywide investigations in which the recorded tapes became the main evidence. Additionally in Sivas January 2012 was the time when the penal sanctions after the previous July the 2nd Commemoration Activities were applied and the lawsuit process for the members of Sivas Platform of Democracy was problematic. Under those circumstances the fieldwork started for me in a city under tension and recording the interviews except the expert interviews was not possible. Similarly, still having the trauma of 1993 almost all people thought that I am making a research on the Massacre. However the flow of the questions and the emphasis on the present spatial practices convinced them about the nature of the work.

Similarly, I had to cancel the application of a method of *mental mapping* which would be especially important for the spatial analysis of this work. This method which was

developed by urban planner Kevin Lynch to gather information on the ways the urban dwellers perceive the special information and develop their way inside it by using the maps sketched by interviewees.[20] When offered people in Sivas were really concerned about leaving a trace of their personal ideas, no one accepted even though I was not refused in any case for interviews.

Another problem for the field was to find enough data for Sivas, preferably academic, other than the ones published in the city. There were many books about the massacre but only a few books analyzing different aspects of the city, which increased the importance of the interviews.

Although I have not confronted a major problem in doing interviews I had a problem in meeting people due to the importance given to the identity and the divisions in the city. The university I study, the location where my roots lie in Sivas and my gender led to the development of various assumptions by the interviewees on my identity either making them more hesitant or more enthusiastic. In every case I answered questions about my origins. This questioning during the process of interviews did not result with a problematic balance between me and them. However because of the mentioned identity particulars and especially because of my gender I had problems in approaching men to make interviews. Interview means a certain isolation of the researcher and the interviewee from the rest of the community and thus on the part of men being seen alone with a woman can be perceived as a problem. Still I made interviews with some men but I could not approach to the Islamist or conservative men and could not add their stance in the city center to the analysis.

As for the divisions in the city, I realized that while I am deciphering the paths of people, this map limits the groups I can meet and learn their experiences. The first group was the conservative women who use only a few nodes in the city due to the restrictions in their visibility on the street, for them I found a group visiting a cultural

[20] Kevin Lynch, The Image of the City (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960).

center and made interviews. Except this group, the frame of this thesis did not allow to make a similar research on women's places. The reason is that the other women's groups −the middle class, republican women and women from the Alevi community− does not show a similar will to enter to the street which is seen in a very crystallized form in the case of conservative women.

The two groups I mentioned, even though patriarchy is a valid form of oppression in their lives, construct their identity in contrast to conservative women claiming that they are free. For certain cases this assumption has a validity because women I met from these groups did not have a limitation to go outside or to work outside. Alevi women in the center of Sivas have the right to take courses to be religious officials even though in other denominations in Islam it is forbidden. They could use their religious meeting place, Cemevi, as men do. The courses they take had a similar form in terms of teaching women the crafts related with their patriarchal duties, such as sewing, but these courses were not as isolated as the courses taken by conservative women and they were less controlled. Alevi and middle class republican women, because of their relative freedom, do not pose a challenge to patriarchy dominating the street because they have the possibility to exit from their houses and use street in a way which is much less limited than conservative women. They were not appropriating places for themselves. Still, Alevi women's refusal to take courses defined by patriarchal roles is discussed in the thesis and similarly their transformation of Mother's Day into a consciousness raising activity took its place in this work.

For other groups such as Lom community who has been sent from the city center to the edge of the city or for the Armenian families who do not want to be identified because of the fear from a nationalist attack, the issue of visibility was highly problematic. Similarly the visibility of the poor classes is problematic in Sivas and therefore did not take a part in this work. This is partially because of the distance of some of the illegal housing prevention zones to the center but mainly because there is not a strong and apparent movement, challenge or a grouping showing a specific use of the center posed by them. The experiences of these groups do not take place in this

work even though I believe they would be very valuable, but since I focused on the use of the street as a mechanism of challenge, their stance becomes not available for such data.

My research has been finalized in 07.06.2012 with 66 interviews in sum, in spite of the limitations and minor problems I believe the method I applied enabled valuable data and the stance adopted for both research and analysis is effective for the two major points related with sharing a ground with the so called subjects and acting responsibly

CHAPTER 2

MUSEALIZATION AND COUNTER-ACTS IN MULTIPLE LOCATIONS OF PUBLICS

The dialectics between the spatial structure and people are analyzed in this work over the confrontation of two main constructions. The first one is the musealization which is discussed as the method of authorities to transform what the city signifies to change the economic and social relations in the city. The second one is the response of people, who live in divided areas in the city and chose different ways to oppose or adopt the constantly changing map of the city. Being either openly political, reactional or retreating, the actions of different groups of people, or publics in a larger frame have their inscription on space against what is called musealization. The spatial activity and spatial units produced by people in most cases function in separate environments and under rare circumstances take the shape of an action supported by different groups of people. In this structure heterotopia as the temporal space produced by the others of authority against the dominated space are placed against the ideal of turning Sivas into a museum. To discuss this confrontation theoretically, this section involves the main theoretical approaches referred in the analysis in accordance with the route of the sections in this work starting from musealization and ending in heterotopia even though the produced space and attempts of agency are central to each section.

2.1. From Spectator to Public(s)

Musealization, a complex term, can be at best described by the policies, methods and governance tactics based on the political geography of the gaze and function according to the politics of exhibition on a certain space. It is basically about the transformation of the meanings and connotations of the materials forming the environment or the transformation of the environment itself by emphasizing or altering the history which constructs space. The target of the process is individual's knowledge and experience on space, which functions as a tool of orientation to

conduct and control the knowledge and actions of the collectivities. In the context of this research the gaze briefly means the functional apparatus to achieve the knowledge spread from the built environment and as a smaller representative of experiencing space. Thus the gaze, figuratively, replaces the individual from the view point of the power, so the imaginary singular subject of the power. One point to be noted here is that despite the singularity of the gaze, the focus's direction to the diversity within the community and possibilities of counter development of gazes, therefore the critical perception, interpretation and following acts of different communities.

On the issue of the supremacy and the subordination of the gaze, two distinct personalities of the 20th Century share a similar vision despite the temporal difference between their texts. From the towers they stand which are among the highest places in the Western geography, Roland Barthes and Michel de Certeau, comment on the dimension of power in *seeing the whole*.

As Barthes remarks in "The Eiffel Tower"[1], the importance of Eiffel Tower lies beneath its total futility. Except being the mark of the transition from architecture to modern engineering and also of a shift in the representation of monumental city aesthetics; the Eiffel Tower does not have a reason of existence in terms of utility. On the other hand, it grants the visitor the vision in its dual meaning: the power to see and to imagine. According to Barthes, the visitor on the Eiffel Tower is allowed to dominate the panorama of Paris without being together with the image of the tower which leads to an infinite chain of imaginations.[2] De Certeau, writing in 1980, looks down from the World Trade Center in Manhattan and evaluates the same condition identical to the feeling of adopting the celestial eye in the Renaissance paintings, where looking down creates a readable city, a "transparent text" for the spectator.[3]

[1] Roland Barthes, The Eiffel Tower, and Other Mythologies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 5.

[2]ibid: 3,4.

[3]Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley, Calif; London: University of California Press, 2011), 92,93.

The productivity in looking agreed by both thinkers may well start from the absence of the tower for the gaze. Excluding the place that the visitor stands on, the history of the below environment remains defenseless under the bird's eye view as Barthes refers to in his text[4]. They can place the spectator into the role of the ancient voyeur Icarus as noted by De Certau.[5] For the purposes of the present research these chain of imaginations are important to the extent that they draw the borders of the illusion of power developed for the gaze. Parallel to many descriptions on the effects of exhibition, the two texts plainly describe a crucial relation between the memorial structures, the body and power whose relation is the main subject of *musealization*. Musealization in this work is related with how cities are governed with politics of exhibition which are articulated to governing political, cultural and economic structures. People living in the city, in this case, do not only become the passive followers of an already given scheme of exhibition. They also take their place in the city as the reproducers of the politics spread by it and in many cases as the creators of alternative politics on space.

For the crucial place of the spectator, a closer gaze to the division made by De Certeau between the *spectator* and the *walker* would show first the difference between the transparency that the spectator is allowed to see and the limitation that the walker experiences on an already given structure.[6] It can be claimed that the transparency and the visual lack of walkers are both outcomes of a given structure which creates the basics of exhibition that is, seeing a given spectacle and not seeing whatever is hidden from the spectator. In both of the examples, the mystification based on property and the mystification taking its power from the idea of equality, take us to the domination of panorama. Panorama is serviced to the gaze, which is in the chain of imagination, deceived by the idea of dominating the view in front of it. Such a construction of

[4]Roland Barthes, The Eiffel Tower, p. 8.

[5] De Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, 92.

[6] ibid., 76.

place, mostly commoditized in our case, shows both a similarity and contradiction with the *principle of panopticism* analyzed by Foucault as a key part of the "Carceral Archipelago".[7] The panoptic scheme enables the power to dominate the whole panorama of action created by the selected group (prisoners, students, workers etc.) and it reverses the darkness of the dungeons by adding the light –visibility- to the process of punishment and taming. The success of the panoptic schema appears in its ability to create a collectivity ready to be governed by the gaze:

> A real subjection is born mechanically from a fictitious relation. So it is not necessary to use force to constrain the convict to good behaviour, the madman to calm, the worker to work, the schoolboy to application, the patient to the observation of the regulations[8].

The panorama in both of the texts is seen as if having the subjection to the eye, an eye that looking at the same panorama shares the illusion of governing it. As panopticon makes the visibility or transparency in De Certeau's words, a trap, so the presentation of the historic material or commoditized items does for the gaze and thus the freedom, being unrestricted becomes a trap. What is real is mystified by what is apparent; the eye forgets that the limits of what is shown, creates what is seen.

2.2 From Museum to Musealization from Spectator to Publics

Musealization, as the term I chose to describe the ground, is a tricky term and has various uses in theory. For the present thesis the connotation adopted for musealization has two main points. On the one hand, musealization signifies an ongoing process by the dynamic structure of the word "-tion" due to its connotation of an incomplete state of affairs. Here, I note that I accept the subjectivity of connotations. On the other, it points to a process between an unexplained state and a museumlike (museal) structure as the future shape to come if the process can be completed. The very complexity −the movement going on within the name itself and

[7] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison. (New York: Vintage, 1995),195-228.

[8] ibid, p. 200.

the vagueness in denoting what the next step is− states a museal structure but not museum by itself. This is one of the main reasons why for the analysis of the developments in Sivas, the specific word is chosen as an explanatory tool. Still, museum as an enclosed entity remains contradictory to the vagueness of museal, the museumlike.

Yet the choice needs an additional explanation on why other terms having a similar subject on the politics of spectacle in the modern era are not preferred. The reason why the most alternatively used term, *museumification* is not used is due to an analogous reason with the hesitation to use the most widely known version of display, *museum*. Firstly, museum as a certain institution among the memorial structures has changed structurally in time due to the development of new methods and institutions of display and as a result of these processes, it has lost its governing representative value. Secondly, museumification, namely the process of being a museum which entered into the theory after the mentioned change in the museal structures, refers to a more definite structure. For this work, the fluid process referred by musealization is preferred due to the position I take depending on the belief that an absolute process of signification is an impossible task. The attempts of the agents of representation, including the state and private institutions, to define a certain place as memorial, to affirm a meaning, a history and a narration there, is always dependent on the power of representation and the extent of perception or acceptation. Transmitting a museal message without losing anything from the intended meaning is not possible partially due to the possibility of chain of imaginations as Barthes mentions and partially to the existence of possible conflicts on the subject basing on different experiences of the public. Briefly, for this work, musealization refers firstly to a process of transforming certain structures to the museal ones. Another aspect of this process is the challenge or adoption posed by people who are positioned as spectators by the power. Nevertheless, they are actually the agents who can give the museal piece its validity or vice versa, depending on their different experiences with the museal piece. Musealization in the scope of this work, rather than a total process of signification denotes this conflict between the power (to impose meanings), space (where the

meanings are imposed and resisted) and the people (who is for and against the process).

A research partially focusing on the processes and politics about the construction of a museal feature owes its existence and inspiration from the earlier researches on the subject-object relationships within space dedicated to spectacle. While these earlier studies play a crucial part for this subject to be evaluated in a theoretical frame, the stance taken in this study separates itself from some of them due to the above mentioned role of agency and possible conflicts between the processes of transmission and reception. Due to this stance, musealization has been chosen as an explanatory tool rather than the wider term *representation*, the narrower, more static and more totalizing uses of *commodification*, *fetishism*, *reification* and the more vague use of *exhibitionary complex*. As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, according to the present work, the term musealization is related mainly with three theoretical domains which are the modern body, the memorial space and the power.

The memorial spaces are created by the groups carrying the power of representing a certain past or idea, and the objects of exhibition are directed to the *gaze* as the representative of the modern body. The relationship between memorial space, power and gaze bases on a spatial conflict in order to send a message to the other party or to make it received as it is. In other words, while groups which have the power of representation aim to fix a certain meaning to a certain place, the main goal is to spread this meaning to the audience, the public, without losing anything from the initial signification to secure its continuity by also addressing the future generations. On the other hand, what should be questioned under this frame and in contrast to the general authoritarian assumption, is whether the groups addressed by musealization processes are true spectators, who internalized a passive reception of the exhibition, whether they are alienated receivers lost communication with surrounding community or not. The answer of this research is that they are not and they are, following the spatial approach adopted in this work, the producers of a critical space with their own spatial practices which take the shape of a tactic or counter production. Additionally, neither

their experiences are defined in accordance with the experience forced by the authority nor the area targeted by the authorities have the same memorial meaning for the so called spectators. In terms of the acts of publics in the given space, it is seen that both spatial experiences vary and the forced meanings differ even in the cases of groups who are closer to the authorities than the others.

Although many theories about the power relation between the power holders and the public focus on the dominance of culture (such as the analyses of Adorno and Horkheimer, Lukács, Foucault), it is believed in this work that the exhibitionary dynamics include a long process of contention depending on the severity of the issue, which makes an absolute surrounding open to criticism. Strategies developed by the power holders on the issue vary to make the subject more effective while they are challenged by the public tactics on claiming space of exhibition. Briefly, since there exists such a challenge coming from people surrounded by museal dynamics, the exhibition does not include a sole exhibitionary project but alternative projects that will strengthen the exhibition itself such as erasing the challenging objects from the area of exhibition. To make what is exhibited alive and visible becomes a major goal for the exhibition in general (whether it is displayed in a museum or a single unit taking place in the public area or the open air complex dominating the public sphere). Yet, due to the existence of discontent and challenge as an internal part of the process, the above mentioned attempts also include ending the life of other memorial structures which can shadow the visibility of the former. These dynamics between what is to be represented and what is not as well as the ways of representation take their part in the theory even though there are severe differences in various analyses.

The itinerary of the theories displays a path that starts with the critique of culture and heritage produced in museal places and later changes the focus to wider exhibitionary practices following the changing dynamics of production and consumption of the heritage. On the issue of museums the approaches may differ on whether the culture is external to society or developed by the dynamics within society, whether culture is totally influenced by commodification or there exists another value in exhibition of

culture rather than use value or exchange value. Yet, these theories, even though they produce different critiques on the production of culture and heritage, intersect on certain points in which the most common part is the complex relation of the life and death related with the memorial structures: Life and death in terms of strategies for the memorial structures to exist and life and death as the internal and mutual features of any memorial structure. Being one of the basic stones of the existence of the dynamics of exhibition, life and death's relation creates the memorial space to space of conflict between the gaze and the power.

2.3 The Illusion of Experiencing the Past

Bringing the issue of the production of culture and heritage out of remnants and missing pieces which belong to the past as a unified category leads Adorno to relate museum with a cemetery of pieces of art. He draws the attention to the similarity between *museum* and *mausoleum* and to the symbolic death of the objects displayed in museums which goes further than a phonetic association: "Museums are the family sepultures of the work of art."[9] Adorno focuses on the death of the objects from the point of neutralization of culture. The attempt itself which gathers the remnants of cultural products remained outside of private art collections and exhibits them to the rest of the population, creates a place, museum, where the illusion of having a heritage/culture is constructed. The demands of the heritage industry create cohabitation between the fetishism of the object and the enthusiasm of the subject through the heritage material that they claim to put together once again in the era of modernity. Yet, revitalizing the past brings together a nonexistent unity constructed among the objects, which creates the illusion of experience:

> Modernizing the past does it much violence and little good. But to renounce radically the possibility of experiencing the traditional would be to capitulate to barbarism out of devotion to culture.[10]

[9]Theodor W. Adorno, Prisms (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983), 175.

[10]Adorno, Prisms,176

The process can be compared with the idea of translation. The heritage chosen as the representative of the old cultural language that people cannot understand anymore gets separated in pieces, summed up again and regained by us due to the translation done to our own cultural language. When this illusion brought by the forced unity of the heritage material in museums is compared with the general condition of the culture after the industrial modernity as stated by Adorno, we face the claim that the public becomes a secondary group, an object of cultural production rather than its participating, producing subject due to the role of standardized elements.[11]

These elements according to Adorno speak the economic language of their time where the production and distribution becomes estranged to each other. Adorno's critique on the culture industry, in which our subject -the heritage industry- composes a part, takes such industry as a dominating one for which the freedom as another illusion is given to the audience with the suppressed voices of alternative approaches. Whether this can be taken as surrounded and dominated today or whether the awareness and resistance in his time towards the culture industry was in fact as less as he held will be discussed shortly. However even after the new form that the exhibition took, after the change of exhibition techniques, protective laws directed to world heritages which transform the cities into a memorial space and after the exhibition varied and spread to the daily life, still his criticism is directed to the center of the problem asking why there is an attempt to create this illusion of experiencing the past.

Surely, the difference brought to the accumulation of a body of knowledge and the uses of such knowledge is among the results of this change of evaluating the past structures. The beginning of the modern era displayed a sharp difference with the earlier times in this respect. As the knowledge on the subject of the exhibition became more detailed, the exhibition itself gained more power in claiming that whether it is an art museum or a historical one, what you will have in the end of your journey is

[11] Theodor W. Adorno and G. Rabinbach Anson, "Culture Industry Reconsidered," New German Critique, no. 6 (1975): 12-19.

the illusion that directs you to a *realistic* experience of the past. On the other hand, the accuracy of this fact and the relevant possible explanations based on the changing dynamics and demands (touristic, cultural, educational) lead to the fading out of the other fact, which is the politico-economic utility of this particular use of the attempts of carrying the history to the present time.

2.4 The Commodification of Time

As Hetherington reveals in *The Capitalism's Eye*, the new subject of modernity faced a new way of exhibitionary combination. This combination was made of the horizontal and linear dimensions of culture. Horizontally, it displays the earlier steps of human cultural and historical development and linearly enables a comparison among the developed communities of their time. In his example, during the Great Exhibition which took place in 1851 in London, by the *sanitized* understanding of production, the phase of production has been separated from the main scene and the production part has been rendered invisible. By the forced totality of representation among the items displayed what has been accomplished was to create a *panorama* for the society by transforming the public into *consumers*:

> The exhibition was a total visual scene rather than a story. It was a panorama. We can say, therefore, that while the organizers set out to achieve the latter (narration) they ended up creating the former (spectacle) in a new panoramic form. And it is the consequence of that for consumer society that we have had to live with ever since. The spectacle is closely related to the development of a new kind of subject position –the consumer- and a new form of modern experience (Erlebnis) –a bewildered and fragmented one that has become clearer over time and has underpinned the development of the consumer culture (…).[12]

The delusiveness of spectacle as a result of the complex categorization and the split between the representation of the actors and processes of production are described in the earlier works on consumption in relation with *phantom objectivity* which is firstly

[12] Kevin Hetherington, Capitalism's Eye : Cultural Spaces of the Commodity (New York: Routledge, 2007).

used by Marx and Engels on the principle features of the commodity structure and opened a way for later analyses developed on the issue of commodification (e.g. Lukács, Benjamin, Hetherington). The early analysis of the mentioned illusion appears in the writings of Marx as the mystification that alienates the product from the producer:

> A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour. Because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between the products of their. This is the reason why the products of labour become commodities, social things, whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses.[13]

Lukács, following the theory of alienation, reflects on this subject by changing the focus from the alienated appearance to the false appearance. The difference he brought to the analysis of commodity production is related with the after-image the reified product gains following the social relations that leads the producer to mistake his/her product as something outside of it his/her creation process. When Marx was giving the example of *camera obscura* for the inverted production of their conceptions, ideas and the ideologies as a result of their life process, his target was the ideologies turning the reality upside down, yet the products and the alienation effect that these ideologies brought together was an alienated-image, which can be corrected by taking men and their consciousness as the beginning point of creating abstract categories. [14]

This idea takes the shape of a false-appearance in Lukács' theory of reification; a product that occurred as an *outcome of mystification* rather than mystification itself. The result of the process of reification is the *phantom objectivity* that starts with the abstraction of their physical qualities, labor power, after conquering all the consciousness of the individual continues its way by creating a false consumer culture

[13] Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, (Moscow, USSR: Moscow Progress Publishers, 1859). 47.

[14] Karl Marx et al., The German Ideology (New York: Intl Pub, 1970), 47.

and changes social relations -which are not natural anymore- into commodities appearing as fetish items.[15] This extension of the Marxist theory to the consumer culture or in other words the after story of alienation and alienated products in the market, creates an image in which there is no room for any further social relations which can be developed by different processes of alienation and different processes of consumption. The phantom objectivity replaced by the real and natural becomes a prison. In its limitations the consciousness cannot grasp what is false or true and consequently the subjectivity loses its ground to exist. Except this surrounded image which gives less space for counter developments and variety of actions against mystification, the theory of reification together with the earlier theory on commodification creates one of the milestones for the researches on exhibition since they enable to construct the relation between the exhibited item, the fetishism of the eye and the economic benefits of such an illusion.

Musealization matches with the creation of a phantom need for the consumption of space. On the other hand, the pieces gathered together to pose an image from the past would involve cracks and gaps which can be filled, challenged, transformed by the spectator since they cannot fit the present condition of the images, since the traces of different economies, different commodity structures and different interpretations of the past will sum them up in a time that they do not belong. The gaze supposed to be subjected to the fake democratization according to the pioneers in the researches on museal/exhibitionary dynamics (e.g. Crimp and Bennett) can realize the veil in front of the oneness through the self-narration of these units. The reference in this belief is on the work of Walter Benjamin who supported the idea of *shock effect*, which includes adding a positive dimension to the phantom objectivity emphasized by Marx and later elaborated by Lukács.

The presence of the earlier economic legends in the new era such as the Arcades in Paris as the creators of a new consumer culture and symbols of the highest level of

[15] Georg Lukács, History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics, MIT Press ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 25.

commodification in their day, are transformed into an example of how a place can remain out of time and according to Benjamin enter into conflict with the fixed images of the consumers and challenge the present image of consumerism. The dynamics between imposing meanings and opposition to them create the conflictual ground for the images of the past and present as Benjamin claimed. They create a shock effect for the spectators of the present time by the alteration in what they signify. Therefore the commoditized history, because of the incompatibility they show to the rules of the temporal presence, can be weapons directed to the capitalist production after proving their initial aim. They have the potential to be pointed towards the artificial unity they construct in the perception of collectivities.[16] Alienation can be directed towards the practices of alienation itself.

2.5 The Dynamics of Exhibition, Memory Construction and Resistant Memory

These features pose a necessity for the studies on museums, museal structures and exhibitions to develop an additional focus on the illusion of equality and the creation of an invisible economy basing on the narrations produced via those structures as they ought to develop for commodification. The Barthesian experience of Eiffel Tower takes one of its standing points from the questioning of what the tower is for the spectator. On the one hand it is not a thing in terms of utility and additionally it is not a museum containing items to be seen. The answer given by Barthes is its ability to transform the touristic rite into a visual adventure which opens the city for visual consumption by the power it grants to the visitor.[17] The illusion of dominance brings as well the illusion of obtaining knowledge as well. In this way, after the recent changes in the exhibition where the streets, coffeehouses, districts gain the identity of

[16] see Walter Benjamin, The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings On Media, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Brigid Doherty (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008); The Arcades Project (London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002).

17 Roland Barthes, The Eiffel Tower, p. 5.

historic site followed by the sanitization of areas including unwanted communities to be transferred to different districts and unwanted parts of history erased from the areas; the utility of museums has been transferred to different environments where the exhibition material temporally and spatially varies from the previous items having the property of being exhibited. The trap created by the limitations brought through what is allowed to be seen, in terms of the selection and presentation of the artistic and historic material added among the Foucauldian methods of *confinement* by Douglas Crimp:

> New institutions of power as well as new discourses arise; indeed, the two are interdependent. Foucault has analyzed the modern institutions of confinement—the asylum, the clinic and the prison—and their respective discursive formations—madness, illness and criminality. There is another such institution of confinement ripe for analysis in Foucault's terms—the museum—and another discipline—art history. They are the preconditions for the discourse that we know as modern art.[18]

Thinking today's conditions, in which the exhibition is dependent on the museal space and its power gets increased when what is narrated becomes more articulated the rhythm of daily life, the museum as the single unit of a method to suppress and standardize people's actions and thoughts remains narrow to contain all the features affirmed by Crimp. Additionally, the museum itself, losing some power from its representative value became also subjected to commercialization itself as remarked by Foster:

> Some aspects of this historical transformation are familiar to us, such as the imbrication of modern art with the display of commodities from its beginnings (with the museum flanked by the industrial exposition on one side and the department store on the other), or the conformity of modern art, in its categories of discrete objects made for display and purchase, to exhibition and exchange values. But there are more recent developments to consider along these lines, such as the extent to which exhibition value in art has become all but autonomous, to the point where it often overwhelms whatever is on view. Indeed design and display in the service of exhibition and exchange values are foregrounded as never before: today

[18] Douglas Crimp, "On the Museum's Ruins" in The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Post-Modern Culture, ed. Hal Foster. (New York: The New Press, 1999), p. 45

> what the museum exhibits above all else is its own spectacle value that is the principal point of attraction and the chief object of reverence.[19]

On the changing dynamics in the museums, Bennett emphasizes the above change as well and proposes the term *exhibitionary complex*. The exhibitionary complex challenges the use of the method of confinement by Crimp and suggests that the Foucauldian interpretation of history enables a double construction of domination which is divided between confinement and exhibition:

> Museums may have enclosed objects within walls, but the nineteenth century saw their doors opened to the general public- witnesses whose presence was just as essential to a display of power as had been that of the people before the spectacle of punishment in the eighteenth century. Institutions, then, not of confinement but of exhibition, forming a complex of disciplinary and power relations whose development might more fruitfully be juxtaposed to, rather than aligned with, the formation of Foucault's 'carceral archipelago'(…)

> Two different sets of institutions and their accompanying knowledge/power relations, then, whose histories, in these respects, run in opposing directions. Yet they are also parallel histories. The exhibitionary complex and the carceral archipelago develop over roughly the same period- the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century (…).[20]

The *exhibitionary complex* as the term suggested by Bennett makes itself effective on the reversed area of panopticon, it appears as a regime that shares the knowledge equally with everyone and spreads the knowledge selected by it by this artificial oneness:

> The peculiarity of the exhibitionary complex is not to be found in its reversal of the principles of the Panopticon. Rather, it consists in its incorporation of aspects of those principles together with those of the panorama, forming a technology of vision which served not to atomize and disperse the crowd but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd itself the ultimate spectacle.[21]

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[19]Foster, Hal, "Archives Of Modern Art," October 99. Winter (2002), 95.

[20]Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," New Formations 4. Spring (1988), 73,74.

[21] Hal Foster, "Archives of Modern Art," October 99(2002). p. 81.

The power of exhibition in terms of disseminating a certain ideology is accepted and the exhibitionary play with the vision is taken as one of the key elements for this thesis. However, as mentioned in the beginning of this part the term exhibitionary complex and some notions it involves are not adopted for the analysis of the research subject. The exhibitionary complex by definition includes not only historical museums, exhibitions, sites but as well it is composed of many types of exhibition and techniques of spectacle under the influence of many disciplines (e.g. history, art history, biology, anthropology). The references to the dynamics of exhibition in this thesis may well take place under the frame of this great mechanism of taming but in terms of defining the acts of the discipline on space, a narrower and more definite term is thought to be more functional. Even though functionality is important, it is not the sole reason beneath the choice on the use of musealization.

The new historic sites of our time whose areas can be extended to the border of a town or a city, in our case the entire center of Sivas does not only bring the historical to today. It reinterprets it according to the governing economy and translates it to the social practices of our daily life. Following the Benjaminian interpretation of the motivation coming from the incompatibility of this attempt, I believe, no matter how powerful musealization is, lack of overlapping with the present creates one of the greatest challenges to its own existence.

Musealization is, as well as being a direct interruption to social space, it is at the same time a direct to intervention memory. It compels subjectivity of people to be in the same scale with the subjectivity of the governing ideology. The relation between subject of exhibition, social body and economy −articulated with ideology and politics− gives the actual shape to what is brought to the fore under musealization.

In cases of historical displays such as the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* referred by Benedict Anderson we see the crystallization of this relationship:

> No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers. The public ceremonial

> reverence accorded these monuments precisely *because* they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has not true precedents in earlier times.[22]

The unique success of this type of historic monuments is the signification of a single area as inherited property of some group in order to sustain a certain economy by reflecting an equality on the image of identification (here, the unknown soldier). On this rather empty image no one can claim any politics of difference since the whole trick is signifying nothing actually existent while creating a mythic abstraction, a purified interpretation of actuality. In the example of Anderson, this interpretation is directed to empower a national economy that bases on actors who find their national unity over the emptiness of a tomb.

This hollow unity is created by the production of history, sometimes without an actual ground to base. On the other hand if musealization is one of the apparatuses to crystallize history; to settle economy, production and consumption which re-defined by the exhibited material and its location; and if it is to form the daily life and social relations over what is reflected from this exhibition, than the subjectivity of others – public in all its multiplicity− remains in the other side where areas produced or claimed by people are reinforced with social memory: the other of history.

Social memory is defined by Fentress and Wickham as *an expression of collective experience* which forms the identity of a particular group and links its past to the future in accordance with their goals.[23] The reason it is taken as the opposite of history lies beneath the very subjectivity it bases on, which runs the risk of not being a part of the official history. When the risk meets with reality, memory's force coming from remaining in the side of public makes it available for collectivities to use it as a part of proving their existence in history as we see in its frequent use in women's movement and workers' movement.

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[22]Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1991), 9.

[23] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) p. 25.

Leyla Neyzi interprets the function of memory in relation with “silenced experiences and interpretations that may differ from the singular truth of national history” and relatedly claims that what memory does is actually posing a challenge to the “linear temporality of national history”.[24] Especially in cases like Turkey where the process of producing a nation includes an intense process of homogenization and the further attempts of treating public are based on rendering the public experience (including history) singular; in addition to the decrease in the possibility of forming public movements by making street the place of opposition, memory growingly becomes the area of challenge.

The separation between memory and history as defined by Nora results from their mark on the present life, which also makes memory vulnerable to manipulation as it creates history in with a lack in the power of representation:

> Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past.[25]

The issue of vulnerability Nora mentions should be considered carefully when claiming that memory plays the main role against the sanitized version of history of authorities.

Memory is not a unitary concept and by nature it is both more fluid than history and has more branches. In its many uses to confront history, its escape from hegemony

[24] Leyla Neyzi, "Remembering Smyrna/Izmir: Shared History, Shared Trauma,"History & Memory 20. 2 (2008) p. 124.

[25] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire," Representations 26.1 (1989) p. 8.

does not construct its existence as the sole representative of facts. Memory is constructed due to a gap between the present −flowing− time and a past moment similar to history; yet memory is reproduced simultaneously with the time its owners−collectivities− confront, which makes it open to interpretation as it makes it available for interruption. For both actions, it is seen that the form of memory mentioned here, the collective one, due to its very subjectivity, undress from being for the sake of remembrance and one of its uses as being the subject of an objective appears as Fentress and Wickham contend:

> Memories die, but only to be replaced by other memories. In attempting to explain what the images and stories in social memory really mean, we saw a tendency to slide from one topos to another, or else merely to rationalize the images and stories by recontextualizing them into other forms.[26]

Placing collectivities, spaces they claim right on and memory against authorities, musealization and history does not mean there is no intersection or interaction between them; but it is to claim even this intersection, for example sharing the same historical view with authorities, reproduce their status in different grounds. In the dynamic structure of memory and the hegemonic structure of history, the intersections happen in different levels of everyday reality in which collectivities and hegemony do not share a similar status. This contains the possibility of reversal of any relation happening between collectivities' way of remembrance and the authorities' reproduction of past. The tomb of Unknown Soldier can later have a new place in the history as the tomb of an intruder while for some parts of population it still is −as it was formerly in harmony with historical narration− the hero as happened in many former-Soviet countries after the fall of the Union.

The re-adjustment of memory and its subjectivity due to their actual or possible contestation with hegemonic history and their fast reproduction in the daily reality challenge the intervention to space and remembering in more than a single ground since they are connected to daily existence of collectivities and function fast than the

[26] Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory, p. 202.

settlement of history. They are accumulated and transmitted also to be used when necessary, and therefore they are linked to social space where people are both among its producers and are the groups to be affected by how it is produced. Memory function in social space and its momentary existence is adjusted to the form and transformation of space. Moreover, figuratively, memory has a spatial feature as described by Nora:

> Our interest in lieux de memoire where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn-but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de memoire*, real environments of memory.[27]

Here I take the figurative spatiality of memory more in relation with actual space. In this work, the research is not on collective or social memory; its main aim is to reveal what is hidden in the formal history, but it is directly related with how memory and history construction function on space −which is not simply a matter of an interpretation of history but an immediate intervention to the subjectivity of place and social life of public− and how people response to this construction by organizing and producing space. Their response is not in the shape of an abstract way of keeping and transmitting memory. It is uttering memory in close relation with space such as reproducing their living areas by using its record in imaginary or forming action by using memory as a motivator for recruiting collectivities.

Therefore, whether it has a *ghostly structure* or an actual form, memory has in this research a spatial double. This double, following Benjamin, is constructed through the motivation brought by structures whose time has passed or whose legitimate existence has never been real for history but who as a remnant or as an invisible node in the daily route of people, still exists. A good example of them is seen on the nodes remembered where street movements face authorities, enter into struggle and in some

[27] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire," Representations 26.1 (1989) p. 7.

cases lose people among them. In many cities the location of the loss is remembered and even commemorated even though no state sign gives such knowledge on what happened before to the wanderers. Similarly some places in cities are remembered by the former function of that place even though the new façade and functions are totally different.

A different way of linking memory and space happens for repressed groups whose way of claiming their rights on city necessitate reproducing their memory together with the reproduction of space in their imaginary. By this way the transmitted memory both reinforces the borders of the area adopted by people and its present meaning for collectivities is emphasized by linking the past to the present as in the case of neighborhoods marked by being rebellious. For my research, Sivas had an entire map out of these invisible, transformed or rebellious nodes in the city, whose main function was to motivate collectivities and prepare them against a rapid interruption to their identity in which memory and space are among the constituents. These nodes, how they function for people's activities, were among the main opponents of what is exhibited by authorities.

2.6 Spatial Dynamics

The theories so far mentioned were all part of a process to define the subject-object relations in terms of their action on the memorial space. We can mainly divide the theories so far into two groups. In the first group we see the explanations those initially defining the actual relation between the producer, the product and the market with the addition of more distinct analyses on how the subject gather a ghostly objectivity which becomes more real than its actual existence in order to render people into customers without consciousness.

In the second group there are the analyses those –without refusing the power share between the economy and governing ideas- dealing mostly with the disciplines, techniques and methods of creating proper subjects surrounded with conventionalized knowledge. In both of the groups, the condition of the subject in front of the power

resembles the condition of the producer facing the product s/he produced in an alienated working process. The subject even though s/he is aware of the power or governance, such as in the case of panopticon, is not given the means of resistance and lacks the ability, tactics and knowledge to claim on space s/he habits.

Therefore as in the alienation of the producing subject from the produced object, the subject's position in space confronting the spatial condition of the presented material or idea becomes subjected to a similar estrangement. In many cases, the creation of narrations and the selection of the material to narrate, the created idea/past/lineage/history takes its power from the density of emptiness. However the extensiveness of the narration disseminated by memorial structures covers also an area in which opposing voices or signifiers tried to be suppressed, which at least show the existence of counter dynamics. That is why the public tactics sometimes resemble a guerilla warfare in the city like the use of graffiti and stencil transforming the monumental dignity of the city into one that is interrupted by grassroots or like the nodes of a spatial trauma created by the state where public accepted and protected as ruins after the intervention of power.

The very point becomes the main difference seen between the approaches to spatial politics in Foucault and Lefebvre, who both have pioneering attempts to map the spatial dynamics. The form the human experience takes in the works of Lefebvre goes beyond the problem of being included or excluded to the mechanical ongoing excavated by Foucault. Except the internal and external positions forced by a system of hierarchical relations, human experience with space is mentioned in the Lefebvrian approach with a possible collective capacity of altering or blocking the spatial circumstances. Such a space of experience have one more feature than the chrono-spatial space we see in the Foucauldian analysis. Even though the spatial references in his works given to meticulously planned and systematized areas such as prisons whose change in time shows the chronological alterations in the vehicles of power; for people experiencing it the Foucauldian space it is almost circumstantial, by a circumstantial togetherness of a specific community with a specific place in which the

experience gets limited through being subjected. On the other side there is space as the "materialization of the social being".[28]

The orientation of such approach becomes the reason of taking the participation of public into the process of musealization as a constructive part to develop the study on "the margin which separates what men are from what they think they are" as suggested by Henry Lefebvre.[29] Lefebvre in the method of criticism he developed, namely the *criticism of life*, attempts first to denounce and then to decipher the mystifications. The stage for the occurrence of mystifications is space itself according to the Lefebvrian conceptualization of space, since space exist both as an outcome and the setting of the societal processes. Therefore the societal power relations are constructed and transmitted on space. The spatiality of the relations of production sustains their existence by reproducing themselves on space as well as the reproduction of the relations between the public and the power holders. The history of space and the history of the application of power within space coexist with the history of production:

> In and of itself, social space does not have all of the characteristics of 'things' as opposed to creative activity. Social space *per se* is at once *work* and *product* – a materialization of 'social being'.[30]

The *materialization of the social being* ascribed to social space by Lefebvre is due to space's assembling "everything that there is in space, everything that is produced either by nature or by society".[31] Consequently, for researchers the analysis of social space enables to examine in detail the relations between the center and the periphery, the functioning of social life and the relations of the production and reproduction. In our case a spatial analysis becomes important from two main aspects. The first one is to understand the form given to space by authorities in order to form the life inside

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[28] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991), 102.

29Henri Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life, (London: Verso, 1991),146.

30Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 101-102.

31 ibid, 101.

those borders, which takes a visible power from the development of a specific narration of the city via musealization. The second aspect is to elaborate the social relations within space, which enables us to see both the ways of adopting and challenging the form aimed to be defined for the ones -the people living in space- who are also producing, consuming and experiencing it. A spatial analysis rather than a strict questioning of the durability of the affirmed form, focuses on the process of producing it, in which as well as the acts of authorities, the challenges of public is also considered as a productive element. Space as something both *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* – a triad named by Lefebvre that refers to how space is *deciphered* by the people, how it is planned and made representational by the city planners, urbanists and social engineers and how the life passes in the city between its symbols and actuality occurred on space- is already an area of conflict between its representation, perception and experience.[32] Therefore the triad rather than having impassable boundaries, contains a certain permeability between them, since they are all the constructive parts of it.

This permeability is valid in the case of public interruption to space as well. In addition, space including places, nodes of actual contact to the daily life of space and the life in space, enables to achieve a core subject which is to trace the public action in where it takes place. The mundane scraped on space offers the possibility of deciphering the appearance of the relations in their flow of actualization. Even though these relations, from which the issue of agency becomes the main issue for this work, are not limited with being the signifier of a certain spatial condition; it would be hard, especially for the specific map of this work, to study and define them without considering their part in the production of space and their response to the produced space.

In the frame of in this work, agency, involving patterns of settled of relations and types of tactical relations within a given space, covers a wide area that cannot be

32 Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 38,39.

defied with a common action type, a singular character and sequential actions of human extended in a long historical section. This directly affects the production of space by its layered, multiple and temporal existence. Therefore agency is understood as the temporal relations developed by people collectively under certain circumstances in a dialectical relation with structure. These circumstances may lead agency to a reflexive existence in the process of production and habitation in a given environment or lead to take severe measures to alter the order of structure. It is temporally involving a flow changing in the relation between the surrounding developments yet it is accumulative. By attributing agency an accumulative structure I regard it as a temporal unity of certain action types practiced in the past and selected by later groups of people to perform in addition to their unique experiences in the given space and time. While the temporal and spatial spot forming agency carries importance for the way the engagements with the structure are developed, I am not discussing agency in terms of a solitary stance of individual against the structure but in terms of how interaction within groups developed inside of certain borders leads to create a critical stance in the interaction with the structure. Different borders in the same spatial and temporal spot would create differences between groups in terms of agency due to the experiences.

The plurality of experiences and how they change the collective engagement is one of the reasons for not making the analysis by reference to the theories on public sphere. Additionally, since space becomes the area to witness, experience or access the information produced by different groups of agents through different experiences and engagements, it is believed that the use of a spatial analysis functions better for this work. To write briefly about the history of production of space of the Republic, which can trespass to the borders of the production of an intervened space, the writings on the public sphere in Turkey are used for the Chapter 2.2 since it offers the possibility of giving an overall image of the historicity of the process of production. In the same way, since the mainstream discussions on gender include the public-private dilemma, theories on public sphere used to refer to the gendered dimension of space. Yet a further analysis will not be developed basing on public sphere since it is believed the

definition of public sphere includes its own limitations such as the scope and the place given to the roles of the legitimate agents and the state in the area.

2.7 The Places of Publics

When the key points of the mostly cited works on public sphere are noted; issues on pluralism, the role of bourgeoisie in the sphere and the question of visibility appear as the main areas of comparison and discussion. The public sphere, despite approving, is marked by the representative power of the rulers and has the power in itself to determine the statuses. According to Habermas, the historical actor's, bourgeoisie's role in the development of the public sphere is mainly crosscutting certain divisions −such as origin and economic condition- and unifying certain groups by organizing an area both of which related with the main feature of bourgeoisie as a pending group between the nobles and the public. In the space organized by bourgeoisie, public can participate and adopt space since they gain the right of making their voice heard by creating the *vox populi*, the public opinion:

> By public sphere we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affair, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion that is with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest.[33]

After the shift in the private economy to the public one, the capitalist production and distribution appear in the public sphere (of modernity) where the public cohabit in terms of their partnership in the area under accepted governance. The public sphere formed firstly as space for the inscription of public's existence as the cultural and

[33]Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article", New German Critique 3 (1974): 49.

political counterpart of the court in the town developed its existence as a mediator between the society and the state enabling the democratic control over the state.

Control in terms of the dynamics in public sphere have a dual face which takes the shape of governance when it is directed to the public instead of public mechanisms of state control. Except the availability of associational practices in the public sphere, which forms the dialogue between public and state, the other possible outcomes of a specific formation of public sphere is the control's becoming the main mechanism reflected on the society and limitation's becoming the way of existing in the public sphere. The access to the public sphere is historically loaded with unequal participation such as the later appearance of women and worker's class as it is developed over the versions of existence where the appearance take the form of surveillance.

The intervention's becoming a core issue is necessary to mention due to the development of roles for the agents and politics of governance in relation with the development of public opinion and public sphere. Habermas, in the introductory notes written for the edition of "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" published in 1990, rejects the Foucauldian concept of *exclusion* since he takes the interaction between various groups in terms of communication skills which keeps the questioning of hegemony out as well as leaving the analysis of dominant stance of the founder groups of the public sphere. [34]

On the other hand, the different appearances of public call for attention to the diversity of groups and the variety of the ways they take a stand in the public sphere after the formation of an economy bringing forth common interests, public concerns and a way of publicity. This design depends on the relationship between the forefathers −the bourgeoisie− to be the main negotiators between state and different classes and groups as well as the controlled but apparent interests of the state economy, it becomes space

[34] Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), 30.

for mechanisms devoted to control the collectivities. It is hard to neglect the control coming from top to down including bio-politics and surveillance and the hegemony between groups that can take the shape of binary oppositions. A city structure with neighborhoods living next to the economically and socially accessible areas and with peripheral zones distanced physically and socially from common interests tells this story. A similar story is told by places where the lack or the abundance of shared areas affected public action or form public opinion (coffehouses, internet cafes or wireless areas) or by moderate industrial areas where working power is permitted to add itself to the public opinion.

The formation of an interrupted and challenged space shared between the various interests of groups can be evaluated as well with the issue of *visibility* examined by Arendt. After the appearance of the new system of values, which contrary to the earlier times is not formed in the private sphere or through close community relations; public sphere, according to Arendt becomes the area of the political and the politically visible. While public sphere offers the possibility of detaching one's self from the *obscurity*, non-existence by making them visible, it creates also the roles developed according to the ways of visibility. The acts turn into behavior and an isolation appears depending on the needs of the economy, which consequently brings the stratification among the groups created in the public sphere.[35]

A public sphere to be transmitted to generations, as a theme in "The Human Condition" creates the political economic aspect of the created sphere.[36] On her distinction between public and private, which has been both highly appraised and criticized, she enables on the one hand an *associative* model considering the common language created in the area and necessitating on the other a place to be constructed outside of the borders of visibility. This distinction on the necessities of being part of a social life and a necessity to escape from the *shallowness* it brings to human life,

35 Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition, (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1998), 162.

36 ibid, 55.

even though Arendt does not question the situation over the mainstream, patriarchal construction of public and private sphere, still can be questioned from the other direction of its focal point: *the social*.[37] The assumption that the social area is flexible for the resistance of various groups to change the inner dynamics can be challenged.

The very existence of areas for suppression where entering into the social can take a structural/historical/political form of prohibition or have different requirements than many others who perform the given roles in the public sphere. Namely the public sphere can be the hideout for many groups whose main domain determined as the internal sphere where the necessities and rules of behavior can take a move severe and determined shape. Similarly working roles of some groups can make the legitimacy of the visibility a problematic issue. For the latter, the condition of the garbage collectors or the sex workers in public visibility can be discussed. For the latter, the fieldwork done in a cultural institution for women in Sivas, as will be analyzed in the following chapters, will give us the opportunity to dwell upon this subject but so far the long history of monkhood and nunhood can be given as examples of these reversed realities of the domains.

Basing on more complex and interrelated domains who confront each other over hierarchies and challenges as well as associational behaviors, the issues of public concern and public action would bring the questioning of what the political is and how these politics appear with whose effect or ineffectiveness.

Seeing public sphere as a flexible area that is shaped also by the new-comers as well as the founders of the initial form brings questions remained without response in the content it is developed. If we discuss the distribution of public concerns over what is social and what is socially shared, ignoring to a certain extent the political frame of public sphere, the skepticism of Seyla Benhabib finds a proper area to direct her

37 Arendt, The Human Condition, 72.

questions on the asymmetrical power balance. In this case the image of harmony gets damaged accompanied by the limits of sphere's getting narrower:

> Different action-types, like work and labor, can become the locus of 'public space' if they are reflexively challenged and placed into question from the standpoint of the asymmetrical power relations governing them. To give a few examples: obviously productivity quotas in the factory workshop, how many chips per hour a worker should produce, can become a matter of 'public concern', if the legitimacy of those setting the quotas, their right to do so, their reasons for doing so are challenged. Likewise, as experiences in the 1980s have shown us, even the most intricate questions of nuclear strategy, the number of nuclear warheads on a missile, the time required to diffuse them -all these dauntingly technical issues- can be reclaimed by a public under conditions of democratic legitimacy and become part of what our res publica is about. Arendt, by contrast, relegated certain types of activity like work and labor, and by extension issues of economics and technology, to the 'social' realm, ignoring that these activities and relations, insofar as they are based on power hierarchies, could become matters of public-political dispute as well.[38]

Fraser, calling attention to the relation between the development of concepts and their relation to sustain the economic vulnerability and/or subordination of some groups, links the language of public sphere to the deliberate distinctions supporting to perpetuate the ongoing against the rights of the weaker groups. The power relation between economically subordinate private sphere and dominant public sphere can be found among the examples given by Fraser. Another and more detailed case mentioned by her is the difference between the "industrial relations" as a section and phase in public sphere and the economically invisible workforce which has been placed inside class relations due to the knowledge and methods produced by the initial.[39] Fraser when claiming that the relations existing in public sphere are "interpublic", referring to plural publics rather than the single signifier in the use of

38 Seyla, Benhabib, "Feminist Theory And Hannah Arendt's Concept Of Public Space", History of the Human Sciences 6, no. 2 (1993), 105.

[39] N. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," Social text (1990): 65-66.

”intrapublic”; stresses the impossibility to isolate the discursive areas as well as the role of critical theory to decipher the inequalities endangering the public interaction.[40]

The differences being formed already by a segregationist notion reveals both the need to investigate the borders of spheres once again to reveal the relatively weak spheres and both to render visible the new borders forced by the dominant groups. Elaborating the issue with a spatial focus, Lefebvre mentions the segregation of spaces as a way of *localization* in which social space becomes divided between the *social relations of reproduction* and *the relations of productio*n even though the two processes are in need of each other and are indispensably interlinked. The very economy imposing their collaboration also depends on their separation and therefore localization of the division occurs as a functional division for the sake of the mode of production.[41] The issue of visibility goes along with the issue of legitimacy and control the gaze and surveillance comparison in a Foucaldian sense where the dynamics of public sphere and public discourse are not solely related with the agents appearing inside. Finding the emphasis on the public discourse and public agency on the issue problematic, Benhabib brings the issue of force and violence which “destroy the specificity of public discourse, by introducing the ’dumb’ language of physical superiority and constraint and by silencing the voice of persuasion and conviction.”[42]

The discussion on the public sphere and public discourse is open to the examination of differences among groups and their means of expression which in case of a great division among the public would result with different cultural and political islands not in close relation. Remarking the same point Nancy Fraser directs her questions to difference between participation of collectivities to the issues of concern with their own voice and their suppression through *discursive assimilation* whose direct result

[40] Ibid.

[41]Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 32.

42 Benhabib, "Feminist Theory and Hannah Arendt’s Concept Of Public Space", 105.

is demise of social equality[43] Fraser, welcoming the idea of a mutually shared, egalitarian and participatory ideal of public sphere finds a future overlapping societal condition in the extension and pluralization of the content of public sphere by the adoption and participation of *publics* in various *public spheres* rather than seeking a unitary voice, which starts with the acceptation of the complexity of cultural identities.[44] The goals to achieve it and already existing possibilities about new hierarchies can be discussed severely for the agenda of bringing plurality to the very definition of the sphere itself. The existence of various public spheres are not possible political outcomes to appear in the future, to the contrary, Fraser points out that it is in the structure of society, as well as today's society, in the shape of a divided public area where we already have different publics organizing their space with their unique cultural reflections and interactions.

A focus developed on the existing areas of suppression, collective action and on the ways of organization of the small scale public gatherings to achieve the functioning of these publics and their opinions opens a way to gather more knowledge on the organization of life in a given space. Space as a combination of places as well as being the medium and objective of struggles between publics and authorities, offers the focus to places where action has both an accumulated being and a daily existence. Therefore it enables the researcher a closer gaze on the development skills of these groupings in both the open and restricted areas to public.

Consequently, socio-spatial analysis makes it more effective to deal with space supported by places where even the non-acceptation of some agents develop dynamics in space, which fits the condition of the center of Sivas where politics of visibility and invisibility have a mutual existence.

43 Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", Social Text, 25/26 (1990), 69.

44 ibid, 70.

Edward Soja in his call to merge, once again, the theory on the organized geography of capitalism with the organized economy of capitalism, claims that spatial inequalities function as a means of survival of the specific mode of production.[45] Claiming in his argument that the term *socio-spatial dialectic* refers to the "dialectic between social and spatial structures" rather than the domination of historical circumstances over spatial circumstances or vice versa, Soja provides the way to settle "a productive and appropriate focus for the concrete analysis of capitalist social formations and for concerted social action."[46] Space as being produced, divided, controlled and challenged with all the counter-spaces, nodes of opposition and methods of acceptation constitutes a large arena where the state, state agents and public enter into sorts of reciprocal communication, where every node can be examined in large and narrow scopes in their internal relations.

The relations having the major importance are the ones adopting a goal for transformation whether they remain in the area of reproduction a certain socio-cultural feature, they bend the rules for a temporal use of a certain place or they aim for an entire change in the organization of space. The publics producing them adopt different methods and tactics sometimes without a unity between their actions; their nodes carry the risk of melting in the dominated space but also their presence is blocking, even temporally, the fully functioning of the other spatial mechanisms who claim space as authorities' area of domination.

These places and nodes where the spatial interaction takes place may take many forms yet when space under domination, where groups of people are divided and segregated is considered, one of the forms becomes more common which signify otherness in a struggle with dominated space. This form, as appears in the works of two theorists who this work highly refers to, is heterotopia, the other space or space of otherness.

[45]Edward W. Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 70, no. 2 (1980): 221.

[46]Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic", 224-225

2.8 Heterotopia

The use of heterotopia in theory points to the different structure of space and the different character of its inhabitants at the same time. Between many and sometimes incompatible definitions, the most inclusive statement of what heterotopia is explained for me in the "Urban Revolution" by Lefebvre as the differentiated place of the other which finds itself outside of the politics of authority and majority.[47] The important features of other spaces in my view is firstly their implication of multiplicity in the ways of production of space whether they are built for escapism or for counter action. Secondly, their being the initial step of a transformation uttered by people against the mainstream makes them important for this work. The latter feature combines the existence of heterotopia inseparably from the experience of people inhabiting there which covers different methods of construction and ways to keep its existence. Hetherington when summarizing heterotopia under five types elaborates the content of this main feature:

> First, no space can be described as fixed as a heterotopia; second, heterotopia always have multiple and shifting meanings for agents depending on where they are located within its power effects; third, heterotopia are always defined relationally to other sites or within a spatialization process, and never exist in and of themselves; fourth, heterotopia, if they are taken as relational, must have something distinct about them, something makes them an obligatory point of passage,(…); and fifth, heterotopia are not about resistance or order but can be about both because both involve the establishment of alternative modes of ordering.[48]

Similar to the constant changes in the structure of urban, heterotopia are temporal structures whose future can lead to the development of a new space constructed by agency or due to the interventions of the state, it may take the form of a structure juxtaposing the initial circumstances contrary to which heterotopia were developed at first. The dynamic structure of other spaces is referred by Foucault and Lefebvre citing

[47] Henri Lefebvre, The Urban Revolution (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 9.

[48] Kevin Hetherington, The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering (London: Routledge, 1997), 51.

several processes whose links for the subject of this thesis are both important even though their texts differ from the emphasis given to the productive forces and agency.

Both Foucault and Lefebvre finds the initial development of heterotopia as a response to the normal place where things have settled. The displacement of a former space offers a dialectic for Foucault which goes to the abolishment of the oppositions inherent to space such as the opposed structures and organizations of social and family life. This organization linked to the authoritarian processes are challenged by two spaces, utopia and heterotopia among which heterotopia, bring either collectively produced reality to the place or change the existing reality with an illusion created again in collective action.[49]

Giving more reference to the role of spaces produced by agency, Lefebvre's most striking example for the transforming structure of heterotopia is the life of urban areas started as heterotopia themselves, which later invaded the rural areas and made them heterotopias.[50] According to Lefebvre, these structures challenge the mask of capitalism and its primary aim of controlling space making inhabitants as its buyers as in the example of the urban guerillas in favelas of South America clashing the isotopy of the capitalist space.[51] In both of the interpretations heterotopia offer a possibility of transforming space even though they have a fragile condition under changing circumstances and clashes between the authority and norms of space.

For the analysis of the acts of agency in Sivas heterotopia gains importance since the challenge to the dominated space is posed in places adopted by different groups who consider themselves as the others of the city politics. The spatial structure of the challenge suits the form of heterotopia as places marked by distinctive identities used as their location to limit or change the city politics. Additionally, since these locations

[49] Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," Diacritics 16, no. 1 (1986): 24-27.

[50] ibid., 129.

[51] Lefebvre, The Urban Revolution, 146-56.

vary in form and size, it becomes more functional to analyze their action over this term since it is open for differences but eases identifying the similar points in discontent and action.

Relating this structure with a space in which the memorial structures and history itself is used to socially neutralize publics' life and which economically confronts a transformation where the city is consumed rather than it produces values, heterotopia are both necessary and unavoidable but also dangerous in case they do not extend themselves on the main areas of action of the dominated space. Still, their deviation can be understood as an initial step and the early signifier of a greater challenge towards a displacement and following emplacement controlled only by the will of the authorities.

Space as the locus containing both greater contexts linked to national or local economies and smaller ones connected with the street action in daily life, offers a high number of combinations to examine. This work deals with a smaller context of the spatial experience of publics in the process of production and spread of ideologies via the use of spatial units.

The character of space, even it is dominated, enables counter constructions which is affected by space and produced in space. Seeing the dynamism, interaction and intervention with the variety of institutions and agents forming counter groups supports to reveal the contention between agents and authorities in the shape of an antagonism on space rather than dealing with them on the basis of hierarchies.

Agency under discontent and motivation from shock effects of controversial structures includes the possibilities Benjamin and later Hetherington point out on the existence of processes depending on the experience that enters into conflict with meanings affirmed to their surrounding by the power. In terms of museal cities, it is believed that the transformation of cities going along with gentrification and regeneration processes opens an additional gap for the public to intervene to the

process. The attempt of affirming space a museal dimension can be a very effective ideological tool for authorities as well as the economic profit the process of musealization offers. Space, with its socially produced and shared features, is the area of transmission of the aims of taming and governance such as musealization. It invalidates these attempts to some degree since the transmission process is interrupted by time and by the experience of people. It does not bound to fail in terms of disseminating an ideology to collectivities but at least in smaller context, there will be cases of experience and consciousness constructed by agency which would resist, develop tactics, or transmit an opposing knowledge to the following generations.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: INTERRUPTION, TRANSFORMATION AND LOCALIZATION OF SPACE

The sections under this chapter aims to refer to the developments that forms the present condition of Sivas. The first section includes a general frame of the spatial politics in Turkey over the issue of interruption which is helpful to display the present image of the intervened space in Sivas and to place it to the history of the country it belongs to. The developments directly effecting the present condition in Sivas have been shaped by certain phases of interruption which at the same time become an important catalyzer for the construction of spatial dynamics in Turkey. A focus on the recent decades of the Republic shows a continuing pattern of interruption. This very feature separates the socio-spatial features and publicity in Turkey from many other states.

When the interruption comes to the fore, in order to denounce the illusions of this contradictory space, one path to be taken can be the analysis of the dynamics of this space constructed as Sivas, which requires the analysis of the dynamics of Turkish Republic. A brief analysis of the spatial features of Republican era and the transformations applied on the republican space during the following periods, has the advantage of revealing some of the matters still discussed in Turkey and in Sivas, which are also the key elements to understand the present appearance of the city.

The second section places Sivas in the frame of the events referred in the first section and discusses the phases the city experienced in more detail and in more close connection to the dynamics ended up with the present musealization. By this section it is aimed to refer to mainstream events, which will enable a better understanding of the research field and gives the background of many events those will be mentioned in the analysis of the findings.

The *socio-spatial* perspective adopted in this work, rather than analyzing the subject by means of the development and the present situation of the public sphere in Sivas, requires an analysis on the processes of appropriation, contradiction and adaptation on space and how people produce/involved into these processes. Yet, it is believed that, not in terms of revealing the essential map of public communication, but to uncover the top to down processes of the production of space, the investigation on public sphere keeps its importance for the subject matter of this thesis.

3.1. A Concise History of Spatial Interruption in Turkey

Public sphere can be defined as an area of public communication/confrontation where social identities can be produced and reproduced both on the social and discursive level. The critique of such an idealized version of publicity discusses the circumstances of gaining the right of visibility and the position in front of the power. If we start a brief comparison over the main issues such as the role of bourgeoisie, pluralism and visibility we see strict differences between Turkey and Europe such as the characteristics of elites, the development of civil-society, the right to access to the city and the relationship between the state and the individual. The main difference that separates the two ideal public spheres is the lack of an extended historical development of publicity in Turkey, which in the European example was rooted in Enlightenment and later started to take its shape during 18th century.

The development of public sphere over the steps taken in Turkish modernism takes its roots from 19th century during which the state and groups of elites, from the beginning, supported a Western idea of public sphere. Both the condition of these groups and state acts make this public sphere questionable in terms of an independent public opinion. As stated by Batuman, in the Turkish example contrary to the intellectual character of Western bourgeoisie whose intellectual development led the other groups to gain legitimacy in front of the rulers, Turkish case lacks a similar impact on legitimacy and instead of organizing a political sphere, the bourgeois in Turkish society entered into an organic relation with the state. Therefore, as Batuman notes, the republican elite failing to recognize the legitimacy of the lower classes,

consolidated *exclusion* as a strategy[1]. For this highly debated subject of exclusion two crucial features of the early republican state, secularism and nationalism become prominent, while education appears as the key apparatus of the state.

Education during the early republican era was serving the entire population via the schools, the courses given to the workers of the industrial institutions as leisure time activities, courses in *People's Houses* (Halk Evleri) for the education of public and schools called *Village Institutions* (Köy Enstitüleri) for the education and modernization of rural areas from within. In the cities one major role of these institutions was creating "modern life islets", as named by Laçiner, along with the publicity created by the officers' clubs and community centers serving as city clubs[2].

For the peripheries whose daily life was reproducing the pattern of modern Turkey developed in bigger cities, the domination of social space by these institutions spreading state ideology led to a challenge between the conservatism and the secular modernism. In Turkey whose center-periphery relationship bases on a "stressed hierarchy, a strong sense of alterity"[3]as stated by Laçiner, the appearance of these institutions in peripheries, brought the tension between modernism and traditional life style into the peripheries[4]. When the after-effects of this tension is considered, the two features of republic, secularism and nationalism appear. While nationalism was trying to unite everyone under one ethnic name to create a new and dominant national identity, which has lost its connection to the memory of Ottoman era; secularism was playing the role of a tool to bring a modern/Western image of this newly created identity by weakening the bonds with the earlier regime:

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[1] Bülent Batuman, "Mekan, Kimlik Ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyetin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Kızılay Meydanı (Space, Identity and Social Conflict: Kizilay Square as the Public Sphere of the Republic)," in Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri ed. Güven Arif Sargın Bülent Batuman (Istanbul: Iletisim, 2009), 47.

[2] Ömer Laçiner, "Merkez(Ler) Ve Taşra(Lar) Dönüşürken [While Center(s) and Periphery(ies) Are Being Transformed]," in Taşraya Bakmak ed. Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: Iletisim, 2011), 21.

[3] ibid, 14.

[4] ibid, 21.

> The most important function of 'official' religion was that it provided a legitimating framework for the religion of the lower classes. By replacing the official religion with the principle of laicisme, Atatürk erased the possibilities of legitimation offered by the framework. The 'little man's' religion was thus placed in an ambiguous situation: tolerated but not secure. It was this tension which Atatürk hoped would work in favor of secularization in the long run[5].

The "little man", as Mardin use, represents a good reflection of the gaze of state over the individual during the early republican era. Here I have to note that this abstract individual's religion was Sunni-Islam and in terms of gender, for women, the experience of being a "little person" was more layered. Until 1928, in the constitution the religion of the state was determined as Islam and until 1937, the principle of laicism entered into the constitution.

The era was principally referring to Turkishness selected as the supra-identity keeping the religion controlled in the borders. Some of the events of the decade proves that the main line of the republic was designed on a mild Islamic identity articulated to the strong Turkish identity. One of these was the Menemen event in Izmir in 1930, which was an Islamic revolt ended with execution of 36 people and the other one was the Dersim Revolt organized for gaining the autonomy of Zaza-Alevi tribes in Dersim back in 1937, which ended with a fierce military intervention and forced migration. As seen in both cases happened in 10 years under a single-party regime, the administration settled in a tolerant way towards the ideal of progress defined by industrialism and educational development, however, even though still the main definition of religion was being Muslim, referring to Sunnism, on the issues of extremist Islamism or ethnic movements blended with a secondary religious identity, the face of the state was not tolerant nor was it reconciliatory. In spite of the sleeping Islamic emphasis on the identity of the citizens of Turkey and in addition to the strong

[5]Mardin, Şerif, A. (1971) Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution in Journal of Middle East Studies, vol.2, no.3, July, pp. 208-209 Serif A. Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," International Journal of Middle East Studies 2, no. 3 (1971): 208-09.

utterance of Turkishness seen also in the Dersim events, for Tunceli (Dersim) and for the Alevi public, the principle of secular state and the republican ideals were adopted. Laçiner relates the adoption of Republican values highly by Alevi population with the fact that contrary to the oppression of Ottoman rule towards Alevis, Turkish Republic's supported their having education and positions in the state apparatus provided that they keep a secular life. Therefore the Alevis would be for the first time equal citizens and the state would gain an important ally against fundamentalism. As a result, the state policies have never been openly against Alevism and the majority of Alevis kept this secular life.

On the other hand, this situation never led them to have their own legal house of prayer recognized by the Directorate of Religious affairs, nor did they considered as a recognized religion, moreover their holy places turned into museums so that their prayer inside interrupted. Similarly, even though the synagogues and churches can function, the existence of Christianity and Judaism inside the Turkish borders always confronted problems. The *ambiguous situation* mentioned by Mardin was valid for all the citizens but for some it was more effective and suppressive.

The citizens of new Turkey while subjected to use an in semi-determined area of religion restricted by the state, were subjected to a process of nation building at the same time, on which positivism adopted by state was concentrating its efforts. A good example of this process was the creation of a new Turkish identity basing on the use of archeology, a science to prove the authenticity of roots, interestingly on lands which carry the remnants of Greek, Pontiac, Armenian, Assyrian and Kurdish history in addition to the devalued Ottoman Heritage, whose existence at first led to the development of the idea of a multi-cultural Turkishness, which during 1930s lost with the development of a discourse on the eternal Turkishness on the Anatolian lands:

> In the first 15 years of the Turkish Republic, archeology was used to foster national identity and pride. In the beginning, it was an important tool for binding together a multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic population as proud citizens of one nation. It was an important part of the attempt to validate the presence of the Turkish Republic, by tying the people to the

> land. Using archeology, the early Republican intellectuals at the First Congress demonstrated that Turkish citizens were the true and legitimate heirs of all past cultures on their soil. The Turkish History Thesis thus played a pivotal role in inculcating national pride in the early 1930s. The idea of historical uniformity and continuity was perpetuated through the education of history teachers at the First Congress and through the publication of middle school and high school history books. [6]

Some parts of the complexity in terms of identity building in Turkey inherited from these processes and in our day remained as important subjects of discussion, yet, during the time of production of identity one method to spread the new identity politics was, as Tanyeri-Erdemir states, making the archeology public. For the excavations done to prove the roots and the righteous existence of Turks on the lands they fought, explanatory articles both introduced the discipline and findings were published in the magazines, in which the most important one was the monthly "Ülkü" (Ideal) published by People's Houses.[7]

The image of a continuously educated secular public gathered from information on the first years bring as well images of content and discontent on these two pillars of the new Turkish Republic. Nilüfer Göle, writing on the two edges of secularism in Turkey, that of the early republic and that of the neo-liberal Islamism, draws a brief map of the outcomes of the state secularism in Turkey:

> The Turkish model of secularism introduced radical institutional changes at the executive and legislative levels, such as the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate in 1924; the abolition of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, religious courts and religious titles; the adoption of a secular civil code of law from Switzerland in 1926; and the declaration that the Turkish republic was a "secular state" by a constitutional amendment in 1937.
>
> Alongside these changes, secularism became instrumental in creating new

[6]Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," Journal of Field Archaeology 31, no. 4 (2006): 389- 90.

[7] ibid, p.391

> Republican elites. This took place primarily by means of the national education system, which was put under the authority of the Ministry of Education in 1926. The state delegitimized religious education and established the supremacy of secular modern education nationwide. The building of the nation-state was thus accompanied by the centralization of education and the formation of its nationalist elites[8].

For her case, the secularism in Turkey becomes a successful apparatus, since even the appearance of Islamist elites based on the essence of secularism, which imposes the separation between the sacred and the mundane. Since the production of elites was settled in Turkey's political life as the unique way of influencing the political environment, the pattern for the Islamist elites did not change. They start to have a professional identity which separated them from the realm of sacred.[9]

Göle's point on the success is problematic when it is considered that the great extent of her work refers to the negative effects of secularism and on the development of counter political stances from the suppressed voice of conservative people. It can be commented over her work that weakness of secularism as a tool of modernism failed to prevent the Islamists enter into the political area. Nevertheless, her emphasis on the transformation of the social space with reference to the education and development of the elites find a counterpart in the conservative concerns on the republican public sphere, which was loaded with the symbols of this new change:

> The government unitized public life by prohibiting the existence of media, independent organizations, associations, social movements, political parties or an ordinary social organization outside the government structure. During this period, the political authority essentially dominated public life, having absolute control over political, social, cultural and economic life in the country. For example, in the early 1930s, three NGOs, the Turkish Women's Union, Freemasons' Lodge and Turkish Houses were the only non-governmental organizations that existed in Turkey. After a

[8] Nilüfer Göle, "Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: The Making of Elites and Counter-Elites," Middle East Journal 51, no. 1 (1997): 49.

[9] ibid, 58

> couple of years, the government even outlawed their activities. This was a turning point in regard to the public domain, which simply became an ideological realm constituting all social organizations and their representatives within itself.
> (...)
> The political authority under the leadership of the statist elite acquired complete authority over the social, political, cultural, technological, economic, aesthetic and artistic activities of the newly established republic by organizing all cultural and artistic activities and conducting the economic and technologic development. These elite devoted their energies to the creation of "a single type of people" for the new and modern society. In order to achieve this goal, they founded new schools, Halk Evleri (People Centers) and Köy Odaları (Village Rooms) in which they would educate people all over Turkey.[10]

Çaha's critique which gives voice to the conservative concerns of the early republican period, continues with a claim that the public sphere of the early republican era had no substantial division from the ideologically motivated socialist countries[11]. After shutting down Turkish Houses united with CHP (Republican People's Party) and became a part of a single voice coming from the side of the state. Other institutions who had the potential of acting contrary to state ideology are nodes in the development of a new Turkey with new economic policies, which coincides with the worldwide Great Depression of 1929 as well as the end of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) according to whose clauses 1929 was the last year for the application of Ottoman foreign trade regime in Turkish Republic. Along with the transition to new foreign trade policies and changes in economy, in general with the entrance of Keynesian economy model, according to Keyder the state adopted two stands: firstly, defense, which led to the limitation of autonomous spheres in society including press, universities, civil society organizations and workers' groups and secondly activism, which depends state investments on industrialization which is promoted to the society through the emphasis done on the *unity and solidarity*[12].

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[10] Ömer Çaha, "The Ideological Transformation of the Public Sphere: The Case of Turkey," Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations 4, no. 1&2 (2005): 18-19.

[11] Ibid, 19

[12] Çaglar Keyder, Türkiye'de Devlet Ve Siniflar [State and Classes in Tukey] (Cagaloglu, Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 1989), 82-96.

The following years in relation to the developments in the world politics showed different tendencies for the organization of public sphere, which is aimed to be formed by state and its cultural institutions coinciding with an etatist economy. The very discontent inherited from 1930s from the conservative circles, along with the changing world politics, led to a raising uncertainty about the institutions such as People's Houses or Village Institutions, which resulted with their closing down in 1950s. Even though these places adopted the role to impose the modern life determined by state, their impact on education and public development was important. Additionally as institutions representing *the passage from official publicity to civilian publicity* they had a certain contribution to the development of public sphere.[13]

After 1946, when Turkey passed to the multi-party democracy and when for the first time the people had political means to show their discontent, the suppression and the center-periphery divisions resulted with the election of Democrat Party (DP) in 1950. During this era, the peripheries in Turkey -named as the *Eastern* and *Western* periphery by Laçiner- for the first time united under DP following the landowners gathered under the frame of the party.[14] DP, developing its political strategies highly on the subordinated beliefs of the public of the Turkish revolution and the controlled economic groups -as uttered in their slogan *Yeter Söz Milletindir* (Enough, Its Now Public's Right to Speak)- actualized the transition from the etatist politics to populism and liberalism which focused on two main areas: the market and the religion. While the market was concentrated on the economic growth depending on Western economic support as well as investments mainly in the rural areas; the aspect of flattering the religion was leading to a strong sense of anti-communism, which is interpreted as a "reaction against modernization" by Laçiner[15].

[13] Güven Arif Sargın, "Kamu, Kent Ve Polytika [Public, City and Polytics]," in Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri (2009), 35.

[14]Ömer Laçiner, 27

[15]Ibid: 26

The outcomes of this change to the liberal politics was the development of a local industrial bourgeoisie along with the appearance of a big mobility towards the big cities from the peripheries due to the unemployment occurred in the rural areas after the agricultural mechanization. The migration to big cities led to a fundamental change in the discussions on urban condition with the raising intracity inequality by converging squatter areas and bourgeois center, which motivates the counter-ideas against communism with the impact of raising worker population in the cities. The effect of migration and squatting in Turkey changed the discourse on the cities fundamentally on which the neo-liberal discourses about cities developed.

At the end of the decade, the market demands and individual profits decreased incomes in agriculture and urban life and DP era ended with military intervention in 1960, which posed another case for the role of the intellectuals and army control on the society:

> In other words, etatism meant in effect developmentalism and nationalism (more precisely, according to this version anti-imperialism) and it did not permit capitalism's ruling over freely. As for democracy, it was understood in 1950 that it would not bring the illiterate masses who are unaware of their real interests anywhere else than that of the rule of the demagogues. The intellectuals, with reference to such an analysis, supported the 1960 military coup and they acclaimed it as the beginning of an etatist industrialization period[16].

The period coming after military intervention brought the organization of accumulation by the state and the regulation of the market relations with reference to the domestic industry which continued by the increasing import substitution industrialization until 1980s. The following years developed more disintegrations and polarizations in society. The developing leftist movements and raising nationalism following economic inconsistencies interrupted by the army two more times and the public opinion's development in the public sphere was intervened. The two decades between the first and last interruption, displayed an important development for the societal life in Turkey, an organized worker's class and an industrial bourgeoisie for whom the conflict of interests increased after the "differentiation in the geographical

[16]Keyler, Çağlar, Türkiye'de Devlet Ve Siniflar, 120.

space, the societal balance's becoming upside down in small cities and the squatter life".[17]

The military coup in 1980 left its traces on society in a way that still effects the public acts and opinion in terms of their distance to the state as a hegemonic institution and the army. Especially in the periphery, the divisions polarized between people before the military coup remains as it was, with less tension. The era adopted neo-liberal policies by *24 January Decisions*, which brought policies on outward-oriented growth from an inward-oriented accumulation model. After deregulation and liberalization policies, which narrowed the economic activities of state inviting the international economy and after the settlement of flexible working conditions, which fragment the process of production; the economic condition in terms of wages passed through two important periods until 1993:

> The findings strongly suggest distinctions between two phases. The first phase, 1981-88, is distinguished by labor market controls imposed by extra-economic means. Reduced wage differentiation takes place by the erosion of wages of formal/organized workers much faster than other groups. Gaps between wages in private/ public; small/large; organized/unorganized (i.e. mining, gas and electricity vs. clothing and trade) are reduced significantly. The second phase covers the wage explosion years of 1989-1993 and constitutes the complete reversal of the preceding pattern. The strong improvement in average wages was almost completely due to what was happening at the organized/formal sectors. Wage gaps between large/small and public/private enterprises widen significantly and exceed the relative margins of the early 1980s .[18]

This period witnessed also the appearance of new economic groups in which conservative groups were introduced to public sphere and periphery started to show itself in the economic area. The outcome of these developments between 1987 and 1991 including the privatization of the mass media, is an expanded civil society, which brought the proliferation of non-governmental organizations according to Göle[19].

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[17]ibid. 167.

[18] Korkut Boratav and Yeldan Erinç, "Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy: Turkey 1980-1998," (2000), http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/DocumentServlet?id=12205.

[19]Göle, "Secularism and Islamism in Turkey: The Making of Elites and Counter-Elites," 47.

Göle associates this process with positive steps contrary to authoritarian regimes due to the existence of electoral politics and effective public debates. On the other hand, it should be noted that the period brought a new tension between the Kemalist and the Islamist spheres, which resulted with the intervention of the National Security Council on the Islamist reaction and separatist Kurdish Movement started with the *28 February Process* whose impact is still visible. Nevertheless, the same era also mentioned as a time witnessing "erosion of the myth of ethnic unity and therefore a departure from the three major pillars of the Republic nationalism, secularism and statism[20]". However, the idea of a more democratic public sphere had a valid existence during the mentioned period, which comes after the military cup. A similar adoption of the idea of a more developed and interactive public sphere is shared also by Çaha, who sees the major difference between the movements of 1970 and post-1980 in terms of fighting with the authority:

> The public life, which had been considered the carrier of a single ideology and doctrine since the establishment of the Republic, witnessed a significant transformation following 1980. Societal groups with diverse and colorful ethnic, religious, political, sexual, cultural and economic motivations and affiliations radically transformed the public sphere into a multicolored realm in this period. The peaceful dancing rallies of the workers and state servants accompanied by the protests of university students with roses, applause and flowers over the prohibition of headscarves created an entertaining and colorful public domain in opposition to the overly ideological public life of the 1970s. With few exceptions, the civic and peaceful picture of the public realm did not deteriorate despite the occasional forceful reaction of the state officials to the Turkish people's innocent demands. Several events and rallies organized by some civil society groups and individuals have shown the Turkish public's compromising and reconciling attitude towards the political authority.[21]

Even though it is not easy to deny that a political sphere opened for questioning the identity problems in Turkey; a totally positive claim about the entrance of civil society formations instead of ideology and the equal rights of demonstration and protest

[20] Sibel Bozdogan Reşat Kasaba, "Intricacies of Identity - Turkey at a Crossroad," Journal of international affairs. 54, no. 1 (2000): 12.

[21] Çaha, "The Ideological Transformation of the Public Sphere: The Case of Turkey," 22, 23.

between the “multi-color” public acts in the era would be problematic considering the economic and political events during the 1990s. A brief summary of the events would reveal that not all of the communities had the same visibility and more importantly the right -not to exist- but to survive in the public sphere.

Turkey confronted the opening of a new public sphere determined by a different economy and politics, which showed a divergence from the politics of the military coup. Nevertheless violence as a state apparatus kept its place. All the discussions on the new public sphere about identity politics and political transition in Turkey, accompanied the war with Kurdish rebels and the state action in the urban area against the opponent groups. An attempt to investigate death in the specific period of Turkey would confront a considerable number of graves -both actual graves and spaces made graves –such as the Madımak Hotel in Sivas or the twenty prisons interrupted in the operation of *Back to Life* (Hayata Dönüş), which ended with 30 deaths and 237 injuries; visual graveyards and funerals open to public from tv broadcasts (funerals of martyr soldiers) and the non-existent funerals or graveyards of the other side (rebels/terrorists). In addition the same decade includes the places turned into a monument for the non-existent/not-found graves such as the area in front of the *Lycée de Galatasaray* in Istanbul, where the group, *Saturday Mothers*, wait every Saturday since 1995 demonstrating to find their children who were lost under custody. There are places built as graves over the graves such as the Gazi Neighborhood in Istanbul, in which after the riot opposing the attack to the Alevi neighborhood 17 people killed during the intervention of security forces.

Another example to illustrate the environment during 1990s in Turkey can be drawn from the relation of the rising conservative community relations after the invitation of the conservative groups to the public sphere such as the appearance of the *Anatolian Tigers*, Central Anatolian entrepreneurs, and the increased suppression of the identity politics of Kurds such as the emptied villages and forced migration between 1993-1997 in the East and South Eastern Anatolia as a military measure whose impact on Western cities became the development of a new urban discourse and new

stratifications between the owners of the cities and the new comers. While the initial becomes a symbol of the positive development in terms of the rights returned back to the conservative spheres, the former exemplifies a strict division of the society in terms of ethnic roots. When the effects of two different experiences of these groups compared, it appears that while the politics enabling the one to develop itself as a new class made available, the existence of the other is brought to the economic domination of the former due to the cheap labor created by the forced migration. The migration of approximately 3.5 million people to the metropolitan areas, by the areas they settled, formed a new type of squatter areas, which does not articulated to the city and started a new discourse in the cities seeing the stranger-citizen as a *threat* to bourgeois values.[22]

The changes towards a new economy brought a new treatment to the cities, where the localized private economy of the small and medium enterprises opened new gaps by the decreased production and more disintegrated classes. Ali Ekber Doğan interprets the case of the entrance of conservative capital to the economy as the outcome of the strategy of *development over localities* for cities, which created organized industrial zones and labor intensive industry segments operating on the basis of cheap labor, piece work contracts and contract manufacturing. The aftermath of both developments, even though they seem at the first glance not directly relevant, are both linked to the generation of a new urban life summarized with the slogans *competitive cities* and *development over localities*, in which the economy focuses on appropriating the cities for the trade rather than production and creating areas and demands for consumption[23]. This strategy while orienting the capital to the cities, places the city itself as a capital. The cities competing to bring the foreign capital into their borders, in the smaller scale, compete also to be unique with their local products and local identity.

[22] Ali Ekber Dogan, Egreti Kamusallik : Kayseri Örneginde Islâmci Belediyecilik [Awry Publicity: The Case of Kayseri for the Islamist Municipalities] (Istanbul: Iletisim, 2007), 54.

[23] ibid, p.57

City's becoming commercialized as the products belonging to them starts from this area and it is developed by the investments for tourism. For the Anatolian cities this situation has a more demanding appearance, since after the privatization of state factories and institutions, after the transportation of business to the organized industrial zones or to small industrial areas and also after migration of the local capital to bigger Western cities contrary to the migration of a working force to the city, the emptied urban area in terms of economy and public life tried to be filled with touristic initiatives which turned another version of promoting localities.

3.2 Attempts to Bring a New Face to Sivas

In *The Voids in Berlin*, Huyssen mentions a theoretical shift in the urban studies which effects the process of "reading the city". The shift occurs when the actor who owns the gaze on the city is replaced by another actor. This new actor is *the tourist* for whom the new cities are getting organized rather than their indifferent presence in front of *the flaneur*:

> The current discourse of the city as image is one of "city fathers," developers, and politicians trying to increase revenue from mass tourism, conventions, and office or commercial rents. Central to this new kind of urban politics are aesthetic spaces for cultural consumption, megastores and blockbuster museal events, festivals, and spectacles of all kinds, all intended to lure the new species of city tourist, the urban vacationer or metropolitan marathoner who have replaced the older model of the leisurely flaneur. The flaneur, even though something of an outsider in his city, was always figured as a dweller rather than as a traveler on the move. But today it is the tourist rather than the flaneur to whom the new city culture wants to appeal, just as it fears the tourist's unwanted double, the displaced migrant. [24]

Considering the latest changes in the evaluation of the heritage material or the material which is to be considered as heritage, a change in the target gaze of musealization is also inevitable. The elaborated policies on the issue of heritage and the new use value of these materials are reflected on space briefly as *delocation,* which naturally

[24] Andreas Huyssen, "The Voids of Berlin," Critical Inquiry 24, no. 1 (1997): 59.

influences the subjects visiting, experiencing, living in space. While accepting this change mentioned by Huyssen, for the content of the present work and due to the differences between space which is the subject matter and space in general, some points should be clarified including the relationship between the flaneur and the tourist.

The first notice to be stated is that most of the written work on the issue of musealization and the changing dynamics of urban representation, focuses mainly on metropolitan areas or areas which became a symbol of tourism due to the rich historic material they have. Secondly, even though there is great stress on the relation between the life of capitalism and the commodification of the historic material; the state ideology and the processes of identity production, which become important since the economy of the memory is also affiliated with governing discourses of the rulers, remain a rather neglected issue. The analysis of de-location of the places for the sake of musealization should focus both on the commercialization of the past for economic profit and on the new spectacle growing in cities directed to the production/reproduction of new discourses on space to produce new collectivities. The two aspects mostly found together in the developments and depending on the scale, it can be difficult to differentiate them. However there are as well cases in which the impact of one on space is far more intense than the other.

For Sivas where some historical features of the city came to the fore parallel to the obscuration of other parts; an important aspect becomes the city's availability for focusing on this relatively neglected subject. Even though the acts on protecting the historic material claim to be targeting a touristic and therefore economic development of the city; in Sivas tourism is weak and the primary subject of the renovations are the locals rather than the tourists. This brings us to the position where the entire relation between the spectator and the spectacle passes between locals and the cultural heritage. Briefly, Sivas does not offer the risks of analyzing a metropolitan area where the symbolization can be more complex as a result of the high number of local agents and a considerable number of tourists included to the process of musealization as in the case of metropolitan cities.

In Sivas after the spatial developments on the places of heritage and memorial, the position of the locals as the tourists of their own city becomes a good example for the above mentioned de-location feature of musealization. Müller, in his conceptualization of the difference between the tourist and the local, reminds the reader a phase which came with the post-Fordian society and subjected the cities to the monumentalization of the past and the architecture. After this phase, according to Müller it is seen that the power of musealization on the cities becomes visible on the growing difference between "the individuality of the place and the hybrid and hyper-real character of space".[25] The very transformation which blurs the usual difference between the local and tourist places the touristic touch as a means of bringing a brand new *reading* of the environment surrounding the local[26]. Even though the city for the local is a known place, after the touristic touch, it becomes harder to support that the everyday reality of the place is still valid for the locals. A city dweller can be a tourist in his/her own city when the past is monumentalized from a different perspective.

My point in affirming a similarity to the local and tourist in the case of Sivas also challenges the predecessor/successor relationship stated by Huyssen between the local flaneur and the outsider tourist. Although the flaneur has long been disappeared from most of the urban areas; the flaneur and the tourist, during these new developments can still stand on a similar fashion in front of the panorama of the cities. Furthermore, for some cases I claim that flaneur can also be produced again as in the case of turning locals into tourists. The distinct feature of the flaneur, in Benjamin's description, is being the owner of an alienated gaze still having some "conciliatory gleam" in his/her look to the city which has turned into a room speaking a language of phantasmagoria[27]. Here, the relation between the tourist and the crowd should be focused with more detail. The relation of the flaneur with the street and the

[25] Michael Muller, "Musealisation, Aestheticisation and Reconstructing the Past," The Journal of Architecture 4, no. 4 (1999): 362.

[26] ibid, 365.

[27] Walter Benjamin, "Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century," Perspecta 12(1969): 169, 70.

surrounding crowd, according to the Benjaminian interpretation of the crowd is the familiarity accompanied by people of the same sort[28]. In other words, the comfort of the flaneur comes from the similarity/uniformity of the masses. I will suggest in the new construction of the cities, where people are subjected to learn a new version of the history inscribed on their daily life and everyday architecture; the similarities and differences created between the masses support the feeling of the receiver even in the cases of de-location.

A similar development that blurs the borders between former categories can be applied to the two different categories for spatial features and experience described by Lefebvre, namely space *of consumption* and the *consumption of space*, here only in terms of the blurred borders of the identity and the memory of the place. Space of consumption in the Lefebvrian conceptualization refers to space where the capital has been accumulated, where the production occurs and the control is realized by the state-therefore it is where the alienation occurs. Lefebvre, in terms of space of consumption, mentions a certain process of population exchange with the *touristic space* where people goes to consume space in an unproductive form of consumption.[29] After the intense processes of dislocation parallel to the new economic developments in which the roles of production and consumption have changed, such a shift from one place to the other -from the area of production to the area of leisure time and consumption- started to occur not with a requisite population flow but by the transformation of some cities. By this transformation I mention the change from places of consumption to the places where necessary leisure activities replace production. Sivas, after the productive facilities closed and became a university city known by its contradictory history. Presently, as many cities governed by the policies of touristic goals as a result of the deceased capacity of production, the difference between space of consumption and space of touristic consumption cannot be made easily. In addition to the recently gained proximity of these two separate domains, Sivas becomes a sort of touristic place where the main

[28] Walter Benjamin, Illuminations (New York: Schocken, 1969), 167.

[29] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991), 352.

audience is not composed of tourists. During these transformations, Sivas produces this gaze of flaneur who has no certain political function similar to the uncertain economic position s/he has.

When the condition in Sivas considered, it is seen that the existence of the cultural institutions and associations including a didactical purpose led to a transformation as they did for many other cities in Turkey. The institutions of the republic such as People's Houses, Teacher's Unions, Turkish Houses (Türk Ocakları)[30], the Association to Protect Minstrels (Halk Şairlerini Koruma Derneği) were responsible from organizing the cultural life of the city by the gatherings they organize and by the cultural magazines they publish. People's Houses, in accordance with their essential mission, were bringing cultural and sports activities as well in which public participates as a part of the spectacle. For Sivas, this situation is interpreted by Zeki Coşkun as the aura of industry brought before its appearance due to the new cultural structuring: "the ideology of the republic comes to the city before the industrial institutions".[31] While the Republican culture is reproduced in the city, the city's culture was reproduced by the attempts to gather information about the minstrels of Sivas and the local features. As a result, the city gained two characteristics for Modern Turkey: a republican city and a city which keeps authentic Anatolian culture. In addition, the industrial face of the city based on a mission of education as well. In the Railway Repair Factory and Sugar factory the workers face again the support for enlightenment coming from the state by the courses, cultural and sports activities organized by their factory. Today one of the main discussions in Sivas is to lose those islets, which led to the appearance of the counter places where formed by a different,

[30]Türk Ocakları (Turkish Houses): Established in 1912 to resist the secessionist tendencies of the minorities under the Ottoman rule, the Turkish Houses after the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923 became the supporter and the spreader of the revolutions of the Turkish Republic. In 1931 the Houses united with the Republican People's Party (CHP). The symbol of the Turkish Houses is the head of a wolf with reference to the ancient Turkish myth on Turks' arriving to Anatolia following a female wolf. (http://www.turkocagi.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3091:tuerk-ocaklarnn-ksa-tarihcesi-&catid=67:tuerk-oca-tarihi&Itemid=268)

[31] Zeki Coskun, Aleviler, Sünniler Ve Öteki Sivas [Alevis, Sunnis and the Other Sivas] (Cagaloglu, Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 1995), 208.

more segregated publicity such as the case of cultural centers in which men and women are separated, or cultural activities everyone takes a place according to his/her own economic and social level. This mostly uttered loss does not mean that for the city there used to be no segregations. Yet, there is one aspect which is highly important. The high number of workers in the city and the Republican aim to enlighten people in their workplace and in public sphere resulted with the development of an educated, self-confident workers class, which considers itself as the owner of the city. Especially, for the workers coming from villages and small districts of Sivas the education opportunities in the city was very valuable.

These migrants, mostly Alevis and Kurd Alevis, even though they are still considered as highlanders and villagers in the city, formed a receptive and enlightened circle. For a city, whose most distinct feeling was formed by being forgotten in the old times, the role of the state institutions in the city was giving them their urban dignity back and Sivas by being the *Castle for CHP*, which means to keep following the principles of establishment by voting for the founder political party of Republic, showed its respect for this reestablishment. By its dwellers, the city has been recalled as *Republic's Sivas* or *Republican Sivas* until 1990s and after the beginning of this decade the main republican and leftist response to the developments was on losing the Republic's Sivas.

The condition in Sivas, while carrying the effects of the changes brought by DP, differs from the general tendency in Turkey in terms of accepting all the policies developed by the party. Even though all twelve deputies was from DP in the 1950 elections (in the by elections of 1951 CHP gained the remaining one position), the municipality was from CHP. The CHP heritage in the city was very strong, both because of the Sivas Congress and the industrial institutions.

As noted by Coşkun, in 1952 660 workers were employed by the Cement Plant and the Railway Repair Factory was employing 3500 workers, whose social effects were bringing the apartment blocks to the city, child care services, recreational activities and sports activities by the sports clubs such as Sümerspor by Cement Plant (1946) and Demirspor by

Railway Repair Factory (1948). In addition to this, People's Houses and Sivas Highschool which was an important education institution, provided education also for the neighboring.[32]

The reflection of state's benevolent face on the urban life created a commitment for the ideals of republic. However, the transformation started with DP, in addition to the economic promises, offered as well a certain liberty for the re-invitation of the *spectacle of religion* to the social life. The reason why I choose the term spectacle of religion bases on the fact that these practices, except the mainstream structure of institution, include visuality and aim for visibility. Today, a good example of the spectacle in these terms is the massive Friday prayers in Sivas in the main square, where the entire city can witness the greatness of the body of believers. In a similar fashion, the spectacle during 1950s includes a tendency to bring back the image of the religious to the common places used by public. The urban management during the decade under the DP regime and also under the municipal works of CHP, brings the major tendencies of the era: urban development and conservatism on identity issues. Mayor Rahmi Günay who served for 18 years from 1946-1960 and from 1965-1969 realized an urban management which kept the mentioned heritage of republic by constructing market halls, various parks (Ethembey, Kale) which opened new meeting areas for the public and modern neighborhoods; yet on the other hand kept a management which made the desired identities visible in the city, which as in his case the rise of Muslim identity by the decline of Christianity. As an old Armenian city, Sivas has an Armenian population, who during 1950s was still visible in the city in comparison with today's condition. Surp Astvadzadzin (Holy Mother Mary) Church, which was the main church in the city center was destroyed in 1950.[33] The church's previous use was being an arsenal for the city, the public could use only some parts

[32] ibid, 227-29.

[33] Pōghos Yarman Arsen Nat'anean, Sivas 1877 : Sivas Marhasalığı Ve Sivas Vilayetine Bağlı Birkaç Önemli Şehir Hakkında Rapor (Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Merzifon) [Report on Religious Functionary in Sivas and a Few Important Cities in the Province of Sivas (Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Merzifon)] (Fatih, İstanbul: Birzamanlar 2008), 229.

after it became the arsenal. After the night the church destroyed by dynamites, the excuse was an old bomb exploded. The Armenian public who previously had six churches, schools, orphanage, newspaper, magazines, theater companies, cultural institutions before the Deportation of 1915. After 1918 they only had the right to use one part of Surp Astvadzadzin and they lost that right after the bombing their only religious institution.[34]

During the same years, the Sunni-Islamification in the city confronted another problem. From the peripheral towns, which are mostly known as Alevi or Kurd-Alevi towns, the migration to the city started with the rising need for workers in the industrial areas. As a result the neighborhoods known as Alevi Neighborhoods developed in the city. Coşkun states that between 1950 and 1960 the increase in the urban population was 62%, which was higher than the average of the country, however this is also the beginning of the migration flow to the bigger cities. Coşkun remarks that while the periphery was coming to the city center, the previous *locals*, the shopkeepers and the middle class moved to metropolitan cities and a process of *rustication* started.[35] With the process of so called rustication, the discourse basing on the concerns about the corruption of the city culture, which most of the cases takes the shape of subordination and discrimination, was also started.

After the beginning of concerns about the corruption of the city culture, Sivas witnessed that the rising Sunni alliance of the DP government lost the support coming from the Alevi population and the republican people in the city as seen in the elections showed votes for CHP (53.02%) again contrary to the countrywide predomination of DP. The 1960s showed another development in the city, which finds its broad meaning in the generation of workers' dignity that they own the city as much as the upper classes, which would turn for some worker groups to workers' consciousness by

[34] Osman Osman Köker, "Sivas Ermenileri: Bin Varmış, Bir Yokmuş," Bianet, July 4, 2009, accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.bianet.org/biamag/azinliklar/115648-sivas-ermenileri-bin-varmis-bir-yokmus., "Sivas Ermenileri: Bin Varmış, Bir Yokmuş [Armenians in Sivas]," Bianet (2009).

[35] Coskun, Aleviler, Sünniler Ve Öteki Sivas [Alevis, Sunnis and the Other Sivas], 234.

gaining a political stance. The left politics on the other hand challenged by the rise of denominational alliances which showed itself by the establishment of Türkiye Birlik Partisi (BP, Turkey Union Party) by the Alevi community contrary to the Sunni alliance aimed to be constructed by Adalet Partisi (AP, Justice Party) which took over the DP basis. BP carried some similar features with the party it challenges (AP) such as emphasis on economic interests of the higher classes and identity politics based on class status and religion. Turkey Union Party's importance or influence for Turkey is disputable since it is hard to talk about a countrywide success, however for Sivas the party exemplifies a clear division by being the third party after CHP and AP (Justice Party) in 1969. The leftist movement getting organized in Sivas was facing the organized nationalist youth in Ülkü Ocakları (House of Ideal), the youth centers of the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP, Nationalist Movement Party). The military intervention of 1971 suspended the violent confrontation of the groups, however the years following the 1971 intervention and going to 1981 intervention passed with the conflict of the socialist groups in which the Alevi neighborhood were organized – these areas were called Moscow during those years with reference to USSR- and the nationalist groups.

Between mid-1960s and the first half of 1970s new nodes appeared in the city which mark the divided/shared territories between groups, such as Çavuşbaşı as the socialist/progressive neighborhood, the building of Dev-Maden-Sen (Revolutionary Trade Union of Mine Workers) as the meeting point of various socialist fractions, Ülkü Kitabevi as the junction for the right-wing public. Following the social change brought to the city by these nodes, the façade of the city has been subjected to a severe transformation, which directly affected the craftsmen. Süleyman Çanka as the mayor (1977-1984) opened new roads and started the constructions for new market area. The new market area, completed when Bekir Timurnoğa became the mayor (1984-1989) changed the economic face of the city since the craftsmen who could not afford for the new shops disappeared from the commercial life of Sivas and new craftsmen appeared. The previous groupings among the craftsmen, by the changing time, turned into a more ideologically divided one.

During 1970s the city was divided into nodes adopted by different groups. The continuous tension which led to violent confrontations brought 1978, which was for Turkey the year for 3 massacres: 17-19 April Malatya; 3-4 September Sivas and 22-24 December Maraş. During the same year, the events happened in the center and peripheries were giving the alarm of forthcoming severe events. The attacks on August 19th based on the announcement that Meydan Mosque was bombed which proved to be a groundless provocation or the assault to approximately 300 students going to Ali Baba neighborhood in 24 August are examples of the following events. The situation in the city reached its peak in 3-4 September 1978 with the event in Ali Baba. In the future this event would be mentioned often with its similarity with the Sivas Massacre in 1993. The similarity is resulted by two aspects: the attack to the Alevi community and the organization of the event earlier than the day of the event. After the organized Sunni-Islamist group's call for support, claiming that the communist Alevis bombed the mosque in Ali Baba, the events took both a religious and ideological shape targeting the Alevis and leftists in the neighborhood. The attack to Ali Baba ended with 9 deaths, and ravage of houses and workplaces[36]. When the military coup interrupted the events in 1980, another wave of violence came to the city and the city's political life changed fundamentally.

When Sivas arrived 1990s we see a city whose industrial development was almost stopped by the decreased number of workers. Migration was getting more severe, especially after the turmoil before 1980s. Coşkun comments that the people remained in the city identified for the first time with the central administration and a peripheral place found the power of transforming the center.[37] The *war on socialism* in Turkey, which ended with also the labefaction of its main opponent -the nationalist side- brought the strengthening of the Islamist movement. The victory of the Refah partisi (RP, Welfare Party) in the local elections of 1989 signified a turn to protect what has been suppressed, which was for this group the religion assaulted by the republicans

[36] Sivas Olayları 1978 (Sivas Events 1978), http://www.pirsultan.net/kategori.asp?KID=6&ID=57

[37] Coskun, Aleviler, Sünniler Ve Öteki Sivas [Alevis, Sunnis and the Other Sivas], 310-12.

and socialists. This tendency started with the liberal politics of ANAP, which introduced the Islamist spheres again to the political and economic arena. Coşkun tells this shift in the city administration by giving the example of the former major from ANAP, Bekir Timurboğa, who after learning the election results for the 1984 elections, prayed collectively with the other party supporters and had his official car washed with the holy water to erase the traces of the earlier regime[38]. After the changes in the symbolization of power, RP's finding a basis in the city created the attempts of *correcting* the citizens via the acts such as closing the city brothel, canceling the excise license in the restaurants under the management of the municipality, establishing charity institutions and benevolent associations and *appropriating* the city by employing high numbers of RP supporters, giving the right of organization to a right wing trade union (Hak-iş), giving scholarships using the associations constructed through the power of municipality.[39]

When Sivas Massacre happened in 1993, Sivas in terms of the forced cultural life and the domination of the city, has already been transformed in a specific way that the resemblance between the city re-constructed by the republic and the city with a strong Islamist daily life, was hard to be established. As the following years after the massacre passed for the public with a process of confrontation and identification, so developed the new attempts to restore the reputation of the city. Today, after the city administration passed to the conservative, nationalist party, Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP, Great Union Party), we see a similar process of municipality services which uses cultural events and charities as their main visible acts rather than the usual duties of municipalities. During the last 20 years, the state's reflection on the city is less intervening due to a simple reason. The city has lost a lot in terms of large groups with opposing political stances, still, the position of the groups remained, except the ones sharing the same vision with the power holders in the city, is targets for intervention both physically and symbolically. Tourism, in this new life of the cities appeared as a

[38] ibid, p. 316.

[39] Ibid, p. 321-323.

new economic source, and for some cities such as Sivas as an opportunity to regain the historical, decent, reputation. ÇEKÜL (The Foundation for the Protection and the Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage), which was founded in the beginning of 1990s and became effective in terms of the organization of the heritage protection in Turkey, describes the required stance of the cities towards the adoption of the principles of tourism in cities with the slogan: "Protect your culture and historic heritage, share them with your visitors and take a share from the economic benefits of tourism."[40]

Çekül Foundation, on the issue of the new value that cities gained, emphasizes that authentic examples are more preferable than the replicas since the cultural voyager visits the places where s/he finds *meaningful* and spends more money there[41]. Today, we see the attempts trying to fulfill the requirements for the above mentioned quality search in Sivas composes the visible part of the city-center politics. The policies about transformation of Sivas whose references are coming from values which are not represented by the city anymore, has now an empty area to create a forgotten heritage, such as the Seljuk one. Sivas' becoming an ancient and famous Seljuk city, is an undeniable fact, which in reality would not be the primary identity of the city with a Museum on Madımak, an un-intervened Alevi heritage, an undestroyed Armenian heritage and unkept memory of Republic buildings. Even though the architectural value of Seljuks has never been underestimated in Turkey, the city's being labeled solely with Seljuks, Islamic aesthetics and values related with them is an outcome of the process of restoring the reputation of the city. The projects developed in collaboration with institutions such as Çekül, are directed to protect what has been left from the pre-republican history. For instance the Project for the Protection of the Historic City Center is aiming to reveal the historical dignity of the city as it has been claimed in the parallel projects developed by the municipality. Similarly, for a city

[40] "Public-Local-Civil-Private Solidarity for Sustainable Culture Tourism," ed. Çekül Foundation (Gaziantep: Çekül Foundation, 2012).

[41] ibid. p. 2.

known with massacre and division between religions and ethnicities; a new attempt is to celebrate the unity as if it has always been the core feature of the place. On the other hand, there is an emptied space by the events happened in the past 80 years. This space includes practices such as the destruction of the Armenian heritage, transformation of the previous meaning of history and the change in the entire façade of Madımak Hotel. Sivas is getting filled with places existing through erasing the other' memories or due to the suppression of other memories.

Sivas, as any social space, is subjected to transformation since change is internal to space, however transformation in terms of musealization is not common to every city nor is it politically irrelevant from the processes of taming the public. The flaneur, in this manner, approaches to the city dweller. The tourist is an expected person for economic reasons but the flaneur is the demanded one due to the political life of the city. Sivas, among the cases of musealization in Turkey, exemplifies a unique process of memory building via the transformation of space which becomes more important since the memory to be erased or replaced is a recent one. In addition to this feature, the lack of touristic flows of the city, enables the researcher to separate the political processes than the ones for the development of tourism easier and relatedly to analyze the speech of the inanimate.

3.3 Conclusion: Changing forms of Spatial Interruption

It is seen in the case of Turkey that the interruption can be added to the operation of societal dialogue as an indispensable part of it. On the other hand, the shape of the dialogue or the societal confrontation is formed in reaction to the existence of interruption. A frame generated by the views taken from each decade of the republic would at least show that even though the agents and the form of control changes; the interruption remains unchanged. A further gaze would show that even in times where public seem to be less divided as in the case of the first fifteen years of the Turkish Republic, some identities, such as Kurdishness or Alevism were always marked with their difference. On the other hand, for the general understanding of the organization of public sphere, it is a matter of discussion whether the ideal of mutual agreement is

a veil for suppressed conflicts under the domination of majority, as it was, and still partially is, the condition of women before the organization of feminist movement. Yet, reading a summarized history over the subject of public sphere, reveals, if not the overall appearance of the public relations in the commonly used areas, the reflection of the control and the part of planning on the societal life.

When the recent history of Sivas is analyzed from this perspective, it is seen that the newly organized space reproduces some of the inherited divisions but bring more groupings with the re-production of history. The cultural turn in Sivas following the changes in economy and city structure both includes the decrease in the visibility of politics in the city and the exclusion of communities not sharing the mainstream identity. The politics of exclusion of earlier times is reflected on the present image of the city as an empty cultural area to be filled by authorities and the latest attempt of it –diminishing the difference between local and tourist− is a clear outcome of the interruption to the politics of the street where publics find their voice. In an emptied environment and controlled street, the developments can easily determine a path where individuality of cities, which includes both the cultural character of space and political character of inhabitants, can be threatened by governing economic concerns.

In this frame the areas limited with the inclusion and exclusion of certain groups all taking a stance towards the acts of state or all represented by larger community groups in their relation to the state becomes problematic in terms of the co-existence of many levels of interaction, communication and conflict in space. From a Lefebvrian point, contradiction is itself one of the constitutive elements of the social space. The public life passes taking part in a struggle between the contradictions occurred from the remnants of historical situations and the present, fresh contradictions; between the aggravated ones, the blunted and the newly modified ones and initially between the conceived, perceived and the lived versions of space all crosscutting each and fall into incompatibility.[42] For the limits of this research, seeing this contradiction and its

[42] Henri Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 38-52.

outcomes as an integral part of social life becomes essential to analyze the interesting co-habitation of diversity, contradiction and conflict.

CHAPTER 4

ATTEMPTS OF MUSEALIZATION IN SIVAS

The main aim of this chapter is to discuss musealization in Sivas in relation to the methods used by authorities to effect the practices of remembering and forgetting and to change the signification of memorial structures. For the process of musealization in Sivas two steps appeared in the findings as the main areas the process show itself. The first one is, as analyzed in the first section, to create a narration which focuses on the virtues of the old city and the corruption in the new city. The high number of publications produced in the city intervene the memory and by using settled divisions in the communities show musealization as a way to gain the old city back, which contradicts with the present space constructed under musealization.

The second step discussed in the second section is affirming a new signification to old places and destroying undesired pieces on the city map which causes both discontent and increased groupings in the city as well as its impact of the disappearance of political nodes from the city surface. However, this section also analyzes the impact of the material which was destroyed or whose signification was changed on the publics' actions and discusses how musealization creates a space of challenge by its own actions.

In both sections agency and memory gains importance both to support and challenge spatial transformation. While the first section analyzes how authorities use public memory effectively to change the city dynamics taking support from a group of local authors, it also focuses on the gaps created through this location where the others of the city make their voices heard. Similarly, the second chapter reveals how public memory and action can be motivated by the destruction of places adopted by public and how musealization is challenged through the spatial dynamics initiated by the articulation of memory and space.

4.1 Imagined Space: Development of a Narration to Adjust Publics to Transformation

> Sir, are you from Sivas?
> Excuse me? You said that you are, right?
> So, listen to me now and you decide whether you are from Sivas or not.
> (...)
> Have you ever watched the theaters once performing in Kepçeli[1], where also mermaids and bicephalus giants brought from Africa with "big sacrifices" were exhibited? Have you ever played card games in Palas or backgammon in Kristal, my fellow townsman? Drinking coffees incredibly tasty from the Chinese cups of the coffeehouse of Cherkez, have you ever listened to cruel Hafik stories from Kenedi Usuyun?
> (...)
> Nevermind, my fellow townsman. Doesn't it write on your identity card that you are from Sivas? Then, alright, you are one of us. Maybe you didn't even spend three hours in that "lost city" named Sivas; you came either for the court or the civil registry. Maybe you brought some grain to the main square, maybe you stopped by to to buy the fan belt ordered from the mukhtar. So be it, still you are one of us.
> What else can I say my fellow townsman – you, too, are one of us...[2]

One of the mostly known and mostly referred books on Sivas, "The Sixth City" by Ahmet Turan Alkan, starts with the above questioning. The subject whom the questions are directed, at the first sight seem to be just some inhabitant from Sivas. Later the questions of the author towards the anonymous addressee takes the shape of suspicion and we start to learn the basics of actually being from Sivas, which refers in the text to be from the urban area. The urban life described in the text is not prosperous but includes most of the aspects of an urban life passing between coffees, the plays of small troupes visiting the city, clubs for the urbanite to play cards in the leisure time. There is also the local touch such as the identity of the *raconteur* Kenedi Usuyun exemplifying the lost stereotype of the figure of story teller, which was as common for Anatolia as the minstrels. On the other side of the description we confront the identity of outsider with the peasant identity reflected on him, whose relation to the city is described as stopping by to cover the needs of the village life and return

[1] Kepçeli: A district in the Sivas city center.

[2] A. Turan Alkan, Altıncı Şehir (Divanyolu, İstanbul: Otuken Nesriyat, 1992), 18-19.

back. The author has to accept him reluctantly since they on the paper belong to the same city, but only after he discursively place him outside of the city in terms of urban culture, he accepts the fact of they can together live in the same place.

The books title, "The Sixth City" is chosen as a reference to the title of the book "Beş Şehir" (The Five Cities) by the renowned author Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. "Five Cities" tells the story of the conflict brought by the change to the incompatible presence of the old and the new over the five cities. Similarly "The Sixth City" adopts the role of narrating the change in Turkey basing on Sivas with a strong sense of melancholia. The emphasis on loss in the book is also merged with another dominant sense which exemplifies the focal point of the dominating narration spread to the city. This sense is exclusion or, in lighter terms, being out of sight. For the city which is forgotten, *the sixth city*, or as the author refers to it in his text *the lost city*, this feeling has deep roots going parallel with the changes in the life in the city from the prestige gained by the industrialization process to the loss of the industrial productivity, from the transformation occurred during 1990s to the attempts of gaining the historical dignity back.[3] By uttering these concerns the book opened a space for the expression of the discontent, which created a pattern for the later works produced in the same understanding and within almost twenty years most of the published works on the city, whether they are books or magazines, kept this strong sense of melancholia.

The melancholia forms the touchstone where the history of contextually similar magazines in the city cracked and changed its path. Tracing the history of magazines in Sivas, from the first magazines until the 1980s we see a different development. The magazines started to be published in the early year of the Republic under the frame of the governing state and state supported institutions. Even the scope of the magazines appeared in the first decade of the Republic of Turkey differ, the common parts in them show the path of the developments for the era. The magazines which had an impact on city's memory were *Dilek* (Wish/1921-1923) published under the governorate, the "Birlik" (Unity/1923-1924) published by Türk Ocakları (Turkish Houses) and the "Duygu ve Düşünce" (Sense and Idea/1927-1928) by the Ministry of

[3] ibid, 20.

National Education. As well as focusing on the reflection of their communities, they also focused on the discourses produced in the first decade such a unity, importance of education progress and production.

After the changes in the country the image of the magazines also were subjected to a change. Historical and cultural aspects were added to the content as we seen in the "Orta Yayla" (The Central Plateau/1938-1942) by the Halk Evleri (People's Houses), which later continued its life by taking the date of the Sivas Congress as its name, "4 Eylül" (4 September). The later magazines started to be published after 1960s exemplify the rise in the emphasis to the conservative approaches to culture, some of whose writers influenced the content of the present magazines such as "Su" (Water/1961/967) and "Sivas Folklörü" (Sivas Folklore/1973/1979).[4] After the break brought by the military coup in 1980s in which the city's political and cultural life took severe damages and after the Sivas Massacre whose effects were strong in terms of city's self-identification, a cultural turn brought by the city culture magazines. The publications who have the ideal of connecting the memory and the present condition of the city with the public have two main feature. The first group representing the feature of bringing back the memory is composed mostly of magazines and books on Sivas. The second group is created to correct the memory related with the aftermath of the developments started with 1990s. I will argue in the following pages that the aim of the first group to sustain the memory by selecting some parts of it strengthened by the attempts of the second group and moreover, the gaps created by the first one is filled by the second one due to re-creation/ correction of the memorial elements.

When we compare the later life of the magazines in the city started after the 1990s, we see a continuity in terms of content and addressing the problems related with the city life. Additionally, there is a group of writers appearing in most of the magazines related with the city. In a period covering "Revak" (Porch/1990-2003), published by

[4]"Sivas Basın Tarihinde Önemli Yer İşgal Eden Dergiler [Magazines Having an Important Place in the History of Press in Sivas]," Sivas Kültür Envanteri, http://www.sivaskulturenvanteri.com/sivas-basin-tarihinde-onemli-yer-isgal-eden-dergiler/.

the Sivas General Directorate for Foundations to “Altıncı Şehir” (The Sixth City/1997-2003) published by Sivas Cultural And Social Solidarity Association, the first initiatives to tell the city’s history and present condition appeared. The impact of the books published became successful on the same subject led the appearance of other important city culture magazines in the second half of the 2000’s. Among these “Hayat Ağacı” (The Tree of Life) by Sivas Service Foundation, “Sultan Şehir” (The Sultan City), by Municipality of Sivas and relatively more conservative “Sivas Kültürü” (Sivas Culture) magazine with its rich religious content by Aşık Talibi Coşkun Kültür Derneği (Minstrel Talibi Coşkun Cultural Association) can be mentioned. “Sühan” (Words/2003-2008), even though it was a literature magazine, due to its several editions based on city life such as the 15th edition that was dedicated to the essays on the station can be added to this group of magazines. In the content of this group of magazines, the subjects evolved from elements including a high folkloric content to the narration of the daily life memories of the past, the evaluation of the present daily life and some information about the present cultural life.

Additionally there are the publications of Governorate and the Municipality on the cultural life of the city, on its past, heritage and important people. Sivas Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate functioning under the Governorate started to publish books related with Sivas under the name of 1000 Basic Works starting from 2005. The Municipality as well under the category of cultural publications has an important amount of books published after 2009, the election of the municipality served between 2009 and 2014. While the main frame is similar, the differences between the two groups of publications create the borders between the approaches of the two institutions. As a shared point, when the subjects are gathered together, the image related with the city fixed on the Seljuk, Ottoman and Republican past including details from clothing to food, from sympathetic everyday figures of the past to the opinion leaders.

One important effect of the entire publication process briefly mentioned under three groups is their creation of their own community and selecting them and their

memories as the representatives of the urbanite identity of the city. In other words as the owner of the city. During this process in which the issues of loss and being forgotten became repeated, a figure appears among the memories and personalities of the selected urbanites for whom the solid element of the urban identity comes from having deep family roots in the city. Facing this urbanite figure, his/her opposite appears by not being addressed. The *outsider,* becomes a general category for the urban life of Sivas and have a strong effect for the narration of the development and corruption of the city. Even though the outsider does not have a detailed figure they are affirmed to be the agents of any negative development in the city from the corruption of culture to the Massacre of Sivas. While this anonymous other becomes the perpetrator, the magazines leave this figure alone and they become contented with their melancholia for the past and discontent from the present.

The mentioned discontent towards the transformation of this city supports a narration on the lost life of Sivas and creates an imagined city left behind. The process of imagination for the city includes both an attempt for correction and supports the today's discontent by the ghost of the past life. During the process of the creation of an imagined city, the gaps remained untouched in the history point to the parts covered and corrected in city's life, which opens a way to investigate the part aimed to be covered or collected. Secondly, the emphasis given to the discontent towards the transformation enables an examination for the rather anonymous agents of the transformation. The third important point the publications reveal for a research on Sivas the emphasis on the recovered memory going parallel with the process of musealization of the city which gives the chance of tracing the footsteps of this new transformation. The publications' importance for the scope of this thesis resulted by the relation of these two aspects.

To the imagined area created by the publications four questions are aimed to be directed in this section. The first question, "How the city is re-constructed via the written contemporary material?" aims to bring brief overview about the image of the past life brought again and partially created through the literature on the city. Parallel

to the outcomes of the analysis of this process of reconstruction, the second question "What are the gaps in narration?" aims to reveal the parts of city's history which are not mentioned such as the historicity of the developments and the structural problems. It is believed that through the gaps appear between the reconstruction of past life and the narration of the present life in the city, the neglected, suppressed or simply not mentioned parts firstly open a way to question the role of the agents by addressing the hidden subject started to rule after the ghost of the past city life. The third question is directed to the image of the other as the one labelled to bring the corruption crosscuts the events and the transformation of places in city's history and creates an area to analyze the reconstruction/suppression of the historical developments in the recent history of Sivas. The second use of the gaps in narration is to dwell upon how the new image of the city, due to musealization, gathers all the parts in a new way of articulation in the form of saving the city. Therefore, the last question "What is the new image of the city built over the melancholy of the old one?" traces the temporal and spatial gap, which is important in terms of showing the objective and result of the process of correction.

4.1.1 The Memory of the Lost City

As a city which is lucky in terms of the quality and the number of the publication about itself on the issues of the daily life, the past mundane appearance, the history and the tradition of Sivas, the written experience of the city's daily and monthly life passes through the continuity of this narration started with the Sixth City.

The increase in the number of publications about Sivas appear after 1990s which coincides both with a new period in Turkey's history as a time started to flow again after the effects of the 1980 military coup and both with the belief that the city has been totally lost after the Sivas Massacre. It should also mentioned that, in addition to the negative impact of the Massacre in terms of identification with the city, the same period was also the revival of the cultural life which resulted with the beginning of movie sessions, theater plays, concerts and other cultural gatherings in which Atatürk Cultural Center played a key role. Starting with the mid-1990s the melancholy for the

lost culture and the fear of losing the identity arose, which created an area for literary expressions of it. The written material produced during the time adopted two roles: to bring back the past memory and to convince public about the fact that not everything has been lost. The publication process after 1990s mainly focuses on the assurance given for the rescued parts of the memory due to the attempts of the press and the emphasis on the possibility to re-bring culture. In that respect the publication history, including the specific columns dedicated to the past life of Sivas and the comparisons made between the present and past life, shows a continuity starting from 1990s. When briefly mentioned the subjects of several magazines we find unity and continuity in different magazines published in different times.

The emphasis on the Sivas folklore visible in the previous publications, with the entrance of this wave, has shifted to the examination of the past life, places of the past and figures from the daily life of those times who exemplify a certain character. These people, places and the elements of the lost life do not cover an area related with the *marvelous* but whatever they achieve ends up with creating a marvelous time in its ordinariness. The role of marvelous in the modern times for Lefebvre keeps a binary opposition with the everyday life and the modern man's main action become "obstinately to belittle real life, the world is as it is"[5]. Marvelous having the role of shifting the main emphasis towards the past glamor enables to relieve from the discontent towards the world and as seen in the case of Sivas also creates an effortless way to keep the discontent by not leading the collectivities to action to change the structure of the discontent.

The formation of the marvelous for Sivas as noted before is the *ordinary functioning* of the daily life constructed in memory and in the text. As seen in the quoted description below, the elements composing the past life -except the stress on the properness of the human behavior- are neither more developed nor more prosperous in comparison with our time, yet are affirmed an order which the public cannot find

[5]Henri Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 105.

in the life of today. The below text is on the life of the İstasyon Avenue (Station Avenue, a.k.a Inönü Avenue) as the center of the city life after the construction of railway station:

> (…) When Sivas was in a deep sleep, caravans of spring carts covered with white canvas, loaded with fruits and vegetables from Amasya used to pass in the twilight to reach the stores in the Mahkeme Çarşısı (Court Market). From this avenue, way-worn oxcarts, which became source of inspiration for Cahit Külebi[6], used to pass by leaving their echo on the stone walls of the gymnasium (…). During the times when the mail trains arrive to the city, the traffic caused by the horse carts filled to overflowing by luggages, packaged beds and blankets and passengers used to be seen in the Istasyon Avenue. (…) The Avenue was the promenade for people in Sivas. The young people who were wearing their suits to walk there, always knew the forms of politeness and if two people were speaking a third person could not hear their words. They wouldn't utter a word that would disturb the people around[7].

The description of Sivas is parallel to the construction of the city in the other texts. A city with modest people, daily life as a properly functioning mechanism, an organic relation to the past elements and a respectful relation with the novelties brought by the state. The title of the article displays well the hierarchy between the people and the architectural face of the state: "A Republic Seal Impressed on Sivas: The Station Avenue". The humble life that takes its glamor from the proper ordinariness is highly seen also in the other texts.

These texts can be related with customs including folkloric elements, even the features of old games played by children, people or places. In every magazine we confront special parts dedicated to the customs organizing life in the past, special pages for ordinary but modest people who lived their life according to a favored societal order, which includes feeling responsibility towards the people whom the life is shared, being productive but modest and being respectful to both the republican and religious values. When this life is constructed as such than the city also affirmed the same

[6]Cahit Külebi (1917-1997): Turkish poet who composed a modern poetry from the elements taken from folk culture.

[7]Kadir Üredi "Sivas'a Vurulan Bir Cumhuriyet Mührü: İstasyon Caddesi" (The Station Avenue: A Republic Seal Impressed On Sivas), Hayat Ağacı, no. 14 (2009): 38.

values and features. Below there is the description of the role of the past architecture in the city, resembling a certain kind of character:

> The man who respectfully bows his head in front of the remnants from the past and the man who values the beauties of the past life, confronting the sublime structures feels desolate because he sees that the progress has no end but his life does. Briefly, visiting a city by giving her the value she deserves is nothing much different than mirroring ourselves.
>
> In fact, visiting Sivas with those two feelings is not very possible. Even if the buildings in the city are decorating it by a style towards novelty, we should say that they are not splendid enough to utter the word "glorious" for them. It cannot be neglected that our city has a dignified stance that would not flatter magnificence. Still, for the ones who will see this city through drawing a lesson from her, their expectations will be excessively satisfied, because as the poet remarks, here, to encounter "ruins possessing a fortune" no one has to tire himself.[8]

Here, Sivas confronts us with two shapes of it, its modest and decent character produced through the impact of past life, which even it takes the shape of a ruin still shelters a fortune and a city to which identification is not possible since the shape brought to her does not resemble its original people anymore. Even though it still shines from the ruins, the aura of Sivas is mostly lost. The city mostly appearing as a lost place finds its new appearance in the written works whose claims are mainly on bringing the forgotten city back to the memory. The new life of the past city has begun once again on paper. The personification of the past city carrying all the features of the people of the past and the new role of the publication explained by the editor of the magazine Altıncı Şehir in a unifying manner. Altıncı Şehir, taking its name from the book of Ahmet Turan Alkan, starts its publication life with a self-critique. Yavuz Bülent Bakiler who writes the introductory story of the beginning of the publication, narrates his memory about calling a famous conservative poet Necip Fazıl Kısakürek to the city. In his narration of the dialogue between him and Kısakürek the two faces of the city, its strong roots and its week daily appearance became prominent:

[8]Mehmet Toyran "Çorapçı Hanı" (Chorapchi Inn), Sultanşehir, March-April-May (2007): 47.

> Sivas, as you stated as well, is one of the most ancient cities of Anatolia! The richest vain of our folk poetry, dances and music has been rooted in Sivas! Yet, among all of these wealth, our city has another feature. A feature that we have to accept whether we like it or not: In spite of her ancient history and wisdom, is a "lake city" in the middle of Anatolia. (…) It means that, it is as quiet and as calm, motionless and silent as a lake is! Even the two is letters in the beginning and at the end of her name seems to suggest people to remain silent.[9]

Among the two faces of the city, the last one, being a lake, seems to displace the rooted culture of the city. This critique from the conservative side disregards the fact that during the end of 1970s (his conversation with Kısakürek is claimed to happen during 1970s) Sivas had a cultural vitality belonging to the leftist spheres. In spite of the existence of a cultural life in the city, still Bakiler introduces the *lake* feature of the city as a sign of losing the city. Bakiler, in his claims as someone challenged this ongoing through his life, gives the role of bringing back the culture of the city to the written material. In his writing also other magazines are mentioned in a similar fashion with the description of the old city. The magazines carrying the value system and the sensibility of the original, past life start to resemble the humane character of Sivas. The magazines such as Yayla, Sivas Folkloru and Kızılırmak share the fate of the city and they are forgotten by their own people. However, from the way opened with the book Altıncı Şehir, the magazine having the same title published by the Sivas Sivas Cultural and Social Benevolent Association in Ankara, brings the hope and challenge back to the city. After the Altıncı Şehir magazine, the same role passed to Hayat Ağacı and Sultan Şehir, with approximately the same author community. The role of the entire publication process started in the city recently is being where the past life located now by bringing back the memory.

For the analysis of the above point, two points are to be evaluated carefully. The first one is the organic relationship of the process of writing on the city with a certain group in Sivas, which turns into a reciprocal production of memory, which takes us in the last analysis to ask the question about the gaps. The second one is the gap between the

[9] Yavuz Bülent Bakiler "Yepyeni Bir Sivas Dergisi: Altıncı Şehir" (A Brend New Sivas Magazine: The Sixth City), Altıncı Şehir, January, 3 (1998):5.

current inhabitant profile of the city and the past which some of them alienated from as well as the past which alien to some of them. Between these two gaps it is aimed to reach the answer of the last question.

4.1.2 "Everything Happened Against Our Will": Developing Discontent by Denial of Responsibility for the Corruption in the City

The marvelous created from the past elements is accompanied by the *bizarre*, the demoted face of the mystery which harbors the marvelous as well. The bizarre have a similar function with the marvelous described as a "mild stimulant for the nerves and the mind" by Lefebvre.[10] The demotion that bizarre -as an element of the normal daily life- is subjected coincides with another escape from the present life by making the present time more alienated in comparison with the glamor of the past time. The crucial point in the coexistence of marvelous and bizarre results in our case from the lack of an emphasis on the passage from marvelous to bizarre, which leads a gap in the narration between the experience of people in their old and new city. In the interview with the Governor of the time Hasan Canpolat in 2005 in Hayat Ağacı magazine, Canpolat was explaining the outcome of the new developments in city architecture with the parallelism between the rehabilitation of the urban tissue with the rehabilitation of the memory[11]. Hasan Canpolat who was the governor between 2003 and 2006 and who developed the Historic Urban Square Project mentioned the positive changes the city experienced as:

> First and foremost, Sivas mentally realized that it is a city of culture and will see that in the future in practice. The people of Sivas started to breathe the historical and cultural air of the city they live in.[12]

[10] Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life, 119.

[11]Tekin Şener, "Sivas; Kültür Kenti" (Sivas; A City of Culture) Hayat Ağacı, Summer, no:3 (2005): 46-50.

[12]ibid: 46

From this brief description many issues can be questioned. My questioning will be on the reasons of the initial forgetting about city's being "a city of culture" without realizing that it is still so and the historical and cultural elements brought back to the city for people to breathe. These questions out-and-out take place in the main concerns of the thesis. Before their analysis when concluding this part, they require the analysis of who are addressed as people of Sivas and basing on that, for whom and due to whose interaction the publication process has been started.

In most of the interviews I made with the people from old urbanite families of Sivas, which addresses people from middle class whose families were in the city before the migration after 1950s, the remembrance about the city was on the high culture along with the emphasis on the elegant modesty. To be able to trace the similarity between the discourse adopted by the publications and narrated by the people the magazines address, a detailed example of daily cultural life explained to me by the Advisor of the Major Mustafa Saydam:

> Think of the sixties. In those years the ladies, after they send their husbands to work -the gentlemen used to go to work a bit early, the people who work in today's TÜDEMSAŞ[13] which was the main workspace of the period where 6500, 7000 people used to work, would go early in the morning and the tradesmen used to go to work around 07:30. Around 09:30 you would see a lady going out from every house after after dealing the housework until 09:00. Some of them used to carry an oud, some of them drum, violin, zither, reed flute in their hands. There were a lot of houses with courtyard, they would gather in a neighbor's garden and they would play music together until to the time of noon azan. You couldn't see anyone because the walls of the courtyard were high, but you could hear that sound of music may be in ten streets. Sivas is a civilized city.[14]

The profile given to the past life of the city is reflected in Saydam's words to the whole city, without narrating any difference between the neighborhoods from different classes. The narration gains its power partially from the preciseness of the repetition of the events as it does from the emphasis on the culture of the everydayness.

[13]The Railway Repair Factory of the time.

[14]Mustafa Saydam, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May 09, 2012.

However, the two statements, that the focus on a general, widespread condition in the beginning of the narration and the later limitation with ten streets clash with each other. The importance of the narration of the memory of Mustafa Saydam results mainly from its coherence with the narration of the written material about the city. The coherent structure enables the analysis of the unity of the narrations in terms of addressing a certain community as public and secondly it reveals the reciprocal relations in the sphere constructed by the addressed public, the agents of the narration and the narration itself.

Before the analysis of the former issue, the questioning of the latter on who is the representative of the public and why do they have such a position brings us face to face with two circumstances. One of them is the right of having a discontent in accordance with the right given to a certain group of people as the representative of the whole public. The other one is the confrontation with the edge of a difference between the old city and the new city.

The two cities narrated do not overlap with each other and the memory called back into creating it remains in between the two structures in which there is a gap between the actors experiencing it and actors remembering it. The present editor of "Hayat Ağacı", in an early article of him in "Altıncı Şehir" is sharing his concerns about the developments happened in the city in which he addresses an anonymous other as the actor of the corruption:

> My fellow townsmen! Everything happened against our will, and we, the ones answering as "I am from Sivas" when asked, can handle this as well. Even though the water and land of other cities is tempting to us, we still miss the leafs of the roses flowering in Sivas. (...) Then, we still have hope. We have a city where we can harbor whenever we get bored and feel worried. The memory that we think we lost it, the faces we say "they don't exist anymore", the memoir that tug at hearstrings... They are all in that city. If we want we can reach easily our memories, face, memoirs. It is always ready.[15]

[15] Tekin Şener, "Sivas'a Dair," Altıncı Şehir 1998, 46.

The call referring to people who lost the actual city situate them into the bizarre, into their alienation from the process of production of the new city and places the city in the memory as the actual one, without recalling what has changed between the old and new one. Sivas as it is referred in the literature a rooted but transformed city take place in this literature often as a city that lost its innocence. The crucial point about the process of losing the innocence or authentic values, is that the process' being hardly mentioned in the text.

The absence of addressing the structural problems of this transformation results with a comparison between old daily life ethics and new ones. The often mentioned duty of the literature on the city does not bring back the events those had a fundamental effect on city's history, whether they are related with the end of production in the city or the Ali Baba events during 1978. As for Sivas Massacre in 1993, since the event is considered by the majority of the public and the magazines addressing this population as events overshadowing and denigrating the city its nonexistence is nothing but normal in this discourse. Even though it takes place, it is still in the shape of strengthening the public reaction of its remembrance as it is seen in the case of the interview with the governor of the time (2009-2012) Ali Kolat made by "Hayat Ağacı":

> (…) there are attempts to harm the climate. For instance, Sivas should not have lived an event like Madımak. Perhaps our people should be prepared for these kind of things and took measures against it... Yet, Sivas show a great tolerance in this respect. For example in those days of commemoration, the city acts mature. The commemoration events organized in 2nd July pass through the city quietly, without any undesirable events.[16]

"Hayat Ağacı", by transmitting the words of the governor, emphasizes and reproduces one of the most shared concerns about the city, that remembrance of the specific event is the remembrance of the corruption of the city, where the *original* public has no role in it. The governorship of Ali Kolat coincided with the increased attempts of making

[16] "Sivas Valisi Ali Kolat Ile Söyleşi [Interview with the Governor of Sivas Ali Kolat]," Hayat Ağacı 2009, 94.

the Madımak Hotel a museum and the state represented by him showed the state seal on the city by the socialization of the Hotel and its turning into a Center of Science and Culture under the Provincial Special Administration functioning under the Governorate in 2010. Furthermore, by prohibiting the commemoration demonstrations in front of the former hotel in 2011 and by opening a law suit to the members of the institutions and communities organizing the event, the administration kept the public opinion away from the functioning of the place. The same prohibition continued the following year. During the same year in the last trial against the seven fugitive suspects of the Massacre the decision on the lapse of time was taken which ended with the police intervention to the public protesting the decision.

By the prohibitions take in Sivas, the general attitude of the state towards the issue was reflected on the city. The quote from interview done with him in the first months of his governorship plays the role of announcing the changes to be brought to the city and the measures to be taken during his time. The tolerance affirmed to the people of Sivas refers to a closed circle among the citizens, in which the protesting parts are taken out of the definition of the public. The most important group addressed here is the Alevi community who organize the commemoration activities along with the support of democratic, leftist organizations and political parties. When the content of the written material is compared with the actions in the city to interrupt the memory, such as the mentioned prohibitions, the people named as the owners of the city became part of a limited definition.

4.1.3. Creation of the Literary Group

Within this limited sphere of having the rights on the city there is a very productive relation between the narrators, the public receiving their narration and the authorities supporting it. When someone checks the name of the writers in different magazines, the books written on Sivas, the speakers in the talks organized for the public, the authors of the articles about city history in local newspapers, the repetition of the most of the names shows that agents, who are coming from the city without having a literary background before their becoming authors are in a reciprocal narration process with

their community. During the interview with the editor of "Hayat Ağacı", Tekin Şener, when I asked how the magazine and its writer groups organized, he answered:

> There was a group of people loving Sivas as a city, feeling himself/herself attached to it and adopting the city with its historical deepness and present condition. They were quiet dispersed. One of the greatest functions of the magazine was bringing them together. I sometimes ask our writers "If this magazine has not been published, would still you write it?" They say no. The magazine both enabled them to create these works and to end their resentment about the city as well as their sharing their knowledge and memories with each other. The magazine had a high society. (...)
>
> Some of them have already been famous as writers, they were the people we knew from the cultural activities in the city. Also, when you meet with someone, you are introduced to other people too as does Kadir Üredi Kadir Üredi introduced his generation and so I met with a lot of people. This is the important part about the magazine. A magazine is not something written on paper a magazine is composed of a sphere, it is itself a circle.[17]

After we started to talk about the magazine as a circle, I raised the question of why they address a certain community. To be clear, he asked me whether I mention bourgeoisie or not, which I answered back as middle and upper middle classes. While he told that he has never thought of it but still he thinks it may be possible, he defined the actual problem in the city as that "the city cannot keep its bourgeoisie. The bourgeois, probably thinking his children's future, moves to bigger cities and the class who would be the owner of the city cannot be created because of that."[18]

According to the statement of Şener there is a difference between the history of the actors in the city and the history of the powerful classes in the city. While the activities of the first group create the near history of the city after the Republic, the mobile existence of the second group disabled a perpetuity in terms of the economic power and investments. Therefore in accordance with this view the city who cannot create its own investment group becomes subjected to the economic dominance of the others, whether they are villagers or people from other cities. Returning back to the origins

[17]Tekin Şener, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May 16, 2012.

[18]ibid.

of the division between the urbanite and its others once again makes bringing back the memory as a necessary part of the publication process. Şener explains the city's, so to say obligatory interest towards the memory as: "Because amnesia is a disease. It is as a disease for the cities as it is for humans".[19]

Depending on the impression I get from the magazine I commented to Şener the issue that the narration on the city is constructed as if there were two cities, the old and the new city. I told in my comment that I cannot see the connection between them due to the fact that the memories protected here are transmitting only the positive parts while the negative ones are not the constitutive of today's city. As a response Şener told me that their essential goal is not to bring it back exactly as it was:

> The new city follows the old city and the natural course of things requires such a continuity. Where is the rupture, rupture meaning a depletion? Actually, here, as a result of being publisher, we make an abstraction. I am not displaying to the reader the entire truth about how Sivas was 50 years ago. It is neither possible nor necessary. There are a lot of things we wouldn't like. We bring only some of them back because we want them to be saved and continue to live. Secondly, everyone is reading this magazine, so it is not a propaganda magazine for Sivas, it should be a bit presentable. (...) What we do here is not to seek for the truth, we are not trying to keep every single thing as it is.[20]

Şener's implicit reference to the unpleasant events and his concern about the reputation of the city is an outcome and signifier of the concern about the city created by the reflexive relation of some city dwellers and the publishing community. Their connection is the essential producer of the content of the concerns and objectives about the city. Here it should be noted that I believe there is a line between evaluating these magazines as the representatives of the governing discourses on the city and seeing them as the reflections of the public and official discourses on the city. There is an obvious reference to the authorities as there is a less obvious but still strong lack of overlap between the public discourse on the lost city and the official claims on the

[19]ibid.

[20] Tekin Şener, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May 16, 2012.

resurrected city. The people writing in the magazines as well as the people claiming to own a city of republic are not totally keeping the same political line with the Governorate, Municipality and other cultural institutions working under them or the private or state institutions collaborating with them. The magazine, still depends on the state, the same can be said for Sultan Şehir and the earlier publications in this context which kept a close relation with the authorities if not a direct state seal. Yet, in the city as seen from the interviews made from the sphere described here, the creation of this sphere which claims itself as the owner of the city and the keeper of the original memories have a longer history. In this long history of owning the city I found three key motives to trace back the discourse. The first one is the impact of the early republican ideals, which also created the strongly shared belief of "the republic was established in Sivas". Related with the first motive and following the industrial development in the city, secondly there is the emphasis on an urbanite identity in contrast to the rural identity which was weakened parallel to the loss of the agricultural areas. Thirdly, due to the former imbalance, the last motive is resulted by the hierarchy between the classes appeared more clearly after 1950s where the population has changed due to the migrations to the city and migrations from the city. The last and temporally closer one is the later conservatism appeared in Sivas, resulted by the fear experienced by the republican and the left wing people after 1990s. Interestingly, while the target of the events was the Alevi community, this discourse does not totally include them since in the most assertive version of the discourse they are seen as migrants and not owners. Despite this fact, when the relation of the republican and left wing spheres to the discourse is considered there is an obvious rupture between political interests of the present authorities and these spheres. If the production of the discourses about the lost city and the owned city is considered, the present authorities cannot be attributed as the producer of it.

On the other hand, the cultural re-production of the city depends on this discourse which is adopted by the governorate and the municipality. As these cases display, there are two types of relations with this discourse, the one remains within the community and the one includes the official and private projects on the city.

As mentioned before, the publications on Sivas have a reciprocal relation with the urban, middle class readers as their addressee. When the first figures such as Ahmet Turan Alkan appeared, the form which was ready as an urbanite discontent in the city found a vein of expression and after the start of magazines as well as special interests of the local newspapers to the subject, the local people became the writers. In this respect, among these group who have mostly similar backgrounds belonging to same social class, a questioning of a hierarchy between the authors and the readers would not be realistic since it is organized, produced and consumed mostly by the same people.

There is, in terms of community relations a more organic and in terms of their distance towards the rest of the public a more elitist relation, which became in the end a useful tool for the state institutions and their private partners since the memories of this community do not depend on an egalitarian and pluralist idea of the public. The division within the "owners" of the city and the rest including the anonymous others, results with an additional division between the Sunni Turks always owned the urban center instead of the Kurdish and Alevi public were gathered before the migration flow in the periphery of the city. There are also the others who are not as mentioned as the Turkish community such as the Armenians and Posha People. However, since they are not in the position of making claims on the city, in terms of number and in terms of circumstances, this discourse does not address them.

The mentioned sphere mostly composed of middle class, mostly educated, republican people whose attitude towards the Islamist circles formed according to the same urbanite supremacy over the villager identity as well as seeing most of them as also outsiders who came to corrupt the city. However, contrary to the Alevi public who still have some power to claim their rights on the city, these two groups, in relation with their long history of exclusion adopted a position which bases on withdrawal and therefore this discourse does not address them. Briefly the role of the authorities, such as the Governorate under which the Hayat Ağacı is published and Municipality publishing "Sultan Şehir" is not directly creating and disseminating the specific

discourse but to promote it. In this triangle of people, publishers and the state actors, saving the lost memory of the city becomes the first goal of these publications. The second goal, which will be analyzed towards the end of this part, is to promote the new changes brought in order to re-build memory.

When considered over the parts of the triangle it is neither surprising nor hyperbolical that the successful publications are often referred as “the memory of the city” while the gaps in the narration remains as an undisclosed subject. The existence of the gaps in narrations occur in contrast to the existence of a shared content of the publications. It has been already mentioned that the non-existence of the bitter parts of the memory comes also from the lack of a structural analysis created due to the existence of not-adopted and not willingly faced parts of the memory. The non-adoption appears also as one of the constitutive elements of the city right developed in this sphere, which passes from seeing the other as the agent of change. The very constructed otherness also confronts another image of the city a reversed one.

4.1.4 The Others of the City

The image of the other and trace the effects of otherness in Sivas brings the researcher into a confrontation of a large category where the actors and various events are hardly mentioned but otherness remains as an anonymous entity to be blamed. When traced back, during the times the city was joining to the industrial power of the country, which coincides with the beginning of the discourse on development, republican values and a dignified city, the image of the other was positive. The other to Sivas in the beginning of thirties had a guiding role in bringing *modernity.* As someone who witnessed the development of the city almost from the beginning, the interview with a former Railway Factory worker and an award winning author who is writing mainly on Sivas Kadir Üredi’s narration both gives important data about the entrance of modernity and both signifies an untold point in the narration of the city’s modernity:

> The outsiders broadened the horizon of especially the young people, they inscribed the advantages of working and the benefits of reading to the genes of

> the youth and modernity occurred. The life used to stop after 19:00, they applied for it and the shops remained open until 21:00. There were only three pharmacies, night pharmacies opened. Then, the people who were modern were called tanku, the ladies dressed in a modern style were tanku. Around 1942 the first hairdresser for women was opened. Before it was impossible for women to go to Kepenek Avenue. It was a shame for women to go outside.[21]

According to the narration, the modernity is something *happened*, occurred and became permanent after the arrival of the public officers coming from outside. The position of women for the city's history has a representative case in explaining the role of the first others in the city related with the entrance of modernity. This period of having a good other with positive influence on the city goes until the 1970s when the Cumhuriyet University was constructed.

> The market hall was constructed during 1960s . In those years women did not used to go there. When the university was constructed and the public officers came to the city went there with their wife a lot of fights occurred, it took time to settle. The public officers and the university staff are the ones who changed the commercial life and enabled the women consumers to go there.[22]

It is interesting that contrary to the strong image of this positive other, the nowadays use of otherness is mainly to express the negative influences. Even though the image of the other was more varied before, now it only refers to one category of being outsider, whose effect is in most cases negative. According to the interviews, two main developments changed fundamentally the public gaze towards the other. One of the dimensions bringing to this change in the variety of the purposes of otherness lies in the fact that the profile of the public officers was subjected to a change due to the changes in governments.

The second dimension occurs with the migration to the city from the periphery. For the second one the discourse on otherness is divided into two. Since the history of otherness in Sivas accumulated due to actions developed by political orientation and

[21] Kadir Üredi, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, January, 22, 2012.

[22] A.O., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 11, 2012.

religious affiliation -mostly articulated to each other - the conservative Islamist spheres and the Alevis and leftist Alevis are considered to be under the same category (villager) but in different groups.

4.1.5 The Rural Urban Debate under the Impact of Economic Concerns

Focusing on the above data, we can claim that the image of the city as it takes place in the written works and narrations create an image of citizens who cannot decide for his/her own city. The second dimension, the difference made between the urbanite and the villager, strengthens the adoption of a passive attitude towards the developments. It is as if the main feature of being from Sivas is the ability to identify and then, in a way, accept whatever shape the city takes: "Anyone can identify the local public of Sivas. Now the ones coming from the village are also getting well-dressed but you immediately understand from their behaviors that they are not from the city."[23]

Except the existence of the Association to Spread and Sustain Urban Culture, whose main ideal is to protect the urbanite culture, the main discourse based on a concern about the villagers' position. This position while reinforcing the groupings among the city also place the others into an indefinite place since their attributed identity as outsiders and their location as urbanites does not coincide with each other. For this, the previous expectations lies in the city culture, before the spread belief about it is damaged and about to be lost. Before the establishment of an organization such as the Association to Spread and Sustain Urban Culture, the cultural institutions in the city were having the aim of transforming the citizens. Both Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (Atatürk Cultural Center-AKM) which was active from 1987 to 2003 and Çevre Kültür ve Sanat Evi (Community Culture and Art House – ÇKSE) which functioned from 2003 to 2011 dealt with this goal. Ahmet Opan, the former director of AKM, in an example he gives for the goods of the center mentions how they try to settle the modern city rules: "We made cinema free for headscarved women for them to sit

[23] A.A., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, January, 21, 2012.

mixed with men, to learn how to sit together with people."[24] In a similar fashion, the former director of ÇKSE and the present secretary general of Sivas Service Foundation, Saadettin Doğan describes their goal as "The city educates. Our goal was to create a civilized society."[25] Both of the cultural centers are not active now, and as will be told in the following chapters, the cultural institutions in the city changed their direction from the republican middle class to the conservative one, which intensified the sense of loss. Now, after giving up the aim of transmitting the city culture to the new comers, the goal became to protect and promote the selected remnants of the culture.

In this frame, one can mention as well the conformism of the middle classes in the city which creates a passive concern, however I defend that the "other" became the main problem when the economy of the city was not enough for everyone, which started by the decrease of the industrial production of the city. Xenophobia for the new comers and discrimination among the locals, especially harbored by the religious differences in the city, have been for a long time addressing some others.

The otherness however was still shaped by showing them as one step behind but not as a dangerous identity trying to govern the economy. In addition to the historical overlap of the concern about the strangers with the changes in the economy, the economic threat united in the imagined shape of the other also revealed in the interviews by a shift in the questions. When the questions become related with the identity of the other, the answers are given to describe someone ruining the city culture:

> They say that "you couldn't teach us the urban culture so we brought the culture of the village". The culture displayed by television and restorations is the villager culture, because the villagers have power now they control the city culture. The ones who are introducing the city culture are villager, they make up customs you

[24] Ahmet Opan, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, June 05, 2012.

[25] Saadettin Doğan, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey,June 05, 2012.

have never heard of and they sell it as the Sivas culture. [26]

When the question is shifted from who the other is to what the other does, the answers become related with the economic concerns:

> The ones coming from the rural areas have a problem with the urban lifestyle, they continue their villager life in wherever they go, they effect also the new generations. A city becomes a city under the influence of individuals. Old families should transfer some knowledge to the comers. The neighbors instead of making the comers urbanites, become villagers themselves. Since there are groupings in the neighborhoods, they are easily deceived by the politicians. They are given words about their lives which cannot change how they live. From the economic aspect their shopping effect the commercial economy of the city, the tradesmen start to have difficulties because of them. The process of urbanization gets delayed and regressed.[27]

As it was complex in most of the interviews I made, the history of the city, the new urban identity of the city, whether the urbanization was of past or present or a continuous process, are complex in the above statement too, which I relate with the influence of the construction of the marvelous and bizarre. Leaving this very unique bewilderment, we see in the sentence the two of the crucial concerns about the future of Sivas, the economic and the political. These two can hardly be separated from each other but also in some cases they support the confusion about the city's present and future.

Most of the cultural projects in the city which are done either to promote tourism or to create new centers to where the urban economy can flow, represent a more conservative lifestyle or in some cases forces the people visiting them into such a lifestyle openly. The dilemma of the groups claiming the city their own is to demand an economic revival while witnessing the political aspect of the economic developments, where the city's economy change hands.

[26] A.O., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 11, 2012.

[27] Ali Kesti, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May, 31 2012.

4.1.6 The City of the Others

On the other side of the possession of the city, there are the ones remaining outside of the borders of this governing symbolic communities. These groups who vaguely take place under the general category of the others, show a difference between each other in terms of their identification with the city. The milestone of this type of otherness for Sivas, as mentioned before, is the migration and keeps an important place in the narrations about the city's past. Yet, this milestone does not have a specific time. The actual migration to Sivas started with the establishment of factories during late 1930s. However the mentioned effect of migration, which is mostly from the rural areas to the urban in Sivas, depending on the historical events mentioned by the interviewees, coincides with the period following the changes brought by the Democrat Party during 1950s. For this discourse on arriving late to the city, starting a new life after 1950s meaning that living in the city over sixty years, is not enough for the urbanites who make this difference between the rural and the urban areas. It was told to me several times that I should not talk to them (the peasants) to learn city's history because they were villagers before and did not have roots in the city. This rather vague history of the rural/urban debate and the strong belief about the inner values of the city at the edge of disappearing have a direct effect on the organization of people within space. On the other hand, surviving in the city becomes the issue for the so called late comers.

Considering the scope of the magazine, a rare article has been written in the Altıncı Şehir by Cengizhan Orakçı on the issue of not having a place in the city. Orakçı expresses how it is to be "the defeated of the city", namely being a migrants in Sivas. His article "The Winners and Losers in the City" starts the story from the first generation, the fathers and narrates the differences between the confrontation of their fathers and their own generation with the people with "blue blood":

> Here, the ones with a "timid" stance is essentially our fathers. May be, they had a state of mind similar to the Gulliver's arrival to the land of the giants. They realized that they are not the original organisms of those places. They realized it and they obtained a naive armor for themselves. (...)

> We are still strangers in the places we have arrived! Even though our children were born and raised here, we still find ourselves in foreignness. We fewel outside of the center. Our weak, trembling light lighten the center either a bit or not. (...)
>
> We are the losers! We lost the battle of existence in the city, we lost the dream of the rose and the holy walk. In spite of all the "practices" we gained, preparations we did, it is as such. The winners are there. I called them the "blue blood"; "the ones who sit in our places". They are the winners. Of course, there are also the ones who "changed their blood", in some way they could also join to this group. (...)
>
> Now, the migration is over. We will not here the rouse of the migration again. Lets strike our roots freely to the soil we live.[28]

The "late comers" adopt the city and aim to continue their stay while the counter opinion is calling people to return back to the old days and old places. A similarly emotional writing, one expresses the need to be left alone in his own city for an urbanite in an elaborated way, calls people to return back to home. Hasan Hüseyin Cesur, in Sultanşehir magazine, in order to construct peace between man and the city, presents the differences which would help people to understand their original places:

> Then, it is time for returning back home. Not everyone has to live in the same place. Land is longing for its owner and his wise way of living and the city is longing for a wise society who transformed their knowledge to wisdom. Human, who destructs mercilessly the balance coming from the creation, becomes the protagonist of the story of evanescence. Before the compensation for imbalance reaches the point of impossible -which is closing in- everyone has to write the story of returning back home. [29]

The wise way of living in the rural areas which loses its validity in the city and the wisdom the city expects divides people into two. On the hand there are other approaches and circumstances which reveals the other faces of this determined division in the city. A different view for the processes of division in the city comes

[28] Cengizhan Orakçı, "Şehirde Kazananlar Ve Kaybedenler," (The Winners and Losers in the City) Altıncı Şehir, 1997, 20-21.

[29] Hasan Hüseyin Cesur, "Şehir Ve İnsan [the City and the Individual]," Sultanşehir 2007, 15.

from Osman Yıldırım, a tradesman who during 1990s had an influence in the city's cultural life. According to him, except claiming the city and protecting their rights in the city the bourgeoisie did not contacted to the new comers, which would lead a different transformation:

> Sivas was not urbanite but it was a townee. The townee has traditional relationships although urbanite has degenerated relations in the city. The rate of literacy was high, the city had a bourgeoisie and the families used to know each other. Those were the families who benefited from the services of the Republic. However, the impact of the bourgeoisie was very weak, their relation with the common was very weak.[30]

Similarly, according to Yıldırım, the influence of the workers in the city was weak in accordance with the power of worker's movement in the city:

> The Railroad workers used to leave the factory by wearing cravats. It means "I am producing and I don't have a difference from the doctor on the street". However due to the orientation of the trade union development, class consciousness could not have been developed. For the class consciousness you need economic, political and cultural consciousness as well as the consciousness of production.[31]

When we listen the other story about settling in the city, the division becomes related with first economic concerns appeared by the flow of migration and the religious concerns started after the arrival of Alevis from the mountain villages to the city center. Both of these concerns during 1970s melted into the political concerns, which until the last twenty years showed their influence on the city. Therefore, when we compare the two types of memories related with the city, the one belonging to the "natives" and the one belonging to the "migrants" presents us the gaps in the mainstream discourses about the city.

[30] Osman Yıldırım (1), interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May 29, 2012.

[31] Osman Yıldırım (1), interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May 29, 2012.

One of the good signifiers for the economic concerns are the ones related with the transformation of the commercial life. The flow of migration during the 1960s was not only related with the beginning of the Alevi settlements. From nearby places there were another flow of migration not always related with being a worker but mainly related with finding an opportunity to utilize the income from the rural lands which started to lose their productivity. An interviewee from Darende explained me the atmosphere when his father migrated to Sivas during early 1960s. Since they were migrants and villagers, entering into commercial relations was interrupted by the urban tradesmen, which led his father along with many others to be a member of Nakşibendi sect. Nakşibendi sect as the first sect in Turkey that unites a religious lifestyle with competitive, commercial entrepreneurship, enabled these outsiders to have their own networks and be successful in city's commercial life. This was then an act of opposition to the old Ahi tradition[32] of the market area, in which the competition is restricted and the acts of tradesmen were strictly controlled by the lodge, which naturally controls the entrance of the new craftsmen[33]. The changing face of commercial life led to the new groupings as in the case of the entrance of a new conservatism among the tradesmen and the disappearance of some from the other groupings. For the tradesmen who were from the urban families of the city, the main competition appeared during 1980s by the changes in the market area, where the old connected market halls were divided because of the new road plan. The renovation of the buildings in the market area led many tradesmen to lose their job since they could not afford to pay the rent of new, modern shops. Then, the *others* could easily come and take their place in a commercial life where "the villager host their own villagers" as told by another interviewee from an old tradesmen family of the city[34].

[32] Ahi Tradition: An organization of solidarity between craftsmen established during 13th century based on an esoteric view of Islam and had strict rules for being a master and for the organization of relations between craftsmen such as horizontal organization. Competition was not among the appreciated acts of craftsmen and for the present life of craftsmen in the country, while the lodge is not functioning anymore, the Ahi tradition is uttered to stress the good roots behind craftsmanship.

[33] D.A., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 11, 2012.

[34] A.O., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 11, 2012.

Another group whose existence in the city is uttered both by economic and religious concerns are the Alevis who came mostly to be workers in the state institutions. However as will be seen the concerns about them taking the works for the people of the city and about their religious identity showed a difference through time.

The group of Alevi workers remember the situation in the Railway Repair Factory as stratified. The former member of board and the general media secretary of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association in Ankara as well as a former worker of Railway Repair Factory in Sivas, Cemal Şahin who was in charge during the time of the interview narrates his memories about his arrival and the developing situations during the following years focusing on the relation between religion and politics:

> I first went to Sivas in 1960. The Railway had a vestibule school, I entered there at the age of 12 as apprentice. There, working, I learned with the other students how they approach to Alevis. They were using humiliating words to us that means their families taught them as such. They were things like that, a Kizilbaş[35] should be infidel for seven years to become a Muslim, he should wash himself until two bricks under his feet should melt, they used to say that our food shouldn't be eaten. They even call us kefere, so they believed we reject the religion. This is in the basis of this city. They had it because they did not now about Alevism. Later, especially after the foundation of MSP (National Salvation Party), the divisions grew bigger since the religion and politics were intermixed.[36]

As seen in the above cases, the politics of exclusion and creating groupings, even though in the beginning they based on cultural concerns intermixed with economic concerns, transformed into the ways of organizing determined spaces for groups related with politics articulated to economic claims. The gaps revealed so far, leaves the present discourse on the corruption of culture as a veil for these divisions.

[35]Kizilbaş: i.e. Alevi

[36] Cemal Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, January 05, 2012.

An interesting point about the existence of these gaps and the strength of the mentioned pretext from the actual scene, is the rupture between the extensity of the discourse on the corruption and the address of the cultural actions in the city.

An important fact is even though the official claims about the city is bringing the specific culture produced by the state and the ancestors of the groups having the city; most of the cultural programs address the communities labeled as the ones who came later and who ruined the city. Most of the cultural programs, concerts, theater plays, seminars announced as a part of the cultural revival of the city are directed to the conservative spheres. This cultural sphere takes its discursive strength from the cultural concerns of the groups addressed from the publications who are mainly the people who are sensitive about their inherited rights in the city. However, space opened due to these attempts of creating an imagined lost city united with the present attempts of bringing back the culture works for the people who were, and for many people still are, *the others*. The appearance of the conservative spheres in the city, including Islamist sects, goes back to 1950s but started to be taken as a problem after the developments towards 1990s and especially after the Madımak Massacre.

On the other hand, when the municipalities started to be represented by conservative spheres, the appearance and the orientation of the cultural works took a new and stronger shape since they are empowered by an official voice. The role of the major Temel Karamollaoğlu during the Massacre has been questioned a lot but never carried into to the courts. However his time left a visible trace on the city where the cultural spheres due to this transformation took a divided form. During the following years, the dignity of having roots in the city and the importance of reaching the previous cultural life became a governing discourse. On the other hand, the entire cultural projects had a conservative appearance which makes it impossible to compare with the cultural environment until the end of seventies. Briefly, here I am mentioning a cultural turn where the signifiers the culture have been shifted from West to East, from the modern appearance adopted by the republic to the Turkish-Muslim emphasis and the Seljuk-Ottoman influence on the cultural works and the social places. To place

this particular cultural transformation into a general frame, the disappearance of alcohol form many public gathering places, the division made according to gender in the gatherings, the content of the spectacles and literary gatherings, the historical discourses spread from the renovations can be mentioned as the most visible changes.

The particular transformation reflected on the role of the public officers from promoting progress, education and industrialism to the promotion of conservative values and life styles. Burhanettin Yurdagül, who also works for the protection of cultural and natural properties points to the fact that the change in the profile of public officers are projected on the city as the restorations signifying the power. Yurdagül claims that Sivas became the area where the public officers coming from the right wing started working effectively in the state offices. The time of Temel Karamollaoğlu as the mayor from Refah Party (Welfare Party) became the era where the municipality system started to be governed from the center and the facade of the city has changed.[37]

It is understood that the reflection of the conservative concerns on the city architecture and the attempts to alter the places adopted by the republicans developed some concerns about the role of the public officers as outsiders. This perception takes place among one of the concerns eased by the publications by focusing on the older times and by bringing the dignity to the fore: “here, to encounter “ruins possessing a fortune” no one has to tire himself”.[38]

The easing effect is valid but only with its side effect which comes as a result of the separation of the city’s history from the individual. Between the lost past life and the present life in which there is nothing to be done from the side of the public who already lost the city, the gap is resulted a kind of politics of forgetting. Now not only the outsiders feel estranged to the city. As Ali Kesti mentions above as a political outcome, there is the changing face of the city. In the process of non-identification of

[37] Burhanettin Yurdagül, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, April 16, 2012.

[38] Mehmet Toyran, "Çorapçı Hanı [Chorapchi Inn]," no. March-April-May (2007): 47.

the locals with their own city, the changing face once has become a radical, where the marvelous, the bizarre, the entire publication process, the attempts of creating a touristic attraction point, all, trying to erase the traces of that image. This image, in addition to the mostly uttered concerns about the invasion of villagers and the changes in the representation of Sivas includes the greater concern of being known as a *burner*. People, while trying to escape from an identification with the protestors setting the hotel Madımak on fire, find the shelter once again in the image of the other. In most of the interviews it has been told that the agents of the Sivas Massacre were coming from outside and mostly it was claimed, since most of the interviewees witnessed the fire, that the people around were not familiar faces. Once again, the general tendency becomes claiming that the city has been lost and the owner lost their power on the developments.

The above story of determining another kind of otherness takes us from the borders created from the written material on the city which base mostly on the cultural divisions between the new comers and the natives. For the memory of the old and relatively new members of the city, the memory created through the written material differs and creates gaps in narration. These gaps are not only dependent to the different experiences but also to an overall aim to create a new city in the imagination which meets with the projects for the transformation of the city. To achieve this, one of the original influences of this new Sivas created via the writings is that it is created once again to ease the effects of the recent political history of the city. This attempt keeps the natives who claim the city as their own as both a privileged and pacified group due to the de-politization. The question can be asked here on the need for depoliticizing the public, which leads us to next part showing the impact of the political history of the city in today's identity. Secondly, the same question is related with our last part in this sub-chapter in which the new image of the city will be discussed according to the relation of the gaps with the ongoing city projects.

4.1.7 The Bloody Sivas: The Image of Massacre in the Narration on the New City

Among the attributes given to Sivas such as the *City of Culture*, *City of Minstrels*, *A Seljuk City*, *The City Where the Republic Has Been Established*, another one coming from the history became permanent in the shared history of Sivas: *Bloody Sivas*. The name comes from the song of the minstrel Pir Sultan Abdal which for years followed Sivas even in the shape of revitalized folk culture by the state agents of culture, a shared folk song by the public or in the shape of a way to remember Sivas due to the violent attacks occurred during 1978 and 1993. In the three mass violence events happened in the city – 1967 Sivas-Kayseri Events, 1978 Ali Baba District Massacre and 1993 Sivas Massacre– the last two was directed to the Alevi community. After the massacre which happened during the Pir Sultan Abdal Festival in 1993, Sivas gained another identity which includes references to the continuity of Pir Sultan Abdal's fate and the fate of the Karbala Event.[39] These three narrations of the city, the old city, the corrupted new city and the city of Massacre never confront each other in the same literary platform but the writings about the memory of the city and the city whose culture is returning back, exist in opposition with the existence of this version of Sivas.

The city's becoming a symbol of the continuity of the fate of Alevis, in addition to the general discontent about its being remembered with Sivas Massacre is problematic for people who claim that they own the city. One of the commonly uttered reasons for the Massacre became blaming the ones coming from the outside, this even takes the shape in some cases of blaming the main other of the country, the Kurdish Rebels. The president of the Association of Journalists in Sivas and the owner of the local newspaper Anadolu, Fikret Ünsal was defending that the events occurred due to the efforts of PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) in his book "Figüran Aziz Nesin" (Figurant

[39]Karbela Event (CE 680): At the end of the war between the Hussein bin Ali - grandson of the Prophet Muhammed and the son of Ali- and the forces of umayyad Caliph Yazid I., Hussein was martyrized. Ths event is considered the point of sepration of Shiah and later becomes the main reference for the appearance of Alevism.

Aziz Nesin)[40] in 1995. The idea was not popular since there was no proof of it. In 2011, when the trial opened again, he was naming what people has lived through during 18 years as *suffering* because of the zealot label on them including the people found as guilty[41]. Ünsal's claims have no legal or proved basis but it becomes one of the examples of the belief about the innocence of the protestors which is also shared by some Islamist spheres. A recurrent story told about the behaviors of the mentioned sphere in the city includes their blaming the people massacred as the main actors of the fire. I witnessed the same thing during my research in the Hanımlar Kültür Merkezi (Ladies Cultural Center) owned by the Municipality. In 15.02.2012 I was interviewing a group of women from the center who were coming from the Islamist spheres who, as they told, spent their day between house, the cultural center and their religious sect's meetings. They asked me whether I came here to investigate the massacre, *fire* in their terms. I told that it is not the main aim of my work, but since they believe I am for there to ask questions about it, they both said they really did not burn the people. Then İ.K. described the events as they know it:

> Okay the fire made by people who came from outside, but they were the people who came for the festival. The people who were poisoned by the smoke were the ones shooting at the people. Arif Sağ[42] then, openly threw that gun to the river, he said "I am a deputy, come on touch me if you can.[43]

Then İ.R. told me that "the thirty pegged out there but now innocent people are in the jail."[44] I asked then, why these people came and this event happened. İ.K.'s answer was "to restrain Sivas from developing". Now in 2nd of July everyone is coming, from

[40] Fikret Ünsal, Figüran Aziz Nesin [Figurant Aziz Nesin] (Anadolu Newspaper Publication 1995).

[41]"Sivas'lı 18 Yıldır Büyük Acı Çekti" (People from Sivas Has Suffered a Lot During 18 Years), 01.06.2011, http://www.haber3.com/sivasli-18-yildir-buyuk-aci-cekti-haberi-873322h.htm

[42]Arif Sağ: Turkish folk singer and former deputy (1987-1991). Sağ is among the people who survived after the Madımak Massacre in 02.07.1993.

[43] İ.K., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 15, 2012.

[44] İ.R. interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February15, 2012.

everywhere." İ.R. Responded to this as "it is still good, they bring income to the city."[45]

The version of the Massacre told by these two women are again based on the news spread by Fikret Ünsal claiming that Arif Sağ shot minstel Muhlis Akarsu and threatened the people in the hotel so that they could not run away from the fire[46]. As a response to these claims, Arif Sağ sued Fikret Ünsal and Fikret Ünsal had to pay compensation.[47] Ünsal in this re-creation process of the city's history becomes an important agent not only to spread his approach on the Massacre but because he also symbolized the xenophobic face of the city, even from the beginning. One day before the Massacre, Ünsal published an article called "Müslüman Mahallesinde Salyangoz Satılmaz" (One Cannot Sell Snails in Muslim Neighborhood), which created a certain anticipation in people against the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Festival. In all these years, Sivas described by him remains as a valuable place under the threat of the stranger, which has both a representative value for the narration of the concerns about the city and a good example for the fear for the Massacre's impact on the negative ideas on Sivas. This situation is parallel with the general tendency of the people representing the state in relation to the Sivas trial. The description of İ.K about the people who died in the Hotel as "people who were poisoned by the smoke" is a new expression adopted after the Temel Karamollaoğlu, the Mayor from the Refah Party (the Welfare Party) during 1993 expressed in 2011 that they did not die burning buy by getting poisoned from the smoke. Karamollaoğlu told that he makes this difference in order to keep

[45] İ.R. interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February15, 2012.

[46] Yavuz Seçuk, "Madımak Otelinde Hayatını Kaybeden İki Kişi Arif Sağ'ın Tabancası ile Öldürüldü" [Two People Died in Madımak Hotel were Killed by the Gunshot of Arif Sağ] http://www.selcukyavuz.com/, July 27, 2013, accessed October 7, 2013, http://www.selcukyavuz.com/yazi/1006-madimak-otelinde-hayatini-kaybeden-iki-kisi-arif-sagin-tabancasindan-cikan-kursunlar-tarafindan-mi-olduruldu

[47]"Silahina El Konulamayan Arif Sağ, Fikret ünsal'in Aracina El Koydurdu!.," [Arif Sağ Seized the Car of Fikret Ünsal] Anadolu, June 12, 2013, accessed July 9, 2014, http://www.sivasanadolu.com/haber-2481-SILAHINA-EL-KONULAMAYAN-ARIF-SAG-FIKRET-UNSALIN-ARACINA-EL-KOYDURDU-.html.

people in Sivas from understanding the event differently than it is[48]. In my visit to Sivas this new description was widely used by the people who thought the crowd in front of the Hotel was innocent.

The condition of this specific narration on the innocence of the crows seems to be differed from the other view that supports the people burning the hotel was not originally from Sivas. These two groups are not coming from the same political orientations, however the common concern makes them closer, that there is a city threatened by others because of economic reasons. Both type of literature, the city culture magazines telling the old virtues and the press as in the case of Anadolu Newspaper alerting for the present dangers, keep this concern vivid. Their main difference is while the initial is creating a passive area of regret, the other one is keeping the anger alive. The trials history in Turkey from many respects was frustrating for the democratic spheres of Turkey and especially in Sivas it did not gave the sense of being a fully-fledged citizen for the Alevi community in the city. On the other hand, it supported the feeling of innocence for the rest of the public. Yet, still one of the major concerns in the city, among the spheres remained silent during the events and the spheres who might have been active in the events, is how they are seen from outside.

> After the Sivas events, or lets not call it events, but after the fire in the hotel, I went to doctor in Ankara. He asked me "Did you burn them?". We also learned it in the news as anyone else, but the whole city started to be blamed. I did not want to buy our license plate as 58. We bought 06. It becomes expensive. I did not want the others know the car is coming from Sivas. Once you are defamed...[49]

While the importance of the massacre and the ways of preventing similar events do not enter to the agenda of the state during the time of various governments, the image of Sivas, even it is not as strong as in the past, still includes the Massacre. The

[48]"Karamollaoğlu'nun Vicdanı Rahat" [Karamollaoğlu Has a Clear Concsious], December 6, 2011, accessed October 8, 2012, http://t24.com.tr/haber/karamollaoglunun-vicdani-rahat,185500.

[49] A.A., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, January 21, 2012.

publications on Sivas city culture mentioned in this part never adopted the goal of a questioning nor did they include the Alevi culture as a part of the city culture. The same goes for the other communities in the city as well such as Armenians and Posha people. The Sunni-Turk heritage created in the publications confront each year, at least once during the 2nd of July a counter version of the city they attempt to recreate. Even though the Alevi community is not as strong as the rest of the public in terms of disseminating their objectives in written works or in public meetings, the representative institutions of the community is active in terms of representing the people's demand and objectives in the city politics. The commemoration activities during the last 20 years became the major area where the Alevi and democrat public claim their rights and visibility in the city. As seen above in the words of the former governor Ali Kolat, this situation for the politics of forgetting poses a threat.

Furthermore in media, countrywide, most of the articles written during that week includes the repetition of the frustration towards the state action on the subject and the insisting calls to the public in Sivas to prevent the forthcoming events. Some of these articles also compare the city's past and present in a way which is contrary to the aim of bringing back the old city. In those articles the main subject becomes the city's identification with what happened in contrast to the forgetting brought by the publications in the city. In July the 2nd 2007, when Turkey had 20 days to the general elections, the writings on the Massacre had a stronger language in order to bring its memory back to the people before elections in which the AKP had powerful potential to win. At the same time, the knowledge that a kebab restaurant work under the hotel spread in Turkey and the press showed more interest to the daily life of people of Sivas and their necessity to confront what has happened. During the commemoration, people were warned that the staff organized the Massacre is now ruling the country and has a possibility to rule again. The speeches also included a note about the city's becoming a signifier of the social changes. In the mainstream liberal and democrat media, the articles united these fears for the future of the country with the present condition in the city. In Milliyet Ece Temelkuran was asking:

> Where does this sorrow of the country flow, where do the children of this country flow? To the lobby of a hotel? To the kitchen of a Kebab restaurant? Unless Sivas accepts that sorrow is still there, it will be both the burner and the burned. In fact, everybody knows it. When you ask 'Where is the Madımak Hotel', their faces fall.[50]

At the same day, in Radikal one of the articles was mentioning how Sivas lost its dignity from being an indispensable province to "the city of black titles" was asking on behalf of the Alevi community in Sivas and referring to the attempts of forgetting in the city "Is it a peace until a new July the 2nd?"[51]

The Sivas built in literature again, found a strong reverse image of itself and closing the twenty years, along with the frustration coming from the eight fugitive suspects and the lapse of time for the trial in 2012, facing intense descriptions of the city and the reluctance of its people. The blank area created for the agents of the massacre in the local media including the changing agents shown by some part of it as in the case of Sivas Anadolu Newspaper, enables a certain sense of relief, however with the cost of facing the opposite version of the imagined city at least once in a year.

Another focus on this vague history of otherness display that, from the beginning of the process called corruption in the city until the period started with the Massacre, Sivas is portrayed as a place which cannot decide for its own fate. The dependency on the discourses and policies of the state forms one aspect of this lack of responsibility or the insistence of having an inert position in the city in its self-adopted, internalized but due to the happenings not always verified form. The lack of production in this frame coincides with the inert position, since after the withdrawn of the production brought by the state to the city or after the slowing down of the production of some state institutions; what is produced is mainly the city, its memory and new ideas about resources to bring back the state to the city. The former will be analyzed along with

[50]Ece, Temelkuran, "Yüzleşmedikçe Yanar Sivas!," [Sivas Will Burn Until Confrontation] Milliyet, July 2, 2007, accessed March 5, 2012, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/07/02/yazar/temelkuran.html.

[51]A. Galip, "Yeni Bir 2 Temmuz'a Kadar Barış!," [Peace Until a New July the 2nd] Radikal, July 2, 2006, accessed March 12, 2012, http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=r2&haberno=6012.

the last question of this part. However, it should be mentioned that to create new resources in the city or to produce the city once again as a resource, the otherness of the anonymous stranger becomes a useful tool to renew the image of the city, as the actual forms of otherness and the memory of it poses a danger for the hopes of making the city as a *favorite place*.

4.1.8 Covered History: How Bringing Old City Back Functions in the City

It has been mentioned that the role of the published material on the city have the use of easing the pain brought by the contemporary history and supporting the feeling of possession of the city accompanied by the feeling of innocence about the recent developments. I argue here that the imagination of the city through written material is also used to remain gaps to be filled by the present projects in the city towards cultural and social transformation.

The written and narrated works by making the first group the representative of the city culture also passivizes them in their demands for the city transformation. As a sphere mostly related with the narrations of past high culture and present corruption, the projects in the city today offers a way back to cultural life for them. For the second group, for the *late comers* as named by the rest of the public, the publication material does not address them but supporting the cultural projects, they open a space for the new cultural life addressing some of the groups. The importance of the low-income, conservative and mostly migrant groups are their sympathy towards the conservative and affordable social and cultural activities, which turn them into potential voters and potential agents of the new social life in the city.

In his definition of awry publicity, Ali Ekber Doğan mentions the changes brought to the activities to support the impoverished groups and the production and distribution of the traditional municipal services. The pattern adopted by the neo-liberal conservative municipalities in the past twenty years, especially concentrated on the Central Anatolian region, transforms the municipal services into the acts of charity whereas limiting the public initiatives on the public life and *paralyzing* the reactions

towards the municipal policies. The acts of charity includes opening free cultural and sports facilities, creating free or affordable recreation areas, organizing charity activities such as free mass circumcision feasts or free, mass, wedding ceremonies which are all realized in accordance with a certain traditional-cultural codes[52]. These social and cultural services are articulated to the demands of the economy, in which neo-liberal urban policies transform the city through new projects for housing, working and market activities accompanied by the privatization of some parts of municipal services. The neo-liberal developments started to be visible in Sivas during the mayorship of Bekir Timurboğa (1984-1989) from center-right nationalist party ANAP (The Motherland Party) with the projects related with the transformation of the market area, which led to a change in the tradesmen profile of the city, the privatization of some municipal services by the establishment of Özbelsan as a private firm under the municipality, which in the long run was in the edge of bankruptcy and new master plan supported by the government of the time.

The policies to which the conservative lifestyle especially reflected started with the successor mayor Temel Karamollaoğlu (1989-1994) from RP (The welfare Party). During his time among the projects developed for the city the most visible ones are the parks, playgrounds, social facilities including food-bank, hospice, nursery and cultural center for handicapped people which changed the position of the citizen in the welfare politics and illegal housing prevention zones, which led to the transportation of the low income outside of the city-center.

The policies developed in the later periods followed this charity route with the additional touristic projects added such as the restoration of the old Ottoman mansions and the Seljuk historic sites and the master plans for the thermal touristic places which started with the former major Osman Seçilmiş (1999-2004) from the Islamist political party FP (The Virtue Party). After the 2004 election in which the neo-liberal Islamist AKP (Justice and Development Party) became dominant in the local elections, similar

[52] Ali Ekber Dogan, Egreti Kamusallik : Kayseri Örneginde Islâmci Belediyecilik [Awry Publicity: The Case of Kayseri for the Islamist Municipalities] (Istanbul: Iletisim, 2007), 41.

policies both addressing the conservative lifestyle and charity-based policies and both projects for touristic development continues to be seen and later adopted by the Nationalist-Islamist BBP (Great Union Party).

The municipality has been following the same pattern with more inclusive projects, in which the almost entire culture centers in the city function under the municipality, some of the renovated mansions and inns serve under the municipality and according to the traditional frame determined by the municipality and the two projects to transform the city sites and the market are developed under it. One of the projects named as the Castle Project addresses the historic sites of the city center, which starts from the expropriation of the Castle area and aims to clear space around the Castle, the Ulu Mosque and the Gökmedrese and tying the paths to the main avenue from two points.

The second project Turkuaz, which was introduced as the biggest urban transformation project of Turkey aims to change the *ill fate* of Sivas [53], which means the inadequate economic development. According to the project, it is aimed to construct one shopping mall, a five star hotel and 33 floor residence tower and a block of 14 floor flats. When considered together with the cultural functioning of the renovations and centers working under the municipality, the first project completes the Neo-Ottoman facade of the city together with the charity organizations and conservative lifestyle. The second projects articulates to this facade as the developmental part of the neo-liberal conservatism which brings the city, which is without a mall and a five star hotel, these structures which are promoted and their demand has been created as an economic need for the growth of the city.

In addition to these projects, the Governorate in collaboration with ÇEKÜL and Municipality has started the Historic City Center Project. The aim of the project has determined as the complete renovation of the symbols of the period from Seljuks to

[53] http://www.sivas.bel.tr/yazi/2471-11/turkuaz-projesiyle-sivasin-cehresi-degisecek

Republic in order to “create a space for people to meet with history”; the architectural works in the borders of the center will also serve as places for cultural activities.[54]

How these projects are supported by the written material has two faces. The first one is literally carrying the details of the projects to the publications via the interviews made by the authorities and the articles written to support the developments. The second one is to consolidate what has been constructed as the culture brought back and the continuity of the past culture improved by present means.

The need for a double reinforcement about the daily life and cultural novelties brought results because of the rupture between the past and present. What has been constructed as today’s cultural life is different than the past in a couple of occasions. Firstly there is the reduction of cultural products to Islamic arts and crafts as well as the reducing the culture to the Sunni-Turkish culture. The silent points in city’s history erase the contact of different religions, sects and ethnic groups with the cultural life in addition to the shade brought on the secular culture life of the republic. Secondly, the projects based on historic material in the city follows the same way by making only the Sunni-Turkish part of the history visible. The written material helps to fill the gaps between the old and new inhabitant profile of the city and between the past and present cultural life by reinforcing the idea of match-up between these groups first by imagining the city from this new perspective.

One of the best signifiers for the combination of different uses of the material appear in the latest publications on Sivas under the title of Sivas “1000 Basic Works” published by the Governorate and the series published by the municipality representing the important people of the city and the compilation/reprint of important cultural products such as the “Vicdan Newspaper” published between 1909-1910.[55]

[54] Tekin Şener, “Sivas: Kültür Kenti" [Sivas: The City of Culture] Hayat Ağacı, 2005, 48.

[55] Alim Yıldız, ed., *Vicdan Gazetesi* [Vicdan Newspaper] (Sivas: Buruciye, 2011).

Most of the books are written by the authors of the selected community to introduce the city once again as mentioned above. The characteristics of these publications show a coherence in terms of their content. The particular content marks a timeline starting from the Seljuks, passing the Ottoman era and focusing especially on the independence war where Sivas was the place of the Sivas Congress in 1919 in which the future policy of the Turkish Independence War has been determined. After the specific focus on the role of Sivas in the Independence War and in general the importance of the "beginning" of Turkish Republic, the publications continues the conservatism about the pre-republican era and reflect the conservative, Sunni-Turkish side of the present time in the city.

The whole series is coherent in itself in terms of the imagination of the city. The aim designing the ethnic and religious borders of the city especially shown clearly in the proceedings. In a similar fashion, the publications of the municipality reinforces the idea of historical continuity of Sunni-Turkish influence in the city both by publishing on *celebrities*, which can be considered of the mark of municipality in these kind of publications and compilations from earlier newspapers such as "Vicdan Newspaper".[56] In spite of the existence of the book "Celebrities from Sivas", what makes the publications of the Municipality distinct about introducing the famous people from Sivas its being a different category in their publications including separate books for many famous characters, some only famous in the city, and the cohesiveness between the publications and the projects of the Municipality.[57]

These publications does not only introduce people but also, in some cases, re-write their stories in accordance with the new perceptions in the life of Sivas which developed parallel to the new conservatism brought. One of the interesting figures introduced again to the city is Aşık Veysel, a minstrel from the Republican era. Veysel,

[56] ibid.

[57] İbrahim Aslanoğlu, *Sivas Meşhurları* [Celebrities from Sivas] (Sivas: Governorship of Sivas, 2006).

following Pir Sutan Abdal, is one of the two mostly known minstrels of the City and has the representative status for city's folk culture. As a person discovered in 1933 together with the development of a new folk-culture understanding for the Republic, Aşık Veysel has already been an isolated figure in Turkish folk culture. Despite the prominent Alevi identity seen in many Alevi mintrels, in an era where the lyrics of Alevi folk-songs has been refined from the religious content by the state institutions on folk culture, Aşık Veysel was famous mostly with lyrics rich in general world perceptions and poor in religious references. In the new publication on him by the Municipality, he gains his religious identity back, however with a new definition of Alevi fate which separates him from the entire Alevi culture of the city.

In the introduction chapter, even though countrywide he is not particularly famous by his nationalist or religious ideals, Veysel is introduced as a minstrel from whom the Turkishness is a pride for him and who understands the threats directed to Islam very truly and who reflects this understanding. His lyrics in this chapter are defined as poems written for national unity, the unity of the country and the national ideals.[58] In the chapter related with his life, the author of the book, Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, defines the Alevism first as a separatist group in Islam, still remaining within the Islamic culture and then separates the Alevis in Turkey from that culture. For this separation the figure of the Minstrel Pir Sultan Abdal and his lyrics about drawing the sword against the Karbala perpetrators is used:

> To whom they will draw the sword? To people who are living in Anatolia, who are coming from the Turkish race... These are people who are rigid and unkind to blame everyone who does not think life them with infidelity.[59]

In the following pages he is also introduced as someone who did not fell into the trap of communism since he carries the pure Anatolian culture.[60] The narrations simply

[58] Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, Aşık Veysel [Minstrel Veysel] (Sivas: Buruciye, 2011), 3.

[59]Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, Aşık Veysel, 46.

[60]Yavuz Bülent Bakiler, Aşık Veysel, 48.

create a border between the Alevi public and along with their heritage of minstrels and with the rest of the public by placing Veysel from the second side.

A similar fashion is valid also for the book “Aşık Ruhsati” written about the minstrel Ruhsati. The book opens with the presentation of Doğan Ürgüp, the Mayor with a specific emphasis on the unity and oneness of the Turkish nation, represented by the folk culture. In the chapter “His Fate and Sect”, the discussion whether he was Nakşibendi or Bektaşi ends with his being form Nakşibendi sect. The Bektaşi elements in his lyrics is explained claiming that he mentions Bektaşi fate since he had an attempt to be liked by Alevis in an Alevi village but it is also emphasized that he was writing harsh lyrics about Pir Sultan Abdal and the Alevi fate.[61]

In the series there are also books about opinion leaders in which they are introduced with the continuity of their heritage. One example for this heritage building is the book form the proceedings in the İhramcızade İsmail Hakkı Toprak Symposum organized by the Municipality of Sivas in 2009 and published under he name: “İhramcızade İsmail Hakkı: A Man of Soul”[62]. Bringing such a figure back to the life of the city and further to the daily life of the city is important in terms its value to show the new cultural orientation. İsmail Hakı as a former Nakshinebdi sheik who used to gather people for religious talks in the Çorapçı Inn (Çorapçı Hanı) between 1950 and1969 brought back by the symposium papers with their high religious content which in some cases includes prayers. For this almost forgotten character, the book is not only means of recalling. During the time of the former Mayor Karamollaoğlu (1989-1994) a nursing home has been dedicated to his name, however the biggest dedication has been realized by the present municipality by the renovation of the Çorapçı Inn, where his former room again given to his name for the continuity of similar conversations and a small museum opened next door. The case of İsmail Hakkı

[61]Doğan Kaya. Aşık Ruhsati [Minstrel Ruhsati] (Sivas: Sivas Municipality, 2011), 44.

[62]Alim Yıldız (ed.), Bir Gönül Eri: İhramcızade İsmail Hakkı [A Man of Soul: İhramcizade İsmail Hakki (Sivas: Buruciye, 2011).

is not alone in representing the cultural dimension brought by the municipality and governorate. The names uttered above have new kind of appearances in the new cultural life of the city. As the mostly known figure from Sivas, Aşık Veysel for instance take his place in the souvenirs in shops governed by the cultural service of governorate or the municipality and have a representative status. Even though they had no cultural reference for the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Festival or Sivas Massacre, for the monument erected inside the former hotel Aşık Veysel and Aşık Ruhsati are added as figures because they represent the new cultural dimension in the city.

The overlapping of the writings with the activities in the city is not only limited by introducing the persona or creating a smooth, purified timeline for city's history. As well as their role in filling the gaps, the publications also are used to support the demands created via the process of *bringing back*.

4.1.9 The Brand City: The Idea of a Marketable Sivas

Sivas has changed its epithet several times for the last twenty years, both depending on the events and political context. With the visible weakening of the "The City of Republic", the recent years passed with the new epithets designed for the city along with the revival of touristic projects, among which "The Seljuk City", "The Sultan City" (Sultanşehir), "The City of Culture" and the "Brand City" (Marka Şehir) started be seen. All these new titles have their own accordance with several orientations and projects, which all supported by various magazines. The process of development of such epithets related with the process of bringing back the culture in which the projects where Municipality and the Governorate are included becomes important. In this sense, the interview made by Dr. Hasan Canpolat, the former Governor of Sivas in 2005 by Hayat Ağacı reveals the important goals of this cultural transformation. Talking about the Historic City Center Project, Hasan Canpolat poses the main difference brought as the local's new experience of the history of the city they live in

and matches the renovation with the renovation of the memory.[63] Past with its new appearance in the city is used to eliminate the distance between the experience of the city in the old times and in the present time. Tekin Şener in the introduction part of the interview, writes that a city can be remembered by other adjectives than being a commercial, touristic, administrative center such as being a historic city or a museum city and he introduces the Historic City Center Project as one which would provide the name: the city of culture.[64] Today, a comparison made between the before and after of the ongoing project would reveal questions about the renovation of the city's memory, since most of the cultural activities mentioned are directed to the conservative spheres. However before questioning that the article published in 2005 offers one important dilemma, which can be used to answer the latter question. The first one is the difference between being the past city of culture, which is according to the narrations lost and having the prospect being the city of culture.

A gaze to the new cultural projects offered especially in the park of the Seljuk Institutions and the Ottoman Kale Mosque stand on, both the idea of culture and the urban memory, with its entire everyday urban experience seem to be challenged by recreational places, teahouses and restaurants and cultural activities having a strong conservative and sometimes ideological content, where visibility brought by the open areas becomes a tool of control. The successful renovation projects which gave the back Sivas' historic facade, rather than giving the impression of living in an historic surrounding, enables the urban dweller to live in a conservative and controlled space which takes its legitimacy from the historicity and historical *values* of the surrounding. The defense of this transformation, in addition to the promise of bringing the culture back, is also to adopt to the new conditions in order to protect the label of being a city as written in the 2007 dated article of the same magazine by Mehmet Cangir on the Historic City Center Project:

[63] Tekin Şener (2005) Sivas; Kültür Kenti, 49, 50.

[64]Tekin Şener (2005) Sivas; Kültür Kenti, 47.

> The protection of the cultural heritage in Sivas has a vital importance in terms of transmitting the city's accumulation and possibility of being a "city" to the future. The fundamental condition of remaining a city without turning into a town is to have the identity of the city. This, should be an identity which is gathered from the depth of history and reproduced according to the perception of the modern times.[65]

"The perception of the modern times" for Cangir includes the necessity to remain local to take a place in the global. By positing the global as a threat to the life of cities, he promotes the revitalization and re-evaluation of the city culture as a way of survival. While replacing the cultural demands in the global space Cangir also alters the idea of development and supports a model of development based on culture. By this way the city is cleared from its industrial and agricultural past and former identity and meets with the demand of the appearance of culture and history as the new resource:

> (…) It is not possible to build the identity of Sivas as an industrial or agricultural city. These features are important but they are not in the position of creating the distinguishing feature of Sivas. It will not be possible for a city which does not have distinguishing features to appear in the global scale. [66]

The new demands taking place in the written works are not related with planned and persistent economic goals, but as the entire path shows, existence, identity and prestige have more validity accumulated to the possibility of gaining from history. The promotion of the culture and the city of culture as a resource itself takes its more definite shape in the utterance of the Brand City:

> As the Sivas Kültür Magazine, we humbly advise a couple of things to the authorities for the tourism potential of our city be increased:
>
> 1- We think that our city needs a "Sivas City Museum" and believe that its potential is sufficient. (…)
>
> 2- (…) We support the Castle Houses project ad furthermore we propose, similar to the "Miniatürk" the construction of important historical artifacts, being Divriği Ulu Mosque in the first place, around the castle. We believe that these projects would increase the number of tourists coming to the city. Sivas is

[65]Mehmet Cangir, "Neden Kültür Şehri Sivas?" [Why Sivas, The City of Culture?] Hayat Ağacı, Winter 2007, 64.

[66]Mehmet Cangir, "Neden Kültür Şehri Sivas?", 65.

> already a “BRAND CITY”, when these projects are realized without doubt it will have the image of a more powerful city.[67]

4.1.10 Re-writing the Sivas: Evaluation of the New Literature on City

The new corrected memory aimed to be brought to the city is parallel to the imagined Sivas constructed via the publications. The questions asked from the beginning in a progressive way, brings us to the use the written material with its functional features, to the point where these features and written works unite their power with the present projects on the city. It has been mentioned in the first two parts that the particular city literature functions due to the creation of three main categories, namely the marvelous, the bizarre and the other.

The sixth city, the humble and the lost geography often mentioned in the city culture magazines, through the creation of the past in its modest marvelousness shifts the emphasis from the problematic appearance of today and ease the discontent of the public. This process of soothing discontent is realized first by creating today as the bizarre and then supporting the possibility that the lost memory can be found and the unfortunate presence of the city today can be corrected. The bizarre, to which the transformation is a silent issue as our first gap, bases on the comparison of the past and present, putting the stress on the better situation of the past. The worse condition of the bizarre appearance of the city today is accompanied by the power taken from the past, yet it also creates a gap between the past life and the public who is separated from it. The functionality of this gap is parallel to the politics of forgetting. It is about claiming the city’s past but remaining silent and ignorant to the events happened during the golden age and the defamed today. At this point, the ruptures in the narrated daily life of the city are filled through the appearance of an anonymous other who may have the form of the villager, migrant, Islamist, radical Islamist or the Alevi groups migrated during the second half of the twentieth century. The main actor against the vague form of otherness is the urbanite who is claiming the city as his/her possession back. On the other side of the coin, the narrations of the others composes another gap

[67]Hasan Coşkun, "Editorial," Sivas Kültür, 2011.

between the city and the public's experiences of it. In the narrations of the others, the past image of the city constructed on the virtues of the past life takes another profile, which does not have a place in the narrations of the published material by these spheres.

One of the main supporter of the urbanite identities is the organic relationship between the media and the public on the revival for a desire for the city. The group created to narrate the city's history, as well as representing the selected public as a member of them and narrating the city's story in their writings, carry the narration to the public sphere by the meetings organized for the public on the history and cultural life of the city.

These meetings are often organized by the Cultural Services of the Governorate, the Municipality and sometimes independent associations gather the public together as well. Besides that relation which unites the people with the discourses produced on the city about the idea of lost and the image of the other, there is also the relation between the state and private institutions and their need for public support and profit. While their relation with the first group whom the discourse on the entire cultural production addresses based on bringing back the culture to the city; the cultural production itself is organized for the communities mostly living away from this sphere having a more secluded life. On the other hand, while the first group, even though they adopt the discourses produced by these agents, keep their distance towards the cultural production itself finding it conservative, the groups not addressed as the owners of the city are the ones showing their support and adoption of the cultural acts.

These divisions between the three groups reveal a power relationship where the third role of the publications can be questioned along with the desired changes in the city. These groups include the groups claiming the city as their own, the public seen as the agents of corruption and the agents of cultural activities and touristic projects where the biggest role shared by the Municipality and the Governorate. Briefly for the city's entering into the process of musealization with the selected, survived and re-created

features; the written works has the role of applying the city as an imagined museum first on the paper, which functions to create the demand and place the coming transformations.

4.2 Lost and Re-vitalized Space

The relation between the spectacle and the life/death of the objects is added to the process of musealization and its theory- as a major subject. The objects exhibited in a closed or open environment, became alive by the death of the other exhibited objects or the disappearance of the other possible objects to be exhibited. Although it is a basic one, the entire interrelation seems complex since it bases on both contentious and reciprocal relations. On the one hand they contribute to a sole narration in spite of the existence of the others and on the other hand they form a new narration by their cohesiveness or contradiction. The very relation both affects the desired turn of phrase and both -in cases of conflict between the materials- break the line designed by the authorities of exhibition.

For the content of this work, the mentioned interrelation is important because of two aspects. Since the first part of the thesis is related with how the surroundings affect people, both the visibility and the disappearance of the places gain importance due to their contradiction. For the reaction of people towards the surrounding, the main subject of the fifth chapter, the interrelation becomes a supporting factor due to their effect on the politics of remembrance and forgetting. The exhibited materials' life directly depends on these politics and while the remembrance and forgetting by themselves do not mobilize collectivities, when effectively used, they become one of the main motives of action or as showed in the pessimism of the last chapter on the lost city, they support the inaction.

Walter Benjamin had fate in the speech of the inanimate which in everyday life contacts to people by its own appearance or by its own ghostly structure -a past

element whose life has passed but the memory of it continues to give itself a kind of ghostly appearance-. According to him, the images and structures, even if they lose their value in the present time, had a dynamism in terms of signifying meanings and challenging the new course of everyday narration. Benjamin exemplifies the transformation by interpreting the condition of the Parisian Arcades which turned them from a mysterious place illuminated by gas light to be *the* "hollow mold from which the image of 'modernity' was cast" by the entrance of electricity turning them into the exhibition of the recent prehistory.[68]

The present time appears as the remembrance/imagination of the past moments and it exists together with the ghost of the earlier times. The change affirms a monumentality which speaks a nowadays language in the shape of the past. Therefore the gaze is in the stage of witnessing phantasmagoric images. The importance of such images for Benjamin was coming from their potential of *awakening* contrary to the general Marxist understanding of the transforming power of the process of production. An architecture resisting to send a unitary message, composed by the co-existence of concealed and exposed, old and newly monumentalized structures open a way to challenge the aimed stabilization according to Benjamin.

> Benjamin was counting on the explosive force of dialectical images to jolt people out of their dreaming state. Revolutionary cognition occurred not at the point of production, but at the moment of "awakening." Perceived images were dream-symbols which needed interpretation, and this required a historical knowledge or origins.[69]

The interpretation can be a collective experience motivated by the surrounding images/objects as it can be a forced memory building process, yet for both their impact in the present understanding of the time -the linear narration of authority- is significant. Their impact on the "chronological idea of progress", as interpreted by

[68] Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 874.

[69] Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," New German Critique, no. 39 (1986): 109.

Hetherington, leads the Arcades to challenge the modern idea of consumption, similarly a bullet hole on a city's walls, in the case Hetherington presents, offers "a potentially different perspective of both past and present".[70]

It is this potential, which makes the ghostly structures of Sivas a part of this thesis. I claim that in Sivas the death and life of the inanimate have its own routine in the daily life in terms of being contentious and reciprocal which affects both the disappearance of some structures and both their places to be filled by material rivals. This can be valid for everywhere, yet Sivas both with its small center and both the incarceration of old and new city norms in the small center, gives a more visible image of it. The images/structures do not share the same type of death. Some of them literally does not exist, some were subjected to transformations which changed what they signify dramatically and some simply became functionless. Confronting the dead of the older structures, the newly built or transformed ones keep the daily life in the very shape designed by the last rulers. The various experiences of the places lead to one formation which brings them closer. Their disappearance made the other places more visible, which are the new places of consumption, cultural activities and recreational places. By the disappearance of the former, the life style brought with the latter became possible. On the other hand, since the speech of the ghosts included to this relation based on death and life; the old structures still keep the potential of remembrance and motivation.

4.2.1 The Speech of the Inanimate: The Function of Presently Non-Existing Structures

The speech of the inanimate in Sivas occurs in the historically separated and even contradictory material. In a Benjaminian sense, this speech creates a challenge for experiencing the flow of time and the development of history as linear and politically/economically unproblematic as aimed by the agents of representation in

[70] Kevin Hetherington, "The Time of the Entrepreneurial City, Museum, Heritage & Kairos," in Consuming the Entreprenerial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle, ed. Kevin Hetherington Anne M. Cronin (New York: Routledge, 2008), 276.

the city. There are a lot of nodes whose transformation challenges the justification of their existence and even there are invisible, destroyed or veiled nodes where the memory of the public still resists adopting the ones replacing them.

Even though the geography of the research is limited, meaning that the towns surrounding the center have not been taken into analysis, the complexity in the city center offers a lot. The existence of the material from different times, what they signify, whether they enter into conflict with each other and additionally the disappearance of historic material whose lack results with even more complexity in terms of what is represented in the city are located in this limited geography. For the disappearance or destruction of some material, there is a specific narration that still keeps their memory, in a way close to mourning. This act of mourning, except a view attempts of regaining the past signification of the place, mostly accompanied by a sense of being defeated, which is shared by most of the Kemalists, supporters of the left parties and mostly -but not always- belonging to these two groups, the Alevi community, whom I interviewed.

The presently non-existent or ruined structures accompany the mourning even though the new structures brought the life have a continuous touch to the basics of the daily life of the people. It sis a reciprocal way of existence. As will be analyzed below, when the park gets lost and the Seljuk part of the city revitalized, both the lost memory of the park and the new life brought by the renovated complex from Seljuk heritage started to be active and visible in people's lives. In the past years having a problematic identity in terms of acceptation by the general public, the shade of the presently weakened worker's movement depend on the presently destroyed or damaged images of the nodes used by the workers' movement. The new life brought to the İnönü and Susamışlar mansion and the transformation of Ali Baba Shrine takes place in the most severe discussions related with the attitude of the city towards its citizens. Among this quarrel between the old and the new, the adopted and repudiated the most important one is the Madımak Hotel which even though its history attempted to be emptied by renovations remained in the center of the city's concerns and as a dead object started

to give rights to a public challenge against offense against humanity. As a symbol politically less active but important in terms of displaying the then-republican cultural turn in the city, the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM) in its polemic relation with successor and rival institutions poses an important case to discuss the city politics on culture. As seen in some cases the line between mourning and turning discontent towards the production of an action against the reason of discontent can be overcome even though the initial step of musealization is to silence the voice of the structures signifying another era.

4.2.2 The Lost Park vs. the New Promenades and Recreational Places

Today, the Seljuk complex in the city center are totally visible due to the restoration processes, which contributed to the city's history and charm in a great extent. After the restorations the city square gained three important madrasahs back, the Buruciye, the Şifaiye and the Çifte Minare two of which transformed into coffeehouses and sales center, which entered into the social life of the city offering the possibility of experiencing the historic times in affordable prices. The area where they stand, both because of recreational issues and cultural issues attract people, since some of the concerts are given there, in addition to the existence to the Kale Mosque from Ottoman Era. Except the wanderers and the spectators coming for the events there, the area is also full, especially on Fridays due to the mosque. Another novelty brought by these transformations by the difference in the experience of wandering and gathering after the re-appearance of the complex. Before the restorations, during the hot summer and the warm days of Sivas wandering or gathering with people in the particular area was the way to have a free and sheltered day off. The old inhabitants of the city recall the area as the *Cıbıllar Park* where the Seljuk complex are buried surrounded with trees. The local name of the place *Cıbıllar* was given since the trees there was sheltering poor people and offered them the chance of being in the green, entering under the shade without paying any amount. Today, the entire area is naked, which makes it impossible to wander and to gather under sunlight, if one wants to spend time in the area the gathering is possible in the coffeehouses or in the Selçuk Cafe next to the

park, which increased the visibility among the locals. In a way, for a local, there is no hideout since the only shelter is given by the nearby cafes and coffeehouses.

In terms of political action, Sivas has a low profile, accept important days such as May 1 or July the 2nd and some crucial political events happening in the agenda of the country, political gathering is not such an accustomed city activity. Still, for political gatherings the Park had a role. In 2007, the Park witnessed a big gathering and hunger strike from the youth organization of AKP (Justice and Development Party). The young people opposing the Minister of State and Vice Prime Minister Abdüllatif Şener's decision to withdraw from coming general elections, organized a two day hunger strike in the Park.[71] The Park, since it used to signify the heart of the center - not in terms of people's attachment to it but due its physical location- had an importance to make people gathering there visible, which has been lost after its destruction.

The lack of a gathering and wandering place alters the inhabitants' experience of space in different ways. A park can possibly be the most non-political place, especially in comparison with the other lost places in the city. Yet, an accessible park enables both different people to come together and secures the possible gatherings by its existence. A city center, without a free gathering place whether it is a square or a park, first detaches people from each other and then canalizes them to the desired places as in the case of Sivas.

In this highly divided city, without many common meeting place, which is distanced to all of the orientations but open to include them, people are settled in their environment, the cafes, clubhouses, party buildings, districts, neighborhoods which

[71] Şener için başlatılan 'açlık grevi' sona erdi: (The 'Hunger Strike' Started for Sener has ended), HaberTurk, June 3, 2007, accessed February 16, 2011, http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/25117-sener-icin-baslatilan-aclik-grevi-sona-erdi.

are built in accordance with the ideals of their sphere. Following this loss of touch, people are not mobilized, they lose the practice of both being together and politically coming together. In most of interviews, when I asked how people come together, people told me that they do not want to be together with everyone because of the divisions between them. The new unscheduled coming together places are hospitals, weddings, funerals and picnics. Picnic for a city having a harsh winter is seen as the main entertainment for the good weather and offers an inexpensive way of socialization. Similarly, drinking tea with people offers a similar possibility. The park's potential is now filled with other green areas and surrounding coffeehouses in the Madrasahs and by the Selçuk Cafe and restaurant next to the Madrasahs, picnic or gatherings in the open area provided by the rural environment becomes an important way of socialization: "Sivas directs itself to the villages to breath".[72]

However, in terms of access and lifestyle the new places are not as easy to adopt as adopting a park. There are two big recreational areas important for wandering. The first and mostly preferred place is the Pasha Factory Picnic and Promenade Place, which is a huge green area. Yet, this place is away from the center and does not have public transportation, still it is highly preferred. The place existed before the destruction of the Park and does not have a similar value for being in the center and change atmosphere for a short time.

The other place is the Aksu Park, where one tributary of Kizilirmak River flows. The Park has a long but narrow concourse having tea-houses and restaurants, all shaped according to the new conservatism in the city and it is strictly controlled by guards. Control in the shape of public control appear also in places such as Selçuk Cafe, Buruciye and Şifaiye. The new visibility gained in those areas forms a standard consumer culture, mixed with modern conservatism. The actions are determined and fairly limited. The close placement of sitting places limits the content of conversations

[72] Mahmut Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 7, 2012.

and actions between people. In the memory, contrary to present limitations in space, the park mostly refers to a past freedom: Cıbıllar Park was somewhere "people used to breath inside the city center".[73]

As a result of this adoption of the place, the cutting of the trees received opposition from different people with different concerns. On the other hand, even though they are not as strong as the oppositions, there is also support for the new appearance of the park. The highly appreciated memory of the park also has a bad reputation in a small extent, mostly related with the free action of people inside. During the interviews I confronted different reasons to oppose or adopt the new condition. Some of the democrat people opposed the fact that the transformation brought to the park had the intention of emphasizing the history of Islam and reduce the focus on the Republic. The destruction of the Public Library is shown as an example of this reactionary step as uttered by the president of Alevi Cultural Association Emine İmren: "They destroyed the trees to make their history apparent. Sivas known as 'The City of Republic' is now called as the 'Sultan City'. What are the investments to the city? 'The second religious vocational high school" will be opened!'".[74]

Additionally, there are also people who claimed that they opposed to the destruction of the park due to environmental concerns rather than being motivated by politics and generally had not idea about the relation constructed between destroying the park and reactionism: "If people opposed because they thought it is bringing an Islamic structure, I don't know that. I don't know. We opposed, as the enlightened people, democrats, we opposed to save the trees. Otherwise, I don't know it".[75]

[73] Mustafa Akyol, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 07, 2012.

[74] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

[75] C.Y., interviewed by the author, Sivas, January 01, 2012.

In a city where the groupings are high, the existence of different groups in the same action unaware from each other is not such an extraordinary condition. Still, it should be noted that the concern about the fate of the city, about its republican heritage and discontent on the new structure is not as divided as in this case. Both the "enlightened people" as uttered by C.Y. and people more active politically express the concern in different ways and adopt different ways of action.

On the other side of the concern, there were also supporters of the project who ground their support on the return of the historic heritage and good values. Among these, there is the support to the city development and the belief about the insecurity of the park. Mehmet Şarkışla, an author and a program maker in the local television TV58 also a known person in the city's cultural life, in his newspaper article "Kitapsız Sultan Şehir" (The Sultan City without Books), was accusing the opponents by being either illiterate or politically incited. Finding the new developments in the park highly important for city, he explains the oppositions with illiteracy and political interests:

> The redesign of the city square including the exhibition of seven monumental artifacts from Seljuk and Ottoman times, protecting them from being dumps, is the most serious, important and remarkable development project. (…) The ones who were strictly and angrily opposing the destruction of trees in Cıbıllar Park during the actualization of the project, became opponent either because of political reasons or as a result of illiteracy rather than opposing basing on any kind on information.[76]

As an example of another discontent about the Park, an interviewee during my research in the Ladies Cultural Center told me that before Buruciye was surrounded with trees and they were, as women, were afraid to pass there but since they were cleared they feel relieved. This claim is interpreted from the opposing side of the argument as defamation. Before the destruction, the presentation of the new

[76] Mehmet Şarkışla, "Kitapsız Sultan Şehir: (Sultan City without Books)," Sivas Hürdoğan, 24.08.2008, accessed October 15, 2014, http://www.hurdogan.com/?hur=koseyazisi&id=972&yid=mehmet_sarkisla%20.

restoration process for the Seljuk Complex to the public in Turkey has been made in the park. Even until its destruction the park was an important figure for the life and appearance of the city and the city's presentation to the other people. Among the different concerns and reasons of the destruction of the park one unifying action was the destruction of the Public Library in the park area together with the park. The official reason was to find a more appropriate space and build a better library, which have not been realized since 2008, the time of destruction. The destruction of the library is interpreted as a way to prevent people from getting educated to create an easily governable community. Even from the side approving the destruction of the park an opposition to the destruction of the library came. Mehmet Şarkışla, approves the destruction of the library because the building was not appropriate but criticized the act of remaining without a library.

Through all my survey, the history of the park followed me. Its lack in the area took from people the unplanned, uncontrolled life of wandering and formed the new parks as the new surveillance points and damaged the spontaneity of being at somewhere. People used it as an example of the new life, almost in every interview it was mentioned either to recall the past or to symbolize the present appearance of the city. In a way the ghost of the Park, in a contrary way to its past life, is more politically motivating.

4.2.3 The Impact of Restorations on the Daily Life: The Case of Buruciye and Çifte Minare

The loss of signification or its alteration can be exemplified by İnönü residence, where now the memory about Republican figures are in danger according to the citizens. A similar but less mentioned loss is seen in the area where Seljuk complex stand. The historic center now includes a cafeteria made from a shrine, an amphitheater which originally does not belong to its architecture, several shops about Ottoman-Islamic art which also sell Sivas products as well. For conservative people and the conservative power itself, this complex is the resurrection of the past privileged life of Sivas,

however, the oppositions uttered about space includes another conservative point of view which challenges the first one.

During my interview with Serdar İnce, the representative of the Chamber of Architects, he narrated the developments with an architectural point of view. He was quite positive about the new design of the center with the apparent Seljuk complex and commented that the elimination of the elevation difference between the complex and the surrounding place was a necessity even though it ended up with the destruction of the Park. On the other hand he was critical about the ways of resurrection of the old life. The entrance to the Seljuk complex now includes an amphitheater, which is added to the original plan. He evaluated the inclusion of the amphitheater to the Islamic complex as "inappropriate" for Islam.[77] When the initial promotion of the place was gaining back the past, this discordant element disturbs the ideal of gaining it. On the other hand, both the amphitheater and the two madrasahs which was turned into recreational and touristic places display a harmony with the new conservative use of the place. Since the complex covers a large area in the city center where people enjoy their free time in an inexpensive way, public visiting there is surrounded with the newly produced discourses on history of Sivas which emphasizes a conservative and eternal Islamic Turkishness. Additionally, the area freed from trees and turned into a spectacle itself plays the role of an open place for cultural activities due to the help of the stairs built in the shape of an amphitheater, in which the free cultural events spread the same discourse.

In the entire process of settling a new lifestyle that takes its power from the crystallization of *history* around, which is the goal of musealization, it is seen that a gap always exist. For the purposes of this thesis, to understand the construction of this process around the lives of people, the features of this gap becomes important. Here, not only the impossibility of resurrecting the past but also making the past something

[77] Serdar İnce, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 08, 2012.

profitable plays an important role. The historic center as noted above becomes the area where the rulers of the city disseminate their ideas on culture and politics via the spectacles they organize or the lifestyle they brought to the center, yet with their interpretation of the past. As told by one of the interviewees "They think the Seljuks are Ottoman and also they don't know what is being Ottoman!".[78] From the very simplistic representation of the past with certain items, a limited understanding of art (the focus on the Ottoman-Islamic art) and a repeated pattern on the structure of the places where this history narrated, therefore from the entire haphazardness, the feature seen on the front is the cooperation of a will to profit from the history as a resource (including land marketing) and the process of remembrance/forgetting in which the manipulation is in it nature to proliferate space for the first will. Briefly, the economics directed to history and the history directed to realize this economy became articulated.

On the one hand the place had a new life and on the other, it became one of the symbols of the conservative cultural turn. As the two former Madrasahs stand there for the representation of the new conservative cultural and economic life, the area surrounding them, functioning as a theater, became one of the new areas of spectacle. Architect Burhanettin Yurdagül commented on the new function of cultural and gathering places for bringing the people together as making of a *crowd* rather than connected, communicating groups of people:

> The municipality system started to construct pavements and parks, restorations which would attract the public attention. Their outcome was not the extension of social life. It seems to be developed but it is not. The social relations diminished except groupings. Except the concerts and the Holy Birth Week activities organized by the Municipality, there is no activity. A crowd comes, listens to the concert and they go. The public does not benefit much from the restorations; they mean only "the power is mine".[79]

[78] Osman Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 29, 2012.

[79] Burhanettin Yurdagül, interviewed by author, Sivas, April 16, 2012.

According to my observation, for the function of the place as well as the new cultural events in other places, Yurdagul's claim is partially true in the sense that the power is capable of creating its own audience and some part of this audience is merely a crowd rather than connected people. For people who do not adopt the conservative turn mostly because of the misrepresentation and non-representation of their history, culture and urban lifestyle expectations, these events have no positive meaning and they both do not participate and because of the existence of such heavy loaded signifiers in the places they lack their points of gathering affirming the power's domination on space. For the groups who show a less or a varied political orientation such as the students and the shopkeepers in the city, the choice of attendance can be found similar to that of a crowds or of a wandering group's who attend occasionally without a great commitment or a sense of unity. For the rest of the attendance, the conservative people show a unity and value the opportunities given by these events for coming together and enjoying something related with the culture they adopt.

For the case of the new life of Seljuk Complex and for the area they belong to, the key point appears both with the manifestation of religion and a religious culture and with the new commercialization for the mentioned categories, which defines its own public and its economic and political expectations from the specific public. In that case, evaluating the ghostly speech becomes difficult due to the success brought by the renovation. The very reason is that the structure for both cases of adoption and opposition uses a language and visualization of the past using remnants. The conflicting ideas on places at the same time make them the sign of destruction of original culture according to the opponent ideas and the signifier of the culture in the city as the people adopting the developments claim. The way out of the dual perception of the place cannot be found while remaining at the same narrow space they live their new life. I believe the affectivity of the speech can be evaluated only in comparison with the other lost and survived spaces and in the larger category of transformed spaces, for which not only the spatial history but the history of the past forgotten motivators of life should be taken under consideration.

4.2.4 The Lost History of Workers and the Non-Appearance of Workers' Consciousness

Similar to the presently non-existent Park's memory, the past history of workers' struggle remain there as the ghost of the city, a true ghost with the great loss of the working force of the city and following loss of the places related with them. Yet, contrary to the park's being the subject of a rather unexpected political motive for further actions, the history of workers is relatively a lighter signifier after the disappearance of a distinct worker population.

It should be mentioned that the history of workers was added to the thesis after the first design of the fieldwork since it showed itself in the interviews starting from the fieldwork in Ankara. The interviewees mention the effect of Sivas' being a worker's city once as a good initiator for the union among people mostly composed of factory workers, students and teachers. On the other hand, the fact that once the worker population in the city was high is not interpreted as an important aspect of the transformation of worker's consciousness. The former workers narrate the factory life as one without a significant trade union action and define the worker's movement as a weak one not recruiting large collectivities. The importance of the existence of workers in addition to politically motivated workers, as understood from the narrations, is more in relation with the countrywide movements of the time and not as a result of a united workforce in the city. Nevertheless the importance of the very socialist union of the time, taking power also from the republicanism of the city, had a transformative role.

Even though the movement was not powerful enough to recruit large collectivities and basically became active in a larger movement composed of the collaboration between mainly workers students and teachers, there is a reason why I call the specific movement as the ghost of the city and not the one they were attached to. Despite the

fact that the impact of 1980s weakened many movements and claims on the city, the ones related with the transformation of the politics of the state towards a type of welfare governance with human rights and equal standards, survived more than the worker's struggle in the city and even in their transformed form found a voice in the city. In contrast, the workers' position weakened both because of the interruption and due to the decrease in the number of workers and privatization or of shutdown of some enterprises such as Dikimevi (Sewing Workshop). In spite of its losing its primary character of being the most effective population in the center, the impact brought by the factories still have an appearance in the city.

On the other hand, its unique weakness for its own time as a small scale worker's movement affected the politics of the city in terms of employment rights and lacking a large of group of people to support the demands. The previous impact and the present ghostly structure will be analyzed under the specific title with its conditions of development, with its place in the larger movement it articulated to and its effect on the today's social and political life of the city.

Starting from the fieldwork in Ankara, I confronted a lot with the memories about the Railway Repair Factory. Most of the interviewees working in the field of human rights movements and the city literature were people from the Railway Repair Factory, which is called TÜDEMSAŞ (Türkiye Demiryolları Makinaları Sanayii/Turkey Industry of Railway Machinery) today. This experience had an important impact on their narration of the transformation of the city. Similarly some of the interviewees were once workers in the mine in Divriği.[80] As a result, the unstructured part of the semi-structured interviews displayed the comparison between the two working places. Divriği case is beyond the borders of this research however it offers a tool to understand one of the lacks in resisting the *Islamization of public sphere* in Sivas, since it enables the researcher to grasp why a workers' city became so passive with

[80] Divriği: A district in Sivas.

regards to resisting the changes in the city. Among the interviews including comparisons made by the interviewees the workers' consciousness and the transformation of public sphere appeared as the key themes.

Some of the interviewees take the Divriği case as a path to be enforced by public in the center of Sivas as a political method of coming together and altering the environment and some simply take their power of resistance in the city depending on their past experience in Divriği District. For Hüseyin Karababa, who was also working in the trade union for the mine workers of Divriği, Sivas can still be survived by following the Divriği case. According to him the reason why Divriği became a modern and developed place where gender discrimination is less and lifestyle is modern is the development of workers' consciousness in Divriği and the lack of it in the city center. Alevis who were villagers in Divriği came to the Divriği center to be miners and after developing such consciousness, they fought against the conservatism in the town and they gained it:

> Divriği is the place where the first trade union for the mines has been established. (…) Here, the district where the workers' consciousness were at the highest level was Divriği. Since 1950, there has been created a community who knows the work, the superior-subordinate relationship, to check the payroll, to form a trade union, to get their rights, to go on strike… When this is so, the state did not like it. (…) Before 1979, in a place where the 110 villages are Alevi villages, the villagers could only come to the city (P.K.:the center of the district) and returning back home before the dusk. It was dangerous. There is a heavy Sunni tradition. There is a heavy Turkish nationalism, heavy statism, heavy insult.(…)[81]

Hüseyin Karababa explains the relation of the Divriği workers with the mine as a form of land ownership in addition to the development of their consciousness:

> The place where the iron is extracted is the Land of Alevis. When this mine is in your village, automatically you say that 'I have right in this mine'. Since they considered themselves legitimate here, they started to defend their legitimate

[81] Hüseyin Karababa, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 14, 2011.

> rights to stay there (…). What have the Alevis from Zara done? Immigrated. Kangal, Ulaş, immigrated, everywhere has immigrated. [82] Divriği not, because the Germany of them is right under their feet. (…). We believed that in the way we transformed Divriği we could transform Sivas too, because we had the experience. (…) My father was a trade unionist, with him I organized strikes when I was 15-16. We knew that we could change the structure in Sivas. [83]

I found this approach highly impressing and when I start asking interviewees whether there were a climate they could defend their rights. The first answers were that it was not necessary because they had rights. At the same time some mentioned the habits of visiting the sheiks and development of sects among the workers, however there were no obvious leftist or socialist groupings among the workers until 1960s. When I asked their trade union, I got the answer of Türk-İş (Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions).[84] which for Sivas blocked any act that could create "conscious workers" such as additional courses as done by DISK in Divriği. Socialist and democrat workers claimed that the union was just negotiating between the state and the workers but according to the rules given by the state. Yet, the conditions were good and wages were high because of the power struggle between DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and Turk-Is.

> Since the trade union belonged to Turk-Is, the trade union did not have such duties like transmitting workers' consciousness or conducting seminars. They would go to collective bargaining in each two years but they wouldn't tell about the gaining or disadvantages, they would arrange these with the employers. Yet, during the last years, since DİSK was doing bright contracts, Türk-İşhad to do it as well. May be, because of this, because the rival trade union was better, our wages were good.[85]

[82] Zara, Kangal, Ulaş: Districts in Sivas.

[83]Hüseyin Karababa, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 14, 2011.

[84] Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions: Founded on 1952, the establishment of this confederation was a response to the demands of workers from the state and acted as a negotiator between the state and workers however in terms of constructing workers' consciousness the union had negative effects and supported the state in many occasions.

[85] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

On the other hand Divriği Mine was working with DISK and there the development of workers' consciousness became easy and effective. Until the recent worker strikes to resist the new regulations, the older workers who came from DISK tradition organized workers even though DISK is not the union there anymore:

> In '78-79 the Iron and Steel mines were working with Yeraltı-Maden İş/DİSK (Trade Union for Underground-Mine). During the mayday organization in '79, Yeralti Maden Is was very active among the labor movement. In Divriği in those days the workers were both producing and both sharing their product in the district. In '78 The Municipalities of Sivas, Malatya, Çorum were governed by social democrats. Çanka effect.[86] Left and Alevis were breathing in the public sphere.
>
> After September 12th, including municipalities, no one keeps anyone thinking the opposite way. In the social facilities (P.K: Those of the mine), there was such a life… A place including everything from theatre to swimming pool. In those days the working class had an organized power. With the power of that trade union, the workers were investing on the district in addition to their sharing the collective contract and the surplus.
>
> After the coup d'etat in September 12, a change in those places were demanded, then Maden-Ish under Türk-İş came. The workers who were employed during 78 were working there. The people of Divriği is more conscious. The state started the rush for privatization but the old workers showed a resistance. They did not surrender easily.[87]

While Divriği continued its resistance until recently against the change in the workers' status which turned into contract labor and against privatization and change in the workers' population; a similar resistance never happened for the factories in the Sivas center and the biggest movements mostly appeared in the form of human rights movements:

> During that time, so in '75-76, we established the Sivas İşçiler Derneği (Sivas Workers' Association) to develop the political, cultural knowledge of the workers and to support solidarity among them. The association did not function long. We established it in '76 and in '77 my military service started, when I came

[86] Süleyman Çanka: Former Mayor in Sivas from the Republican People's Party (CHP) between 1977-1984.

[87] Cahit Albayrak, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

> back, in ’78, it was closed. The directors of that association were socialists, when they came to power, after the ‘78 Sivas events, a couple of them were being sought by the police.[88]

The lack of a governing trade union to recruit people formed a rather spontaneous community, yet a community whose demands affected how the city’s daily political life functions for some while. The demands were developing by the arguments in common places. When compared with today’s opportunities, the period starting from the end of 1960s and goes until the military coup in 1980, is seen as a time where both the political and social gatherings had more spatial freedom. When I asked people about the initial motivation for the movement of the time, they mostly described the *aura* with spatial memories. The dynamism brought especially by the Railway Repair Factory was one of them but more importantly nearly everyone answering the particular question mentioned the name of the Dev-Maden-Sen building as the place to people gather for their political action. Mustafa Akyol after our interview kindly showed me the places which were transformed or disappeared. The specific building was on our route and he showed me the place of it. In the middle of the center the building is now serves for a showroom for furniture without any trace from its past. Its memory however is still very alive as the place shared by a lot of trade unions and NGO’s as well as political fractions:

> The bottom floor was Dev-Genç. That was a place where various ideological conceptions used to gather. The second floor were Genel-Iş building. Third Dev-Maden-Sen. On fourth floor there were Tüm-Der, Töb-Der, TMMOB, TSİP. All the fractions were united in the building, Dev-Maden-Iş upstairs, Dev-Genç downstairs, Tob-Der, Tüm-Der, Kurtuluş group… Every book from Marx and Lenin, those we couldn’t find were being sold there. Students, workers…High school students, even high school was more revolutionist than the university, there were revolutionary studies… Then the September 12th sequestered the building.[89]

[88] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

[89] Mahmut Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 5, 2012.

Osman Yıldırım who was a student that time and who also witnessed the events due to his father's activism as a teacher with whom he was injured by an armed assault in 1978 because of their political affiliation, gives a specific importance to the place as the first to be attacked in the political conflict of 1970s:

> Everyone, having a book in the hand, would go to his fraction. The leftist ideologues would come to discuss. We used to divide the socialist left to three: Maoists, revisionists and anarchists. The Soviet imperialism has been discussed for weeks. Those were in our secondary school years. The parties used to discuss. There were no other place to go. The counter propaganda was 'They are making women dance in Tob-Der', 'They are throwing Kur-An to trash'. That place was the first place attacked in the square during the '78 Events. It was shut down in September the 12th.[90]

One of the still-active places in the city which has been influenced by the developments of the time is the former Ali Baba district which is now divided into three districts called Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe. As a place which is mostly known as the Alevi neighborhood the very period brought Ali Baba an important visibility and legitimization. As a worker's neighborhood, the socialist workers and students formed an important part of the socialist movement and as a result became one of the most suppressed areas during the coup of 1980.

The present resistance of the district gathers together the mobilization for the Madımak Trials of the time, the demand for the musealization of Madımak Hotel and the religious and cultural freedom for Alevi community as well as their support and participation to the human rights and employee rights issues in the city. What make this place still active besides their struggle after the Madımak massacre is rooted in the reserve of organizing a movement inherited from the 1970s and consequently what can be called as the ghost of the workers' movement is still active meaning both memory and the present consciousness.

The period and the movement both opened a way to develop a new life for the city and ended up with a big lack in terms of means and ends as a result of the political

[90] Osman Yıldırım (1), interviewed by author, Sivas, May, 29, 2012.

atmosphere in Turkey. One of the initiators of the migration from the city was the military coup in 1980 intervening directly these groups and the city lost some of its activist people as it lost the places where they gather. The withdrawal from the palpable political scene and the loss of active people is also valid and have a more significant aspect for the bigger political scale in the city. The influence of the following times, as before, is uttered with an emphasis on the change in the spatial dimensions. The present Sivas, for the leftist, socialist and the republican people "has no place to get organized" as uttered by Mustafa Akyol, "For the activities of KESK, there is the Teacher's lodge. The AKM s expensive and there are constraints from the spheres around."[91]

On the other hand, the weak ghost reminds itself in the questions about trade union activities. During my interview with Mustafa Şahin who is both a public officer and trade unionist, I learned that the choices for trade unions are divided between three orientations as the Türk Kamu Sen (MHP orientation) Memur Sen (AKP orientation) and KESK (Confederation of Public Laborer's Unions). KESK does not have as much as Memur Sen has but as he tells confidently: "trade union will exist as long as revolutionists keep existing".[92]

When asked how the affectivity of these unions and other organizations is reflected on the city the responses are not fully positive. Cahit Albayrak a former worker and trade unionist and the president of Haci Bektash Anadolu Cultural Association describes the political sphere as one *without a place for breathing*.[93] For the political history of Turkey the Platform of Democracy refers to a new political opening started in 1993 which formed a new search following the shock coming with the end of the bipolar world and the beginning of a new economy. The Platform whose original name was "The Common Voice of Work Force: the Platform of Democracy" and for the first

[91] Mustafa Akyol, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 7, 2012.

[92] Mahmut Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 5, 2012.

[93] Cahit Albayrak, interviewed by author, Sivas, February, 17, 2012.

time in the political history of the country served as a platform uniting agents from different political perspective on the basis of workers' rights including the Türk-İş, Hak-İş, DİSK all representing different political orientations and many governmental organizations. The forming of the platform was an unofficial meeting point and became effective between 1993 and 1995, a short time, however its success as plant the seeds of alternative unions based on work force demands and human rights principles. Due to these reasons the name "The Platform of Democracy", especially in the local context has been adopted by many local unofficial structures on the principle of forming a meeting point.[94] As many cities have, Sivas also has a Platform of Democracy which seems like one of the most serious agents of the political life of the city. Cahit Albayrak as a member of a component of the Platform criticizes the platform with the lack of the working class:

> Inside the Sivas Platform of Democracy, there is no working lass. There are Türk-İş, KESK, so Eğitim-Sen, SES, Demiryolu, there are People's Houses, other organizations and sometimes CHP's participation. The ADT (Association of Kemalist Thought) is not participating much. Actually, the ones participating to the Platform of Democracy are mainly people living in Ali Baba. We don't have a big power. We can make the state itch but the state knows that it can beat us if it wants.[95]

The workers' experience also point to the development of practices of forgetting in which the signs about the existence of workers is getting erased in the city. The decline in the workers' movements in the entire country starting from 1980s leaves the traces in the city initially when the building where a couple of political parties and trade unions share flats and attempt to organize a collective workers' movement in the city was closed with the military coup. One of the present locations of the workers, the Railway Repair Factory which employed over 5000 people until the end of 1970s still function yet with low capacity and on the way of closing down. Now, the factory is open for public visits and the public can witness the production as well as the small

[94] See for more detail: http://www.yildirimkoc.com.tr/usrfile/1323974806b.pdf; İhsan Karababa, "Çalışanların Ortak Sesi Demokrasi Platformu," Mülkiye,XXIV, 224, pp.193-224.

[95]Cahit Albayrak, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

museal parts that tell a positive story about the industrialization attempt of Turkey in which the factory itself poses a reversed version of the narration constructed there. The lack of workers' representation in terms of the rights of collective bargaining and strike in the city which was previously a workers' city is mentioned by the members of the trade unions I talked to. Now the effective unions are the ones basing on negotiation and the ones for the white-collar. While the latters do not have a visibility in the political life of the city, the formers are active on the subjects about the citizens' rights in Sivas yet not with a huge number of members.

Both the almost disappeared workers' movement and both the lack of or loss of significance of the past nodes of production of the very dynamism forms a vulnerable point in people's political activities. The remembrance is still there but the motivating power of remembrance is weak. When the present situation of a certain passivism in gathering considered with the urban transformation in the recent years in which most of the identity signifiers have been altered to more limited, non-working force based national religious identity following serious interventions on the claims on the city, the limitations on the will to act can be understood better. The two situations, the balance between the decrease of one identity and the increase in the other cannot be evaluated as a result of an even contestation since one of the parts not only supported by the power groups since the last twenty years but also related with the idea of opposition and interest groups developed by the state starting from the early years of the Republic.

The enlightenment ideals of republic both formed a proud group of workers who favor education and know their rights about a decent life but also formulated the factories as places with political borders. The lack development of the worker's power could not protect the city against privatization, decline in production and therefore decline in the economy of the city and the following groupings in which first an intolerant Islamism and later a neo-liberal conservatism intervened the city's life and changed it according to the market demands contrary to people's right on the place they live in. When naming the lack of a widespread worker's consciousness, its relation with the

design of the worker's role in the earlier years of the Republic as non-rebellious productive units should be taken into consideration as it is taken for the boundaries of the twenty years (1960-1980) as the most apparent shape of it.

4.2.5 The Transformation of Signification: The Cases of İnönü Mansion, Susamışlar Mansion and Ali Baba Shrine

The history of mansions in Sivas signify a turn in the city aesthetics. There are a view mansions functioning under the Municipality or Provincial Special Administration as restaurants. There are others however, belonging to the same places functioning just as meeting points. Both the restaurants and meeting places represent similar features for the past life of Sivas, here I refer to the ethnographic elements used, therefore both places in terms of their representation/revitalization are important for this part. Yet, there are two of them having a specific importance since they represent the mirror image of the new mansions in terms of narrating the past life and meeting people. These are the İnönü Mansion and The Susamışlar Konağı (Susamışlar Mansion). While the transformation of the other mansions to meeting points means for their resurrection in one way, it represents a symbolical death for the İnönü Mansion. The place was a former museum for Atatürk's comrade in arms and second president of Turkish Republic İsmet İnönü. Still, the house is furnished with authentic furniture and the walls are covered with the photographs belonging to İsmet İnönü and visiting the place is allowed. Yet, the place does not function officially as a museum. In 2012, when I visited there, its main function was being a restaurant and also its last floor was given to the Tree of Life magazine as their office. For the republican and leftist spheres, the place's becoming a restaurant and in a way a place without a function is a conscious insult towards their belongings:

> They tried to make İnönü Museum something else than museum, they took away İnönü's photos we made a press statement. İnönü museum is among the first museums, they tried to make it a place where the people defending the republic feel alienated, its name has changed and became İnönü Mansion. [96]

[96] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

In spite of the defense coming from the authorities on the use of mansion in an intellectual way, after the restaurant there start to serve a specific kebab type for the city, Sivas Times published the headline "Bourgeoisie Haunting Kebab":

> While it is being frequently said that Sivas is not a city of culture and the tourists do not know the city; it is claimed that the bureaucratic tradition which is to find a solution for this situation cannot find any solution and moreover cannot evaluate the basic historical values. (…) In a period where people fight for life because of the subsistence wage slavery and sweat for taking bread to home, it is claimed that an understanding which stays on the course to be the place where the well-heeled in the city would adopt, going to haunt kebab. [97]

Before İnönü Museum's closure, the city witnessed the loss and change of the Ali Baba Mansion and Shrine, two important places for the Alevi inhabitants of the city. The particular case, while it is similar to the above story with the change in what is signified, differs from it by the complete alteration of history. I had the chance to visit the place both by a relative of the Ali Baba who took over the religious leadership from him, Tahir Aslandaş, the president of Protection, Restoration and Sustenance of Ali Baba Shrine (Ali Baba Türbesini Koruma, Yaptırma ve Yaşatma Derneği) and the representative of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association Hidayet Yıldırım and both the former Director of Culture Burhan Bilget in different times. Tahir Aslandaş who opened a trial to take back the mansion and the former lands belonging to the Ali Baba Dervish Lodge showed me the parts changed after the renovation such as an Islamic altar added to the place. The walls were surrounded with Islamic letters and the divisions between women and men were settled which is contrary to the Alevi tradition. Burhan Bilget who dealt with the restoration of the place told that there is not a distinct feature that can be related with Alevism. On the other hand Tahir Aslandaş claimed strongly that he is able to prove his family bond with the place and

[97] Burjuva Kebaba Dayandı: (Bourgeoisie Haunting Kebab), Sivas Times, 28.05.2012.

the later transfer of the rights of the mansion to another family by the institution directing the foundations.[98] He kindly gave me the permission to refer and quote the documents used in the trial, yet I believe proving the origins is not a part of this work. The importance of his case and the story of the Mansion comes from being the signifier of the feeling of loss and impoverishment became inherent in the Alevi Public of the city. However it should be briefly mentioned that the reason for stigmatizing a place with Sunni signs according to him followed the shutting down of the place in accordance with the law prohibiting the actions of the dervish lodges and hermitages in 1925 and then, taken by the state, resulted by its being sold to a family of a Sufi family in 1937, the family of Susamış, who turned the place into a Sufi dervish lodge.

So far, the story is that of a trial between two families which is beyond our interest, however, the present function of the place and the Ali Baba Shrine is directly related with the city politics. The mansion signifies the changing ways of meeting in the city by the religious meetings, mostly for men, organized in Sivas. During the interview with Mustafa Saydam, the Advisor of the Mayor, both of the religious identities of the mansion has been referred and the new life of it has been told as a great cultural development in the city:

> The Susamışlar Mansion both has the feature of a Mevlevi (P.K. Sufi) dervish lodge and both lived the times under the important personality of our Alevi-Bektaşi tradition, Ali Baba. Therefore it is not related with a certain place but still it is visited as a mansion serving to the city culture of our Municipality, gatherings are being made sometimes with music, sometimes sema ceremonies are made. So it became functional. It is the same for the others (P.K. the other mansions) too, such a cultural activity is absolutely being made in all.[99]

I must note here that, even Saydam recognizes the old identity of the place, during my four visits, two of them have already been mentioned, the officers working there never

[98] Tahir Aslandaş, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 9, 2012.

[99] Mustafa Saydam, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 9, 2012.

acknowledged me about the history of the place related with Ali Baba. Religious ceremonies' being the cultural activity and secluded gatherings for religious conversations' being a way for socialization is among the new traditions in the city and its being in the Ali Baba district has a more divisive feature for the nearby geography.

On the other hand, the beginning of this forced cultural turn does not lie in recent history. The Ali Baba Mosque which is placed nearby the mansion is serving for years as a mosque and includes the shrine of Ali Baba, for two Ali Babas relative of each other, inside its building. When I was inside the Mosque both talked to the Imam and read the information in the shrine. Even though the time noted for the 1st. Ali Baba coincides with the same era the Ali Baba, the adopted brother of Pir Sultan Abdal, neither this relation nor the religious belongings are not mentioned and the Imam also did not mention it. Since this mosque was the place rumored to be burned by the Alevi groups and started the 1978 events which ended with the attack to the Alevi neighborhoods in the city, the Alevi public fears to visit the shrine in order not to give reason to another attack but keep the memory of it as a place taken from them: "They assimilate even the graves!".[100]

4.2.6 The Symbolic Death of a Memorial Place: "Madımak without a Madımak"

In 18 June 2013, following the countrywide "Gezi" protests, a group of young people were performing the "standing man" protest, which has been developed as a "dilemma action" among the non-violent civil disobedience forms. The protest realized in front of the former Madımak Hotel, which now serves as a science and culture center for children. For the frame of thesis, as it is for the frame of the entire protests during that time, I believe the specific protest is highly meaningful and tells something very

[100] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

similar to the present topic about the phantasmagoria of lost places. The action was organized first to remember and remind the event which has not been satisfactorily recovered by the legal system and secondly as a response to the death of the place as a remnant of a wound in city's history.

Madımak Hotel for the entire country plays the role of the most important remnant of the Massacre. On the other hand, it is also the symbol of the failure of Turkish legal system, which functioned slowly for the punishment of the perpetrators, an idea which was strengthened for the democrat and leftist spheres by the lack of a Massacre Museum in its place. The protest happened in front of a building which cannot be identified by unaided eye as the place of massacre. Even though everyone remembers the place as the Madımak Hotel, the entire façade, name and function of the place has been changed yet the transformation could not erase the memory. On the other hand, the very attempt to change the identity of the place gave harm to the movement for the musealization of the former Hotel. As the protest shows, in the movement for Madımak's being a museum and the ongoing events about remembering and taking action against July the 2nd, *forgetting Madımak* takes place as an important motivator due to the entire attempts of the authorities to erase the spatial memory of it.

The hotel burned in the Sivas Massacre now serves as the Sivas Center of Science and Culture. The story of this new place started with the expropriation of the Hotel by the Provincial Special Administration functioning under the Governorate in 2010 and became active in 15.09.2011. During my visit there I found the place entirely different from the image remained in the memory of the country after the fire. The façade and anything that resembles the old shape was erased. Hüseyin Karababa, the brother of Gulsum Karababa who was killed in the Massacre and the president of Madımak Museum Association, interprets this change as "Madımak without Madımak":

> The other part [P.K: He mentions the suers and the involved institutions] told that 'we cannot handle it'. The state immediately expropriated the

> hotel and told us ‘we are your collocutor’. We came face to face. It meant that we were starting over. A Madımak without a Madımak! At this point we started discussing. We were going to Madımak since 17 years, we are not going now. There is the official institution of the state there. The state is our collocutor. In any action, there will be state claiming “you damaged my wall, my door”. Be careful about it.[101]

The Hotel’s transformation instead of being a museum was shocking, however the change in what it signifies is not only related with a physical change in the building on how the Massacre has been interpreted in the entrance. I visited the place in 08.05.2012 and met there the public officer Sami Alpan. I was not able to make an interview and record, yet I was allowed to keep short notes for the information given about the place. Sami Alpan showed me the memorial wall first. After the oppositions against the attempts of ‘erasing’ it from the memory by this change, a wall in the entrance has turned to a memorial wall for the fire. On surrounding walls there are the paintings of people related with the cultural history of Sivas and Turkey, however among these images the only one related with the specific event is Pir Sultan Abdal for whom the festival was organized. The others belong mostly to Sufi-Islam tradition or to the modern minstrels whose stance is not related with what is supported by the community who are threatened and killed by the fire. On the main wall there are small fountains. On top of them there is a sentence from Atatürk about the necessity of cohabitation of different opinions in a society: “No matter what the different ideas and different believes are in a society; for a nation acting in accordance with national unity and solidarity has no impassable obstacles”.

Under each fountain there are names belonging to the deceased. I asked the officer about the meaning of the fountains and I got the answer that they represent a symbolical fire extinction. He started to operate the mechanism for me and the water started flowing down on the names of the people died in the fire. I asked him whether they operate it always or if not how often. He told me to save electricity they do

[101] Hüseyin Karababa, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 14, 2011.

operate it only when someone comes and asks about the fire and wants to see the fountains, which is very rare. In addition to the appearance of irrelevant figures around and it's being kept turned off most of the time, this monumental structure on the subject of who died and after which event it was built, gives misinformation. The event is not named but only mentioned by its date and among the ones who died in the fire there are two other names who died when attacking the hotel, therefore the names of the assailants. The conflict represented as a threat to the national unity and solved by bringing everyone to the national sphere of reconciliation verified by Atatürk's words has been used to legitimize the involvement of murderers by the Governor Kolat: "Since we see the issue from a human centered perspective, we did not make any discrimination."[102]

For the Sivas Massacre to be constructed in the memory of Alevis as another node of suffering since the earlier, historic nodes life Karbala and the execution of Pir Sultan Abdal, the invisibility of Massacre plays the role of a subsidiary element of the history of Alevis, which is tried to be made invisible. Sivas after the fire is the place where the two historic points about the fate of Alevism (based on being traced and massacred) united symbolically in Sivas, a symbolization which creates new ways of opposition using these symbols and by creating bonds with history and creates actually the museal dynamics of its own including the written material, visual representation and how the city is experienced.

Now the place serves as a reversed version of a museum, similar to an anti-museum. Everyone knowing the event can visit the place without visiting the actual place and whatever represented inside does not represent the event. Still, the visit, because of the futile attempts of erasing the memory, serves as the mark point of the event.

[102] Saldıran ve Öldürülen Aynı Yerde: (The Attacker and the Murdered are at the Same Place), Bianet, July 1, 2011, accessed January 21, 2012, http://www.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/131188-saldiran-ve-oldurulen-ayni-yerde.

As well as being the symbol of the massacre and the slow and inadequate operation of the law system, the former hotel now symbolizes the entire attempt of transforming the city which is evaluated under musealization of Sivas, which basically realizes itself over the transformation of space by making its former history unrecognizable. Yet as each process confronts, this one as well, especially in the case of the particular place faces with the ghost of the past time whose signification has not been terminated yet.

4.2.7 AKM, Çevre Culture and Art House and the New Cultural Centers

One common factor about the cultural life of Sivas is the lack of the places in the city center to organize events such as conferences or meetings for non-conservative groups. The places used to be hired are now either closed or raised prices for such events. This situation is related also with the history of cultural centers in the city where these events used to be organized. How this ground lost poses a good example for the power struggle in the city. As will be evaluated in more detail, the first cultural center in the city, the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM) and following it the Çevre Kültür ve Sanat Evi (2003), while being rivals once, now share the same story of being a lost space. The idea of culture of one side is erased by the new understanding of the economy basing on culture and the politics developed on it.

AKM, which is now seen in many cities in Turkey, was firstly built in Istanbul in 1969 as a place for cultural events. Later it started to operate in different cities. When it was built in Sivas in 1987 the former cultural life has been over for some years and the city was a place without a theater and cinema. The place started its cultural life fast and according to its former director Ahmet Opan after five years it was offering courses to 500 people during weekends and could not accept 3/4 of the applications. He describes the place as a center similar to the former People’s Houses in terms of course content and goals. Courses for musical instruments, folk dances, language courses and courses on handcrafts were the main activities. However, the greatest

contribution of the place was the cinema and theater activities it organized. Opan tells the period over the novelties the AKM has brought as a new phase in the cultural life of the city:

> In 1970 the cinema activities has totally stopped. In '91, after 20-21 years later we took a projector from the Ministry, built a screen and each weekend we had film screenings. For the most watched 4 movies, we organized cinema days. When the State Theater moved here they had the priority to use the stage. The same place, the all-purpose hall, is used by State Theater in 5.5 days and the remaining 2 days is saved for folk music orchestra under the Ministry of Culture, the Directorate of Fine Arts and for public demands, official receptions and schools. (…)The Center supported the interest for cultural arts. It offered a trustworthy environment. Economically, it supported itself without any subsidy. The courses were free of charge. It would be totally different with a subsidy from the state. By the information gained from the amateur groups is AKM, Turkey gained a lot of artists from Sivas. When AKM was established, there were not any artists from Sivas in the State Theater, now there are a lot of people and two directors. [103]

For most of the interviewees the place has an indisputable impact on the city life, some of these views are partially affected by the relation of the place with Atatürk. On the other hand, some interviewees while accepting the quality it brought to city life mentioned that due to political and economic reasons, not all the groups could afford to rent the conference hall for their meetings, while Mustafa Aydın mentions the place as too expensive for their trade unions' meetings, Hidayet Yıldırım as the former representative of Human Rights Association told that the place did not hire them the conference and theater hall until 1992.[104]

Except these divisions AKM claimed to make between some groups, it was, also in economic terms a successful and accepted institution. After the success brought by film screenings, AKM turned into circulating capital enterprise, which promoted the re-opening of many cinemas bringing the end of screenings in AKM. The theater's

[103] Ahmet Opan, interviewed by author, Sivas, June 06,2012.

[104] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

success was increased for a long time and adopted by most of the groups in the public. In spite of this successful ongoing the institution's functions have been intervened. The first intervention came to the place in 2003 by opening Çevre Culture and Art House and transferring the courses there. The directorate of AKM became a branch office functioning under the Directorate of Culture of the Governorate and ended its missions by this way. After the changes AKM lost its authority over the courses and functioned only as the owner of the meeting hall where state theater works also.

A similar story of success and intervention happened for Çevre Culture and Art House which functions as the successor of AKM. As it was for AKM, for Çevre as well, the most important function was the courses they gave. The main emphasis as Saadettin Doğan, the Secretary General of Sivas Service Foundation and the former responsible of the culture and art house tells, was the city's transmitting the necessary knowledge to live in the city, "the city teaches". [105] He told me that by the concerts they organized, they were aiming to make the "public responsive to perform and listen their own values".[106] In addition to the courses which aim to form a knowledge based on a mixture of local culture and modern demands, the house were contributing to the city's cultural life with film screenings, visits from or to important people from Sivas and a library, in which one can find books, especially on the culture and history of Sivas. In 2011 the place has been inactive and the official responsibility to offer courses has been transmitted to the Municipality.

Both of the places, instead of their rivalry shared similar goals and their impact in the received positive response from the people. After their disappearance from the city's cultural life an important aspect have been altered. That is the similarity constructed between the AKM (which has also been adopted by Çevre) and the former Public Education Centers as Opan notes: "It's structure is as if the former Public Education

[105] Saadettin Doğan, interviewed by author, Sivas, June 5, 2012.

[106] ibid.

Centers has been organized by the state." The reason I claim that a similar role cannot be attributed to the courses of Municipality resulted because of the distinction made between the public by the course owners. The Municipality has a couple of different structures to offer courses among which the Municipal Conservatory and the Ladies' Cultural Center can be counted. The second one, as the place which signifies the gender discrimination more than any other cultural place in the city, with a place designed only by women, breaks the idea of equality, which was functioning better, brought by the earlier courses.

After the alteration of the actor who would enroll to the courses, or in other words, after changing the aspect of free will in participation to the cultural events, I claim that the second change has been brought to the understanding of the idea of security in the cultural centers. Sivas has always been a conservative place even in its "modern times" being told in the publications on it. The gender issue, as it works as litmus paper for many social situations, have this role in Sivas as well. Even though "the secure place for women" was constructed a place to be protected by men, either by making women genderless siblings or men adopted brothers as the republican education did once or literally separating the two gender from each other. The change in the politics of culture and the route of the economy in the city not only altered the daily life of people but mainly empowered the segregation of daily spheres where both men and women have access.

The structural change in the cultural centers have a key importance in terms of understanding the new urban dynamics in Sivas. These places, with their limitations of services and signifiers, shape both the appearance of the cultural signifiers in the city and the access to the culture through daily life activities.

4.2.8 Space of Displacement

The ongoing transformations in Sivas reveal two spatial developments which depend on but also get across to each other. The first and due to its relation with authorities, more effective one is the process of erasing the past history which is confronted by the revitalized history of past and/or dead places which have a strength in terms of challenging the initial.

Here it should be mentioned that even though the present transformation of the city are both related with a contemporary understanding of profitable tourism which aims to veil the failure in economy and a recent development of neo-liberal conservatism, the trace of the past authorities in the city contributes it in a certain extent. The entire attempt of creation of a new culture inspired from the past history which cooperates with practices of forgetting as it does with practices of remembrance, bases mostly on a continuity. The continuity in this sense takes its most significant shape from the state that Walter Benjamin indicates in which the present rulers become the heir of the victorious of the past times, which transmits the spoils, the document of barbarism that we call culture[107]. The past of Sivas very briefly is an outcome of being a city of the authority rather than that of the public. From the city of the republic to the Islamist city of early 1990s and to the city of culture, we see that how the city is defined and shaped by the authority is more adopted by public rather than the place's adoption and definition by the public as their own. In spite of this trace, still, what makes the transmission possible is also the fact that the culture or the past heritage is adopted and reproduced only if it has a value for the present life, which brings the issue of the creation of new meaning and new profits:

> Ruins are nonsimultaneous –they are of the past. To make them part of the

[107]Walter Benjamin, On the Concept of History, in the Marxists Internet Archive, accessed March12, 2012. http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm

> present requires that they be tidied up and be made to work within present concerns- typically those influenced by the workings of a consumer culture.[108]

Therefore the past becomes visible again only when it becomes a resource. Being a resource, the past, in the modern times had an impact on the reproduction of the present life in which the museums have been the main areas of this use of the memory construction, however today's practices of memory building operate on a wider area in which the cities become regenerated through memory where entrepreneurial public-private partnerships entered into the scene due to the profits coming from spaces of memory[109]. The profit from the process of musealization has interrelated with political and economic features. Musealization here in Sivas, as it does in many other places, contribute to extend, proliferate this resource while creating new meanings to be adopted by people.

The other process, the vitalization of a past memory as a part of challenge is to be included as the opponent of this ongoing. The life of the ghostly structures still provoke people and until they have a place in the memory such as the former Hotel or a small function as in the case of Railway Repair Factory they are ready to motivate a possible alienation towards the new "past" presented to them. For some cases the very ghost can be more of a threat contrary to the aim of the attempt of forgetting.

Similar to its role as a stimulator for people, the ghostly material functions in this section as the unveiling factor to understand the points of adoption and rejection of the new structures as well as it does for evaluating the political sides of the recent politics of forgetting. Therefore it also became a tool to analyze the displacement brought by musealization.

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[108] Hetherington, "The Time of the Entrepreneurial City, Museum, Heritage & Kairos," 285.

[109] ibid, 284.

The displacement is the very first step of musealization, after a while spaces displaced enter into rivalry with the new ones or the transformed ones and the cities or locations start to tell many, contradictory narrations about their physical past and the constructed past. The “Lost Space” in the title refers to spaces subjected to the practices of forgetting, The practices of forgetting in terms of the life in Sivas covers a wide area from the places where their meaning, what they signify and their use were changed into the acts of altering the meaning of the rituals. When we compare the latest developments targeting a new formulation of conservative modernism where history is used to build the social structure and the projects fill this structure with neo-liberal economic steps, we see that the experiences of republicans and leftists as general categories including a lot of groups and also a small number more conservative groups who does not approve the ongoing pose a good case to analyze the practices of losing, forgetting and resisting to forget.

Here, it is important to focus on the process of the disappearance and appearance of the structures not as the outcomes of the actions of the governing authorities but of a longer period. The conservative pattern of spatial transformation developed by the earlier authorities and adopted by the new ones show a continuity in terms of what type of social and cultural centers function in the city. In a similar fashion, it is also important that this process is an outcome of a tension between the republican model and the conservative, Islamist ideals. It can only realize itself over the weak points left by the Republic such as the places of Alevi and Armenian public who are not totally adopted by the republican sphere, or the very idea of culture itself which has to be loaded with a continuous idea of historical Turkishness, which never totally separated from the Islamic identity.

In “Museums and the Visually Impaired”, Hetherington writes about the actual museums, the stratification of people according to their identities and classes, brings

"the non-discursive" into question as a concept inherited by Lyotard.[110] The *non* of the museums, as in the case of visually impaired people in his text, is the one who cannot not be considered as a part of the place, even as a wanderer or visitor since what s/he would leave as an inscription to space from his/her identity is considered and worried more than his/her significance on space.[111] I argue that is also valid for the transformed version of the museal dynamics. One of the basic initiators of musealization is to transform the place for the selected people as well as the selected economy. The non in this frame appears as the rest of the public in Sivas except the communities selected for representation and characterized by a conservative Sunni-Turkishness. The debate about lost and re-built places exemplify this process. The confrontation of people with this ongoing movement is the main subject of the next chapter, yet or this chapter the importance of the situation is the dynamics between the old and new places, the struggle between the new apparent places and the ghost of the old places, in which human response, still, cannot be excluded. In this struggle between the alive materials and the ghostly ones, it is seen the task of musealization could only be achieved forcing an overall forgetting and cultural transformation. This possibility is continuously challenged and slowed by the very fact that the features coinciding with the economic development plans of the same spheres contradict with the history they claim to represent and cannot silence the paused or killed material.

On the other hand, in terms of the daily life in city, it is seen that what is constructed by these new structures brought a new definition to the daily life. From the need to leave the city to find a green area or economically affordable recreation places which do not force a gender biased set of action to people, the politics of daily steps in the city were altered gradually. The mentioned development also have two faces. On the one hand, especially for low income groups, conservatism forced from space to the individual cannot be neglected as a success. On the other hand, as in the case of the

[110] Kevin Hetherington, "Museums and the Visually Impaired: The Spatial Politics of Access," SORE The Sociological Review 48, no. 3 (2000): 454.

[111] ibid, 460.

revitalization coming as a response to politics of forgetting appear also towards these changes which include the reduction of the public places to controlled rooms where men and women either utilize separately or according to conservative gender rules. The transformation brought by the opening new mansions, transformation of the old ones such as the İnönü Museum and closing of non-conservative ones –the former restaurant of municipality which serves alcohol- leads such a reduction in addition to the canalizing people to social activities according to their gender roles and economic statuses. The process therefore forces both a masculinization of public areas where one gender has more privilege and area of action than the old days and a house-like structure in the public areas due to the opening of walled and controlled indoor places for recreational activities.

Sivas, is not a city of continuous public action but it includes places and central areas being the place for consistent public action. When the authoritarian processes mentioned such as displacement and masculinization of public sphere is compared with how the belongings and memories of action create an area for opposition, it can be claimed the effects of present conservative moves forcing both a set of appropriate action for people and appropriate places for these actions can be the catalyzer for discontent which is strengthened by the present power of the past structures tried to be erased. For this issue which is the main subject of the fifth chapter, it can be briefly stated that the heritage is not only profitable, it can also be provocative and labeling and bordering certain areas create the development towards the weakening or stretching the borders.

4.3 Conclusion: Sivas as a Museum

As the concept of musealization gives us the chance to analyze spatial transformation run by the authorities in the last two decades, as does the case of Sivas to understand the processes under the frame of musealization. As a case with a small map and thus less interactions, groups, movements, complex economic and social transformation processes or monumentalization projects in comparison with bigger urban areas or

metropolitan centers, Sivas offers a clear view on how the politics targeting the transformation of everyday life and economy uses the built structure and the memory related with it. Due to the apparent structure of the processes in the city center two major aspects of musealization both can be observed and explained in detail and both their effects can be confronted by measures taken by the counter actions such as the attempts to save the social memory from forgetting Madımak.

In this sense we see many other processes opposing musealization. The image of spatial transformations and the dislocation of certain parts of history, memory and relatedly space in the center of Sivas not only display how powerful the decision of the authorities on space can be but also how these decisions continuously challenged by memory and practices of publics in Sivas. Therefore spatialization of the present time elapsing in an environment reminding the old times but functioning in a modern economy which favors the consumption of the city rather than the production, has a relatively weak but consistent obstacle.

This obstacle, in its all abstractness can be seen as the most united action in Sivas which functions in different ways adopted by different groups, sometimes without a conscious effort to unite their action.

The challenge by publics incorporate memory shared by different groups united through similar experiences. We see this united challenge in the case of development of a city literature which firstly divides the history of Sivas between the adopted parts of the past history and the corrupted vision of present city and secondly combines the resurrection of the desired past with the new economic revival promised to the city through in the present scene of the restored city. The comparison and combination of the past and present in this city narration opens gaps to challenge the vague image of outsider responsible from the corruption and the parts not integrated into the city's history such as the case of Armenians or Sivas Massacre.

When the political activities in the city considered, we see that the initial point of opposition of the democrat and leftist spheres including both Alevi associations and democratic mass organizations is this binary opposition between the innocent urbanite and the nondescript outsider. These oppositions combine a reserve from the past political activities in the city mostly from 1970s , the less political but strong memory of workers' past pride in the city, previous attacks to the non-Sunni communities (especially those directed to Alevi community) and the motivation coming from past structures whose meaning or body has been destructed.

The response coming from different groups to the transformation of the Park area, the new importance attributed to the Seljuk complex, the changing significations of Ali Baba Shrine and Susamışlar Mansion, similarly to İnönü Mansion which cannot signify anything in its new restaurant position and the controversial existence of the former Madımak Hotel, shows an agreement which not necessarily shares a similar discontent to all the above changes. Still, the political action, which does not depend on a high number of population but consistent companionship of different groups reflects the discontent towards them even though different parts has special importance in the agenda of different groups.

Thinking the condition of discontent in Sivas, gathering the shared discontent under the frame of democratic and leftist spheres creates the possibility of neglect towards other, perhaps weaker, types the uttering of discontent and taking action against it. Even though the creation of a city literature is both assisted by the state institutions and both supported the transformation, the points of discontent on the corrupted city shows another public, more close to the state but keeping a certain autonomy to show their discontent. When the narrations on the desired past and corrupted present are compared with the innovations made by the authorities, it is seen that the innovations do not address the creators of these narrations but conservative spheres not sharing the fear of *Islamization of public sphere*. The public adopting the urbanite identity have weak methods of opposition which remains directly in the area of the control of authorities and moreover supports their actions, which does not mean they develop

some skills to oppose. In that sense, insisting on their identity and trying to keep the divisions in the city to stabilize their own place, they demonstrate a rather passive politics of stableness whose practices and objectives are problematic but existent.

Among the groups reached for the research there are other communities as well who develop their ways which a more difficult to realize but effective in a smaller scale. As a result, considering this combination of discontent and actions in the city, claiming that Sivas is not a museum yet is a convincing explanation. On the other hand, when we approach musealization as a process of displacement who veils the articulation of the economic and social concerns of the authorities in the city, we confront a persistent ongoing.

As the aesthetic reflection of neo-liberal Islamist governance which is accompanied by a more conservative lifestyle constructed in the renovated places such as the separation of the genders, separation of the families from other groups, the consumption of non-alcohol beverages, the change in the use of the public areas by public decision such as organizing demonstrations and the transformation of the spontaneity of the street wandering into a controlled passage from the divided areas points to a fundamental change in the practicing daily life in the city. The processes of restoration and renovation symbolize in this sense a new way for the power to settle itself, whose effects seen as the processes of limitation and spatial transformation. This ongoing situation has parallel processes such as the increase of male domination in the street, therefore the masculinization of street accompanied by the private spheres roles replicated in the public places for women. This side of the transformation points out that if the obstacle crated by the discontent and action of collectivities does not turn in a truly collective way of opposition it is highly possible that the different public islands in Sivas would be weaker to achieve their objectives on challenging the present structure.

The reciprocal relation between musealization and agency points to a simple fact that if there is discontent in different groups related with how the city is transformed, discontent's leading to an action, a practice which challenges musealization together with the political and economic processes covered under it, need to build methods spatially as well, together with the spatial form the memory gains. The next chapter analyzed this discontent over the spatial tactics and methods developed by different publics and groups.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGING MUSEALIZATION: FOUR HETEROTOPIA IN THE CITY CENTER

The projects and practices on the city performed by the authorities, the greater frame of political segregations between communities and the inherited differences functioning to separate communities leads to a division in the city where confrontation with the other groups is limited since many groups adopt certain nodes and territories. This spatial division while creating problems, also contributes to the development of group consciousness and practices to limit or challenge the intervention coming from authorities and opposing groups. This situation does not occur with full certainty due to the necessities of living in an urban area in which everyday mobility and state regulation of the daily life which is contrary to groupings. Still, it becomes easy to decipher who are living in the margins of the central city plan for the case of neighborhoods and as for the nodes the structure of those points in daily life tells who are allowed in and left out. Not being able to see the Lom people in the center, having the Alevi institutions all together in a certain place, having different cultural centers addressing certain groups can be shown as examples of the appearance of such divisions on the daily map of the city center.

How these communities would be represented in the political area also depends on similar divisions such as gathering under the roof of political parties, NGO's or community associations. As a result of their participation to these frames, the publics and not only state representatives and some NGO's whose members are to be from the same profession such as Chamber of Architects, finds the right to participate even though it does not bring an absolute chance of intervention to the decision making processes. However this right of being represented or participating into these processes have a very slight impact on the developments in Sivas. Due to the restrictions in participation and internal divisions, it is seen that publics tend to organize in places where they identify as belonging to them instead of creating a mass

organization. These places can enter into contact with one or more associations, yet still the defining feature becomes their location. Additionally, there is memorial place which combines the feature of heterotopia even though it is rather adopted than inhabited.

During the research three of the groups I met in the city and one movement having members both from inside and outside of the city offered well organized cases for the mentioned feature, which combines both adopting a location to separate themselves from the others and using this space to develop tactics against the intervention of the authorities. These groups and their use of space exemplify the impact of agency on the city politics and the organization of space. Additionally their multiplicity as different parts of the society developing different parts of the public opinion through their use of space shows how alternative places for different publics can be constructed challenging space of the authorities. A challenge, considering the limitations in Sivas does not lead to an overall transformation of space nor a total appropriation of it by its users. It is more of an appropriation of a smaller area which has the possibility of leading towards a greater movement. This way of appropriation takes place in different parts of the city, physically in terms of location due to economic, social and political divisions between communities and figuratively representing the divisions in the center, periphery and margin of the research map. How they are placed in this map resembles separate islands functioning differently according to different combinations of life such as the life inside, confrontations with the authorities and meetings with the other groups. These islands, as places of others are analyzed as the heterotopia in Sivas.

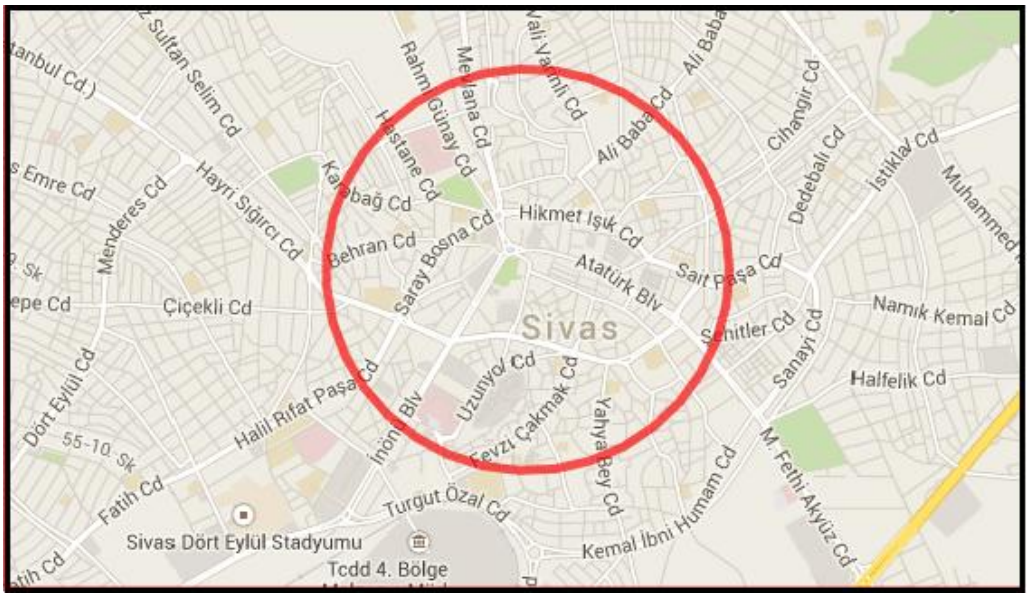
By definition, heterotopia contrary to their permanent and challenging situation in the societal space varies in terms of form and circumstances of construction. As a result each heterotopia have a distinct feature. That is why claiming that the most visible spatial public action in Sivas is to build heterotopia would not help without describing it in terms of structure as well as the means and ends they embody to build and continue a life in space under domination.

Following this feature of heterotopia, those in Sivas too do not resemble each other, their extent is different, some constructed in neighborhoods and some in small buildings, similarly the numbers they gather inside differs; yet how they bend, extend and challenge the borders in the city point to a similar purpose, which is at least having a place of their own and at most spreading the image of their heterotopia to the entire city.

The four heterotopia will be analyzed in this chapter are composed of the market area of the city center for which the attempts of shopkeepers and craftsmen are directed to keep it as their place; a cultural center in the city adopted by women to challenge the limitations for appearing in the public sphere; the three Alevi neighborhoods whose organizations in the restricted space is towards the transformation of the central area and lastly the former Madımak Hotel which is adopted by associations from Turkey as well as from Sivas due to what it signifies.

5.1 Keeping the Center: The Case of Market Area

Developing the map of the research which followed the spatial traces of the organization of daily life practices and the paths used by the locals, defining the areas where people coincide with each other and where coinciding some groups was not difficult. In that sense, the central area of the city had a fluent narration of these passages ad blockings. The easier part was defining the periphery and the margin which was highly marked, the more difficult was to see the divisions in the very center of the city. For this particular section, the aim is not to identify who are in the margins or investigate the life in the margins. This section is, on the contrary, related with the ways of being, living, developing an attachment to the very center of the city which is located in between the two crosscutting avenues, İnönü and Atatürk.



Map 2 The Market Area in Sivas (Encircled)[1]

The central area of the city has two main features, it is the main area for shopping and it is one of the most visible places where the restorations and renovations bring a new atmosphere in the last decade. This area is still the subject of the new historic city plan projects. Most of the places in the particular location has been mentioned in the previous chapters due to their value to bring a new lifestyle based on the interpretation of history and their effect on the mobilization of collectivities. The former park area with the Seljuk Complex, the mansions serving as restaurants such as Abdi Ağa or the former building of Dev-Maden-Sen take place in this location. The obvious influence of the governing politics in the center brings the questions on who the active community is in this central area and how they keep the center. Even though what the question suggests is about a possible link between the authorities and groups, the community in the central area does not only live in the borders created by authorities

[1] Sivas, Turkey [Map]. 2015. Scale undetermined; generated by Basar Software, using "maps.google.com API". <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Sivas%2FSivas+%C4%B0li,+T%C3%BCrkiye/@39.7561226,37.0205661,14z/data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x407eab6a6050ec65:0x83f714044652ea9b.> (5 January 2015).

as passive receivers. They do actively contribute to the relation between the new interpretation of history and they also live in these imagined borders of the marvelous old city to whose creation they have a part. Therefore they exemplify an important case, the case of the majority both created the imagined city by their contribution to local newspapers both as columnists and shareholders, local magazines as writers and supporters and they are also subjected to the narration of the marvelous and bizarre. In fact, their relation to the authorities is never totally harmonious. They both show a total dependency and a necessary resistance to a certain extent, since the narration and acts they are subjected to at the point of crosscutting with neo-liberal economic demands turn against them and threaten their economy. This community is the craftsmen and shopkeepers whose activities in the city are not limited by selling products.

The action of craftsmen and shopkeepers, in addition to their keeping the memory, is to keep and control the center to a certain extent which includes both resisting to changes and creating the mainstream discourse. The role of craftsmen and shopkeepers in the area is both to be the witness/narrator of the developments and events due to their observer status and to be the *neighbor* since their shops share the same buildings with the flats of ordinary people. Since the average age is high except the university students and most of the people are retired in the city except public officers and shop owners, they are one of the few economically active groups whose economic status enables them a right to have impact on the life of the city more than the other groups. The craftsmen are *gate keepers* who, in order to protect the existing order or bringing back the past life of Sivas take actively part in some of the discourses and acts developed within Sivas such as supporting the most powerful discourse on *losing the city*. For instance the Association to Spread and Sustain the Urban Culture is an outcome of such attempts coming from mainly the craftsmen and the members of rooted old families of the city to keep the *urbanite life style*. Remaining in between the imagined and the applied borders of the center their role is important to understand how the center is shrinking lately and how the public places getting increased in the opposite direction to the center.

5.1.1 Keeping the Memory, Keeping the Borders: Gate-Keeping

In Sivas the market area is still the only place for shopping in the city since there are no shopping malls yet and the market area almost controls the dynamism of the life in the center. Even though the people living in the divided areas inclined to visit the shops of their side including restaurants, still for many materials from white appliances to food products, the varieties of the market area attract people. What is offered here to people is not a place without divisions, to the contrary, what is presented is the majority's space whose borders are not that closed due to the requirements of daily traffic, political action and economic interests. All the banks, political parties, some of the NGO's and as mentioned earlier, the market is located in this center. The groupings exists, however they are not as effective as the settler's group in which shopkeepers and craftsmen have an important place. As defined by an interviewee: "There are anonymous groups within the city and we act together and take a stand against others."[2] The groupings do not always have an expressive political feature, as discussed previously in section 4.1 Imagined Space: Development of a Narration to Adjust Publics to Transformation". They may take the shape of rural/urban debate. However, when the activities of the craftsmen and shopkeepers are considered the political feature becomes apparent due to their proximity to the authorities in their support of the transformation of the urban area, their adaptation of the new discourses on the corruption of the city due to the existence of the others and their very history of claiming the center, which makes them the gate-keepers.

Revising the earlier theories of network gate-keeping, Karine Nahon defines gatekeepers as the ones: "protecting norms, information, gated and communities from unwanted entry from outside; and maintaining ongoing activities within network boundaries without disturbances."[3] Nahon describes the role of the gate-keepers in

[2] A.O., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 11, 2012.

[3] Karine Barzilai-Nahon, "Toward a Theory of Network Gatekeeping: A Framework for Exploring Information Control," Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology 59, no. 9 (2008): 1496.

relation with a "gatekeeping mechanism" –supporting tools, methodologies, technologies and relate the gatekeepers with a certain to political power, proximity to the process of the production of information, developing relations with the people they protect or chose to be in a closer sphere and being able to choose from alternatives in case of letting a particular entity of knowledge pass or disappear.[4]

Except from this common theoretical use of gate-keepers in the frame of information and knowledge transmission, I also add the frame of gate-keeping the physical ways of keeping the place for the case of shopkeepers and craftsmen in Sivas center, since, addition to their relation to keeping the memory, narrating a certain history and spreading or blocking news they do also physically keep the center.

Osman Ada, a respected shopkeeper and the former president of the Sivas Chamber of Industry and Trade notes that there are two types of solidarity between shopkeepers. The first one is the solidarity between the *old* shopkeepers who inherited the business from their family and keep the family tradition for two-three generations and the second one is the solidarity between the people who migrated to Sivas, opened their workplace and chose to make business with the people coming from the same place. Ada claims that even though there is this fact of division between the shopkeepers, the impact of those who work with their close sphere, community, townsmen are not big enough to change *the balance of the market*. The less impact of the second group and the commercial tradition in the city coming from Ahi heritage against competition enables according to him a trade without stress.[5]

The balance of the market Ada uttered is one of the core elements of being the gate-keeper. As quoted before from Ali Kesti, the president of the Association to Spread and Sustain the Urban Culture who also took part as a member of board in the Sivas Chamber of Industry and Trade between 1999 and 2002 the distinction between the

[4] İbid. 1496.

[5] Osman Ada, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 9, 2012.

local and stranger craftsmen appears in economic terms and the ones coming relatively later are not considered as a part of the local economy: "From the economic aspect their shopping effect the commercial economy of the city, the tradesmen start to have difficulties because of them. The process of urbanization gets delayed and regressed."[6]

The local shopkeepers and craftsmen on the other hand do not only control a certain economy or a physical space; they also witness and control the information in the area to a certain extent:

> The market has a very important place in the political and social life of Sivas. The people of Sivas do not even vote in the elections without consulting the shopkeepers of the market whom they live in close relations, whom they shop for years and built friendship going beyond the shopkeeper-consumer relationship and therefore whom they thrust. Especially in Municipal Elections it is hard for an applicant to be the mayor if the shopkeepers are convinced that he is not for the good of Sivas. Since shopkeepers meet a lot of people, know about everything or hear the problems, their advice is listened due to their fund of knowledge.[7]

Such a power strengthened by local publications and through the networks of craftsman's associations and chambers including private associations of local shopkeepers still does not lead to the appropriation of space since it is dependent on the local authorities to exist and in that sense they are not authorities. In Lefebvrian terms, appropriation of space can be done by transforming and reproducing a produced urban space according to their needs from the urban life, which goes contrary to the authoritarian claims of space neglecting the inhabitants and requires a production of space, which is not the case for local shopkeepers and craftsmen.[8] Since it is composed of a large group's placing itself to a certain location due to the circumstances and implementing a certain control over it, their condition is mainly

[6]Ali Kesti, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, May, 31 2012.

[7] Osman Ada, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 9, 2012.

[8] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 168.

related with keeping a certain area, bordering it for the strangers and control their close sphere and spread knowledge to it. As rest of the community they, adjust themselves to the conditions mostly by accepting and in a few cases by resisting. Their relatively long history in the center which does not go beyond the construction of the industry in the city is due to this resistance in some cases directed to the strangers and sometimes to the official city plans or economic developments and the main goal of the resistance is keeping their location and familiar environment including habits, in that sense it does not aim for a total change or a full opposition to the authorities.

The question is for my part is whether they can keep the borders or they are subjected to the dislocation as are the other communities.

5.1.2 The Center as the Area of Displacement

Even though the present condition of the market area gives the impression of a settled zone of trade, in reality it was created due to the displacement of the earlier zones of trade by the flow of previous craftsmen of the city away from Sivas and for some cases away from the country. The Kepenek street, which is the location of the modern market after the entrance of industrialization to the city for years became the main attraction center for trade, while a more traditional trade was also active in the old inns such as Taşhan closer to the present center of the city. The first change happened through years by the replacement of the non-Muslim shopkeepers with the urbanite and Sunni craftsmen. The replacement and the development of the city center towards the railway station also brought a re-location of the today's market area:

> The local tradesmen couldn't adjust them to the change, the business stopped. Factory outlets invaded this weak trade. Kepenek was a place of trade once. However the tailors, jewelers, they were all non-Muslim. When they migrated during 1960s and '70's, Kepenek lost its importance.[9]

[9] Faruk Yücel, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, June, 4 2012.

The craftsmen and shopkeepers who were representing the majority of the population in the center in terms of ethnicity and religion as the new local tradesmen, due to this replacement and development of the industry in the city, acquired two important roles but at the same time had to make concessions. The first one of these roles whose effect we are confronting now in the center, is becoming a part of the majority but getting separated from them due to economic prosperity coming from controlling the economy in the center of the city which brought necessary coalitions with the authorities. The second one was the rare role of becoming one of the crosscutting nodes between the periphery and center since they were the connection of the periphery with the goods sold in the city which makes gives them an importance close to that of the state institutions such as court of justice, post office and security forces. However, this privilege they gained was damaged by the introduction of mass production which damaged especially the works of the craftsmen and the status they gained by the first replacement led to new replacement soon by the weakening of local production and the financial losses of the craftsmen.

This privilege was damaged further in 1960s when the migration from the periphery brought a similar agent to the city which finds its description in the narrations about the corruption of the city as the peasant tradesman. As discussed previously in the section 4.1, the details about the identity of this figure of stranger are not definite and may take many shapes but he is the main addressee of the urban criticism on losing the city. The effectivity of this narration can be traced over the two important incidents happened in 1978 in Sivas. The attacks to the Ali Baba in 1978 the events started and took its most fierce shape in the Ali Baba district, however the second location of the events happened in the market area damaging the goods and shops of the Alevi tradesmen few in number which brought the end of the visibility of the businesses run by Alevi tradesmen in the market area. The same year, the second incident happened in Sivas was the attack to the tradesmen from Kayseri who were also few in number following the mayhem after the football match between Sivas and Kayseri. The repetition of this issue in the interviews on having outsider tradesmen shows that one of the most organized actions of urbanite shopkeepers and craftsmen in the city is

directed to this agent to keep their status in the place and to be able to keep the place as it is, which was not possible after the changes brought during 1970s.

The depression in the political life brought by the two military coups (1971 and 1980) offered a rather easy transition period to the neoliberal politics in which spatial change became one of the signifiers which articulates the new economy and politics to the organization of the daily life which includes the transformation of conservatism and the entire symbolism depended to it. Osman Yıldırım, whose life as a shopkeeper includes different business types from having a bookstore to running a café explains the change brought by the military coup in 1980 as: "The Local Government Development Plan Law has changed. When the authority passed to the members of the city council, the city opened to the unearned income. The Mansions got filled with traditional calligraphy, ornamentation and Ottoman identity."[10]

During this period, it is the parallel changes in the economy and city organization which threatens the status of the shopkeepers and craftsmen, rather than the vague image of the other. By the change in the location of the market area and the construction of covered markets such as Kunduracılar Bazaar under the mayorship of Bekir Timurboğa (1984-1989) led to a new change in the profile of the tradesmen. The changes started with a new understanding of market area in a historically revived center first resulted with the shrinking of the center which is closed between two main avenues of the city, İnönü and Atatürk which directly led to the increase in the rents since the daily life and urban image of the city is realized only in this limited space:

> There is such a structure and since it is stucked between Atatürk Avenue and İstasyon Avenue, some of the rents are higher than those in Bağdat Avenue.[11] The office rents can go up to 25.000, 30.000 thousand, 40.000 thousand liras. That is why the people starting their business here get stuck in a difficult situation after working for a length of time, they both leave Sivas and end their savings, and that effects the development in a negative way. A consumer wears the most expensive shirt here. So the one selling it should gain money out of

[10] Osman Yıldırım (1), interviewed by author, Sivas, May 29, 2012.

[11] Bağdat Avenue İn İstanbul.

> it to spend it here again or to make certain activities, investments, to buy house. You know all of these, the production and consumption are interpreted.[12]

This change started a more visible resistance of the shopkeepers and craftsmen against the authorities and increased the number of alliances between them. However the narration on being urbanite that they contributed were more effective in terms of questioning the place of the vague other rather than the visible face of the authorities. The more the transformation of the city narrows the center and makes the city more conservative the more the narration of the old city created its borders in the market area. Even though the transformations with the addition of the impact of the high rents brought the end of craftsmanship and change the economic profile of shopkeepers, this group and their associations and chambers did not pose a direct criticism of it and the imagined city structure with the promise of gaining the city back is continued to be strengthened by this group.

Today the economy of Sivas from the point of shopkeepers and craftsmen display the problems started after the decrease in the production and being limited in a certain space. As shopkeeper Osman Yıldırım describes the Sivas economy is basically an "economy of buy and sell, there is no production. It proceeds by donations and government grants. It functions with a high level of loans".[13] For Osman Ada it is also related with the lack of shopping malls: "Once the profit margin has been determined by the tradesmen, now it is determined by the customers. There are no shopping malls, then it becomes a trade for the sake of kith and kin".[14]

The shopping malls as the other side of the transformation projects is a highly discussed issue in Sivas, since the first attempt brought a failure including the bankruptcy of some tradesmen. The shopkeepers and craftsmen owe their control

[12] Osman Yıldırım (2), interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, June 6, 2012.

[13] Osman Yıldırım (1), interviewed by author, Sivas, May 29, 2012.

[14] Osman Ada, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 9, 2012.

partially to the shopping malls even though it is believed for the mall being constrıcted by the municipality that the economy is the city is not well enough to feed a mall. Still a mall means a change in the street life which may lead to the end of the action in the İnönü and Atatürk Avenues. These concerns are shared by many shopkeepers and craftsmen but not all. Its signification as a new life style is also being seen as an opportunity for transformation as expressed by Osman Yıldırım, the president of Sivas Chamber of Industry and Trade:

> Malls are sometimes thought to be against the small business owners, but this is a process, it will happen sooner or later. For that, of course, the Retail Business Law should be announced. The malls should be outside of the cities, the shopkeeping shouldn't be killed but since these are not done, they are constructed in the in the central places of the cities. (…) A mall is necessary for a place with 100.000 population. Therefore Sivas has the potential for three malls. Yet, the malls are not only centers for shopping but they are centers for life. They reached the position to support social development of people. (…) Our shopkeepers give most of their income to pay the rent. In addition to the rents, our people in Sivas are already condemned to their houses in winter, in cold, during six months of the year. The malls on the other hand, will be centers for life, the people will go out.[15]

The idea of a mall itself seems contrary to the conservative transformation process whose offer was to bring the old city back. However when the entre transformation process is considered it seems to serve more than one goal. The transformation of the city firstly focuses on the transformation of the street life including both the masculinization and domestication of public places rather than constructing what is being missed from the past times. During this process the controlling public becomes the main issue brought by the changes. In my view what a shopping mall takes from this street is the remaining spontaneity of wandering, which has already been damaged by the control points such as the Selçuk Café, the Park area, the lack of alcohol in most of the gathering places and the settled rules of behavior especially in places governed in connection to municipality or governorate. In addition to this gradual conservative turn, the economy is used to strengthen the condition of the authorities by the promises given to make Sivas more touristic and to open more workplaces

[15] Osman Yıldırım (2), interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, June 6, 2012.

since the economy of the city is at a stage which leads people to leave the city better living and working conditions. A shopping mall in this sense corresponds to these two aspects of the present transformation of Sivas.

5.1.3 The Complexity Between Resisting and Supporting Change

The story of the shopkeepers and craftsmen display a controversy in the perception of keeping the center since the means of exercising their control including the development of attitudes towards the "other" tradesmen creates their proximity to the authorities which leads them to suffer from the decisions on city planning which they place themselves in a stage of stability including resisting against transformation. The greater resistance they show is directed towards the vague agent of corruption but even though they also have means of spreading knowledge state or state agents do not often become the addressee of it. Moreover, their contribution to the narration of the lost old city results with getting stuck between the imagined city and the city under transformation.

By being the agents who keep the center, who have a control in the information and partially a control over the change of the population in the market area their activity of keeping depends on this mixed borders between the real and the narrated. This confusion results with the illusion of stability and the illusion of resistance. Throughout the years the changes in the profile of tradesmen and the change of the market area has been an outcome of economic and political changes in which while they were keeping an –in reality- sliding center, their acts of exclusion of the others and their support or non-resistance to transformations contributed a narrower center which brings an economic burden on them. Secondly, the mentioned illusions of stability and resistance decreases their right to participate to city plan whose outcome is the transformation and further structuring of the center which is about to bring the malls and which has already ended the spontaneity of street and controlled the wandering to extent. Even though the general perception is on the control they gained by the shrinking of center over information, making them the narrators of the street

life, the neighbor of a big community gathered around the center, the increase in the construction of other communities outside of the center for various reasons challenges the attraction of the center. The Alevi neighborhoods, the illegal housing prevention zones, the excluded communities such as Lom people, university's becoming a zone by itself away from the city center is the outcome of such control and exclusion for the sake of keeping the center as much as they are related with the division of the politics of the city having roots in the recent history.

The shopkeepers and craftsmen exemplify an island in the city which has its specific governance and to compare the idea of the lost city with what is constructed by the new city projects justified by this narration. The illusion of stability and resistance they pose is not the result of the lack of an activity or the lack of resistance. We can consider the market area as an active place whose stability is aimed to be built on a sliding and changing center which results with the mentioned illusion. Their resistance takes a direction towards being the agents of local trade rather than the agents of transformation in which the center is kept not for the sake of its inhabitants including the tradesmen.

5.2 Extending Space: The Case of a Women-only Cultural Center

This section expounds how women taking courses in a women-only cultural center extended home-bound lives and altered the conditions in the center which are functioning as a domestic room opened on the street. By rooms I do not merely mention the small spatial structures in the domestic sphere; rooms especially refer to the domesticated public sphere used by Kumar and Makarova while analyzing how the features of domestic sphere are transferred outside.[16] To answer why I have found in Sivas a public life domesticated, I will remind here the effects of the new publicity discussed in the previous chapters.

[16] K. Kumar and E. Makarova, "The Portable Home: The Domestication of Public Space*," Sociological Theory (2008).

The new publicity seen in the center of Sivas shows itself through the projects governed by municipality, governorate and private foundations working with them. The impact of these developments can be measured from the social life brought by the renovated houses where the public life passes in rooms opened for men and women to have their religious conversations or to listen to sacred music separately or have gender-segregated meetings in these rooms. Another, more liberated version of the new social gatherings take place in rooms in the new restaurants transformed from old houses, where people spend time together without seclusion but properly according to the societal norms of gendered behavior. The *new life-outside* partially passes in places that both imitate the basic domestic architectural structure and reproduce the segregation ascribed to the public-private dichotomy. In other words, as commented before, the new publicity brought to the active life in the center of Sivas increased masculine domination and pushed on the shrinking of life-outside to a unit which can be compared with rooms of home. The places and life sequences passing according to these developments do not cover the entire social life in the center nor do the people who experience these places represent the entire public; however in the life of certain groups in Sivas, they exemplify a valid and common category of experience which, in terms of its extensity, cannot be neglected. Additionally, when taken together with the lack of the former meeting and re-creational places, what is left for the social life is mostly covered by these facilities, given the economic affordability of these places.

Acknowledging this kind of a structural change in public life is among the objectives of this thesis; however a much more essential objective is to reveal the life-outside that is developed by people inside these rooms. There is ongoing resistance, appropriation of place, development of tactics and coping strategies in effect inside these rooms. This is why the life inside which can also be the life-contra, needs more details.

For any discussion on publicity, an excluded group may function as the litmus paper to show the degree of mutual acceptance and transitivity of the social relations. As discussed over the cases in the third chapter, the publicity developed in the new shape

of the center of Sivas can best be discussed over the exclusion of several groups rather than a commonly shared public opinion constituted in a mutually accepted public environment and a public policy regulating it. There are communities who can be identified by their exclusion from such public environments, yet, for this part I will write about only one group whose exclusion is designed by a more complex relationship both including the processes of making a certain group invisible and making the same group as a constituent part of the new discourse on public activities. This group is composed of conservative women for whom the spatial organization adopts a new shape in the last decades in Sivas.

Evoking the case of *otherness* mentioned in the part 4.1, “Imagined Space: Development of a Narration to Adjust Publics to Transformation”, the figure of women is a vague one. The utterance of women, in the language of the authorities seem to embrace the entire groups of women in the city, though in actuality it refers to a narrower category than it appears. The women who are targeted by the cultural shift, are belonging to a smaller category due to the actual implementation of the activities according to a specific historical and religious content. On the other hand, contrary to the figure of the other in the mentioned chapter, women are not considered as usual *outsiders*. By addressing women as part of the community and not as the outsider/other, I am not referring to the main gendered division constructed in societies between man and woman in which woman becomes the other of man. Therefore, I do not mean here that the authorities ignore the gendered division, nor do I say that they challenge something essential to the segregation between sexes. To the contrary, I claim that the activities suggested to people for their leisure time adopt and implement gender segregation and they cover it by bringing women to the front as the signifier of their new cultural perspective.

In terms of the new publicity brought by the cultural and social activities designed by the authority, how women take place in it is challenging due to two reasons. Contrary to the case of some communities whose role is created as the main other inside the borders, women are not considered in the official acts as a group outside of the main

community. On the other hand their position as locals, citizens, voters does not result with achievement of representation or acceptance to the mutually shared places but rather becomes the signifier of change instead of being a part of it.

The presentation of these activities casts women from Sivas to the frame as a group of people to be supported and protected; as insiders with a fragile condition. In a city where the change in the façade brings a conservative historical and political appearance of the living space, the outcome of such transformation is the appropriation of the people's action according to this change. Another expected outcome undesirable for the agents of musealization is that the mentioned appropriation's multiple faces, which definitely include a challenge against place. This section is more related with the latter outcome involving the analysis of the obliged relationship between the controlled space and hidden action.

This challenge against the place is seen in the condition of conservative women taking courses in a cultural center, who challenge the mentioned rooms in the public life but extended them to the street. The interviews related with this chapter have been made in the Ladies Cultural Center where men cannot enter and the women taking courses have limited possibilities to have their social life in the open public places. During the time of my fieldwork in Sivas, there were two of these centers and the biggest one was about to be opened to challenge the existing cultural places. To support the confidentiality of the interviewees I chose not to note in which one out of the two I conducted the interviews.

Contrary to the content of many other parts of the thesis, the particular one belongs to the surprises of the field experience. Starting the field research my aim was to focus on different spatial experiences of the city. Yet, during the time I spent in Sivas I did not only witnessed the relatively limited spatial actions of women but I also came across with a raising emphasis on the city's opportunities for women in the announcements. During the interviews, many women whom I interviewed told me that the courses compose an important part of their social life since there is not so

much to do in the city. When I asked about the courses I learned that republican women, Alevi women and secluded women in most cases have different places for courses. The contents of these courses were almost the same and some courses were thought by the same authorities. On the other hand the ways of entering to those places were different. The reason why some women do not prefer to attend the classes in Ladies Cultural Center was the seclusion in the place. Even though there is no legal basis for the prohibition of men's attendance, male public could not take courses from that place. This is also why some women prefer to go to the very course since especially the male members of family allow their attendance there based on this feature of the place. As a result, due to two reasons I searched women going to the last one. The first reason was obviously the guess about a different spatial experience. Ladies Cultural Center is not just a place among others. It is understood as a story of success in comparison with the others, since the two Ladies Cultural Center in the city enabled a break in the mixed-gender tradition in the city and therefore could be seen as giving a space to women who needed it. Moreover, as a brand of the Municipality, the new building -, which during my stay was under construction, was going to be the *rival* of Atatürk Cultural Center:

> We are building a new Ladies Cultural Center with features to make it perhaps to the top. It is located centrally. We hope this year the foundation will be laid, in the city center. The nursery in front of the old Social Security Institution Hospital will be removed, the project has been drawn for that place. Due to the common use areas it has the potential to be among the best in Turkey, from the swimming pool to the theater hall. The hall of Atatürk's Cultural Center for the theater activities in Sivas has a capacity of 530 people. The capacity of Ladies Cultural Center is of 750 people. It will have the chance of being the biggest hall in Sivas.[17]

Following the information on the importance of the center, the second reason was gendered networking. I knew as a woman myself that, my interaction with women and creating a network composed of secluded women were more achievable steps than visiting and building a relation with the male part. So I could cover some part of the lack of representation of the Islamist-conservative groups in the thesis. As a result

[17] Interview with Mustafa Saydam, The Advisor of the Major, 09/05/2012.

I met a woman who goes there and then due to her guidance I was able to meet and interviewed other women taking various courses in the center.

After I realized the importance of the courses, I met a participant who invited me to the center and helped me to create a network from women going there and recommended others to talk to me. The field in the Ladies Cultural Center is mainly divided into two phases. The first one was to be there with women during their course time and the second one was to interview with the volunteer women. From 13.02.2012 onwards, I made regular visits to the Ladies Cultural Center. The fieldwork started with the ornament course in 13.02.2012, next day in 14.02.2012 due to a participant who is taking both of the courses I was introduced to the hairdressing course. On 15th of February 2012 I interviewed women from the sewing course and spent another visit to the ornament course and finished the fieldwork next day in 16.02.2012 by visiting the embroidery course. In sum the number of women whom I interviewed is 20.

As seen in the background characteristics of the interviewees in Appendix D, most of the women I interviewed were spending an important amount of their daily life in their houses whereas the course was among the few places they visit. 15 women described themselves as *housewives*. Since maintaining the household is a full-time occupational activity, I did not want to place them outside of the occupational status and display them as people without occupation, so I chose to define their working status as *unpaid household laborer*. This definition can be found complex when the occupational status of some women are considered. Here I should add that the unpaid household laborer is noted when it is the first occupation.

There are also women who have a profession other than being a household laborer such as in the case of L.P. She is a teacher whose husband does not allow her to work since she came to Sivas. I did not refer to her as both a teacher and unpaid household laborer but as an unemployed teacher and I noted in the end of the table that she is not allowed. Similarly the reason why many women do not work outside is because of this same problem of allowance coming from the male members of their family. 16

women were sharing this problem and some among them were trying to use the good reputation of the center to be able to work in the future. In some cases women were students in distance education and since their primary statement about themselves is that they are housewives, their studentship is also noted in addition to their status as unpaid household laborers. Similarly, E.H. was also writing for a children's magazine without getting paid yet she defined her occupation as being a housewife, so I noted both of her occupations are noted in the table. Since their life in the center creates a discrepancy for their life at home and the general settlement of gender roles in closed environments, I believe the other aspect of their life is important and should be analyzed in terms of their ways of confronting and challenging the city's, the authorities' and its populations' demands.

5.2.1 A Multi-Purpose Femininity: The Function Femininity Takes under Patriarchy

The use of femininity by patriarchy is based on the positional construction of the idea of woman. The plurality offered by various female constructions of being a woman is challenged by an empty form of femininity. The necessity of emptiness is as such because there is the demand of filling the form functionally according to the circumstances in service of patriarchy.

The mentioned process of signification is a rich subject especially in the feminist literature, which makes it difficult here to refer to the entire field. Here I will simply refer some of the works on how gender roles are applied to the difference ascribed to the spheres. Generally a more detailed and elaborated category, gender and gendered roles attributed to women will be referred here in two cases. The first one is the positional structure of femininity in the patriarchal public sphere structure and the second one includes the issue of the skills and strategies developed by women to challenge, alter or weaken the surrounding domination.

The very challenge replaces what has achieved, constructed and experienced by women during the time under different conditions out of historicity: on the one hand

it creates a unitary femininity; on the other, it creates an identity without a standpoint developed by femininities. Dealing with the forms of construction of the femininity, much of the literature visualizes the women's position in societal relations over the use of various understandings of public-private debate. Such a debate cannot be avoided when considering the reproductive capacity including both the reproduction of collectivities and the reproduction of mainstream societal borders are considered.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis in their elaborate work on the issue exemplify the mentioned line of signification under the rule of modern capitalist patriarchy. Women's position in the nation-states according to Yuval-Davis replicates a multiple reflection of reproduction which is appointed to be the main duty of women. Reproduction as the creation of collectivities, boundaries between communities, continuity of culture and symbols dividing the communities are among the duties.[18] However the importance of femininity for the states on the ground of citizenship and intra-national contact loses its validity while the signifier position does also bring segregation and higher symbolisms. A frequently seen example is the motivation of soldiers to defend the nation for the continuity of the purity of women and thus the purity of nation which leads to the conceptualization of the national land as a mother herself to be protected.[19] While, during times of national unrest, it is for building the "national type", main characteristics, points of differences with the others; during peace the symbolisms on femininity helps to keep the inner borders clear-cut. The modernized tradition of masculine domination, control and protectionism on the public and private life which is reinforced by the state policies, institutions and the gendered distinction between the domains can be interpreted as an outcome of the "fraternal contract". A meticulous uttering of patriarchal bonds among man, the fraternal contract which is developed

[18] Floya Yuval-Davis Nira Cain Harriet Anthias, Racialized Boundaries : Race, Nation, Gender, Colour, and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle (London; New York: Routledge, 1992).

[19] For a good discussion of the subject see: Saigol Rubina, "Militarizasyon, Ulus Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Şiddetli Çatışma Alanları Olarak Kadın Bedenleri in Vatan Millet Kadınlar [Militarisation, Nation and Gender: Women's Bodies as Areas of Violent Conflict]," in Vatan Millet Kadınlar ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004).

due to the historical investigation of Pateman, reveals the creation of gendered divisions based on the legitimization of the symbolism attributed to differences:

> Women are 'opposite to and outside the fraternal social contract' and its civil law in two senses. First they are 'originally', necessarily, excluded from an agreement through which the brothers inherit their legacy of patriarchal sex right and legitimize their claim over women's bodies and ability to give birth. Second, the civil encapsulates all that women lack. The civil law stems from a reasoned agreement that is to the rational mutual advantage of the participants to construct to constrain their interactions and desires through a law equally applicable to all. Women's passions render them incapable of making such a reasoned agreement or of upholding if it made. In other words, the patriarchal claim that there is a 'foundation in nature' for women's subjection to men is a claim that women's bodies must be governed by men's reason. The separation of civil society from the familial sphere is also a division between men's reason and women's bodies.[20]

The positionality of feminine shows another useful part of it in the social agreements on women's acts. For instance, the case of women during the first years of the Republic in Turkey includes a fundamental spatial transformation for women by giving them the street and the visibility on the street with equal rights. On the other hand, these women had to symbolize at least two major differences: the approaching borders between the East and West and the irreversible borders between the Ottoman publicity and the Modern Turkish publicity. Göle, while describing the motivators of the change in the former Ottoman public sphere, places the visible change brought by women's appearance as the *touchstone* of the attempts of modernization:

> The veiling of women, indicative of the private sphere and a culture of secrecy, therefore, illustrates the existing asymmetry between Islamic and Western societies and their distinct organization of life spaces and lifestyles.
>
> This is exactly why the increasing visibility of women and the emergence of the private sphere act as the touchstone of Westernization. Women's place thus defines, on the one hand, the degree of orientation toward Western civilization and, on the other, the degree to which the Muslim community is preserved. The practice of veiling, for Westernists, is the main obstacle to modernization;

[20] Carol Pateman, "The Fraternal Social Contract " in Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives, ed. John Keane (London: Verso, 1988), 80.

> for the Islamists, it is the leading symbolic force against the degeneration of society.[21]

During 1990s this initial construction of internal borders based on signs of modernity and tradition took a new shape in which the struggle to be visible in the public life adopted differently by different groups of women. While there was an ongoing feminist movement which started to show itself during the second half of 1980s , the struggle of veiled women during 1990s was basically against the head scarf ban of the state for studying and working in places under state control. The relatively narrow structure of this movement remain outside of the organized struggle against state patriarchy. Both parties dealing with women's rights later would start to act together on certain objectives but the particular period witnessed multiple femininities signifying different and in most cases opposing cases such as the women with or without headscarf both signifying adverse liberations.

In the frame of following movements, the understanding of *women's emancipation* created in the early republican period has been challenged by both parties who were also in struggle with each other in terms of the definition and limits of rights and liberations. Sivas Massacre in 1993 has been used for a long time as a ground to oppose conservative developments in which head-scarf became a major sign of change. On the other hand, the head-scarf ban to prevent the development of a group of conservative bureaucrats, public officers and academicians, since it mainly focused on women and since it challenges the main initiative of women's movement -being visible in the public sphere- gave rise to the head-scarf's being uttered with the idea of freedom. With the changes in what head-scarf signifies, political sphere opened which is rooted in the righteous demands of women to take place in the public sphere and the political opportunism of conservative politics to choose a rather innocent sign. Göle, interprets the politicization of Islam using the head scarf as a symbol starting

[21] Nilüfer Göle, The Forbidden Modern : Civilization and Veiling (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 52.

from the 1970s as a political area which, due to political opportunism, gave rise to emancipation in the eyes of veiled women:

> Paradoxically, as Islam politicized itself, it moved women toward the political scene, and the black veil, the symbol of the return to premodern Islamic traditions, acted as an expression of the active participation of women in political demonstrations. Rising Islamist movements, on the one hand, call for the return of women to their traditional settings and positions. On the other hand, they replace the traditional portrait of Muslim woman with a politicized, active one. The prevailing image of a fatalist, passive, docile and obedient traditional Muslim woman was replaced by that of an active, demanding, and, even, militant Muslim woman who is no longer confined to her home.[22]

I do not fully agree with Göle in terms of the rights obtained by women from men to enter into the public sphere, at least a fully-fledged one. Additionally, the women I interviewed are examples of a kind of confinement to closed environments. However, I share the same idea on the development of an active self-consciousness which shows itself at least in the development of tactics to challenge the domestication.

The development of both women's movements and their certain achievements against various forms of patriarchy during that period show a critical aspect on the evaluation of femininity. Much of the literature visualizes women's subordinated position in societal relations. However, when dealing with the form which subjects the figure of women into a fluid character whose acts and symbolic value is to remain under the circumstantial demands of different forms of masculine domination a point should be taken under consideration is the variety of struggles and outcomes developed and gained by women under the subjected position.

Women, as any group subjected to limitations develop their strategies. Kandiyoti when theorizing the position of women under constraint develops the term "patriarchal bargain" to define the initiator of the tactics developed by women:

[22] The Forbidden Modern : Civilization and Veiling (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 84.

> These patriarchal bargains exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gendered subjectivity and determine the nature of gender ideology in different contexts. They also influence both the potential for and specific forms of women's active or passive resistance in the face of their oppression.[23]

Admitting that to my ears, the term *bargain* means something outside of internalized borders and is part of a more conscious reaction, challenge the women pose in the Center where I made interviews, I see a correlation between the negotiation and tactics developed by them. The positionality reflected on them leads to multiple ways of challenging over the mainstream instruments of patriarchy such as relating women with closed and domestic environments. The context they challenge is both an outcome of conservative/patriarchal construction of femininity in their environment and the public life developed in Sivas. This new sense of public life benefit from the new image and roles of secluded women and renders, at least part of them, invisible.

These roles and symbols coming together with their symbolizing the past and new borders brings together a new figure, a new publicly visible woman type for whom another body control has been developed. During my interviews with various women from various groups I learned that a headscarf for instance is a very easily visible sign of change in comparison with other displays their identity or politics. A good example is the length of the nails to understand whether a woman is from a religious sect or not. The more detailed the identification with certain thoughts or belongings, the more narrow the area of action gets due the surveillance coming from both public and its authorities.

The importance of signs such as minimal details to show people's orientation, communication through smaller actions and smaller gatherings determine not only the explicit political face of daily life but also the more implicit political structure of everyday action. Focusing on a smaller scale, the restricted space in Sivas takes a path which enables a more fluid discussion on the acts and interaction of people in a relatively limited space. In terms of signifiers of belonging, it is harder to realize the

[23] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy", Gender and Society. 2, no. 3 (1988): 275.

trace of actual people living in the city is than to realize the signs of authority. On the other hand, even the case of remembering what has been destructed in a certain area, keeps a path of public on the street. When it comes to women's use of space, or more courageously their transformation of space, these acts depend on similarly less visible ways. This is not only a personal choice or group decision. Sivas, as many cities in Turkey, needed a long period of adapting to the modern existence of women and partially women's acts on the street depend on different rules or accepted roles than those of men. Smaller and more momentary relations in the city present a rich possibility to understand the details of a small scale resistance which is easy to get overlooked in the larger frame.

In this frame extending the walls becomes more important yet due to the circumstances, the extended walls are less visible. Still, I will claim that these women as a part of the public in Sivas organize a counter-public which develops its main challenge against the patriarchal control over their personal life. So, even though the structure of the courses and how the social is transformed have an indicative value for the part, the actual importance is given to the action of people and how they transform the place. I contend that for such a small scale challenge against the basics of daily life, the major and required achievement for women is to develop a free space out of a place of surveillance and I believe that is actually what they have done.

5.2.2 From Rooms at Homes to Rooms Outside: The Production of Domestic Places

The lives of the women I interviewed were mostly similar and in terms of using the urban sphere except their home and the home of neighbors, the cultural center were among the few places they can visit by themselves with a few exceptions. I realized the fact that when the questions are directed to their life in closed environments, whether this is their household responsibilities, their relation with relatives or neighbors or daily activities, including the ones in the center, the answers were highly detailed. On the other hand, when answering the questions about the life in the city, outside, in most cases the answers were again related with domestic sphere.

During the interviews three of the questions I asked showed the restrictions for being a part of a life including the street and related with that the articulation between the strengthened patriarchal values with a gendered social space where the right to use the city divided between sexes unequally. These three questions with a very basic content about daily life activities in the city were: “What would you like to do in the city?”, “Do you find the possibilities in the city enough for you?” and “How is the life in the city?”.

For the first question, women tend to reflect what they would like to do in their lives. Some of these answers were coming from a very personal life goal was “I would like to study”.[24] Similarly another answer was “I would like to work, I feel regretful”.[25] Similar answers were coming from mostly married women whose husbands do not allow them to work. The course for hairdressing, the only course offering a possibility of working outside, was divided between young women who think of a job outside as hairdresser one day and women over 35 who had the permission of working only in the case of opening a hairdresser for secluded women. That is why from this group different answers came for the second question. When the possibilities offered by the city asked in the question, one of the interviewees who was participating to this course having the permission of opening a hairdresser, answered the question by matching the life outside with the life in the course “They are enough for me. Here they are teaching us, the women with headscarf, how to apply a headscarf style, we are very happy.”[26]

Other women who have the permission to work at home such as offering catering services or sewing, answered the same question positive as well since they told the possibilities of work have been increased. This answer should be taken carefully when

[24] Y. B., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

[25] L.P., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

[26] Y. B., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

comparing the possibilities of the city in terms of finding employment. For workers and public officers the possibilities are decreasing day by day, on the other hand informal sector including home-based works show an increase with the addition of getting easier permission from the male relatives and partners. As a result, all of the women value the center also from this side, even they are allowed or not allowed to work, since they do gain skills including courses on parenting, which is seen as another occupation by women.

The center's replacing the life on street resembles also the understanding of the *gold days* or *meeting days* of women which in most cases happens in the house of someone from a close group of women at least once in a week. For the third question many answers given by exemplifying the habit of meeting together among women. For the younger, single women living with the family, these meeting days were problematic since they told me they are forced by their mothers to go there. A few however find it as a good activity that enriches daily life. L.H. who lived in Balikesir before answered "How is the life in the city" as "boring" since the meeting days in Sivas is less active and offer less food types.[27] For elder, married and secluded women the life in the city meant the life at home, at "meeting days" and the life at "conversation houses", which means the houses of religious leaders which offers religious conversation meetings, Quran courses, relatively rare visits of Turkish bath where women go together and one month in Ramadan when they could visit many mosques and shrines as a way to be outside. The only exception of meeting in a closed environment is picnics which are done frequently during spring and summer, yet again by the control of male companions.

For the interviewees meeting days were indeed part of being outside since they bring together being somewhere else than home even it is mostly somebody else's house. A married women who has newly moved to the center from a town in Sivas criticized such freedom brought by meeting days: "Everyday they are going somewhere else,

[27] L.H., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

they are very comfortable. I do not go, I don't have relatives here, and also why would I go, I want to open the door when my children come back from school."[28]

The other answers did not commonly share the idea of liberation coming with these days, however they were consistent in seeing it as an outdoor activity. Otherwise, they were allowed to be on the street only with the assistance and control of male relatives and husbands.

From their detailed answers about the life inside I learned that there are three types of meeting days. The first and more conventional one is going to or welcoming neighbors and friends with appetizers and foods prepared by the host. The second and a familiar one is in a way bringing outside at home by offering food from outside. Since doner is preferred in those meetings they were called "doner days". A third and in our case a surprising one was bringing home outside. Some women, whose economic status were well-situated in comparison with the others, were hiring a room in some restaurants offering such service. The importance of these rooms were their offering a *women-only* meeting room in a mixed gender restaurant.

Another difference between younger and elder women were their preferences when it comes to the life in the city. Most of the younger, single women told me that they would like to participate the events such as concerts or film screenings however getting permission is difficult. Except one, they did not utter a favorite time in the city. The interviewee telling about a special time in her daily life was allowed to go to cinema once in a year when her cousins spend their mid-term holiday, which makes her privileged among the others. However, for the elder, married women, as noted above both the Ramadan and some faraway places outside of their access have the feature of either marvelous or bizarre, almost in the shape of a mythological narration.

An example for that is praying in seven mosques in Ramadan. Ramadan as the only

[28] L.P., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

time that they can continuously be outside becomes the case of a detailed life section passing outside, is intermixed with beliefs about enriching ones position in the community and in terms of religious merits. Visiting seven mosques therefore moving among different places was believed to make the wishes true. A similar case is to visit the shrine during religious holidays. These narrations pose both the example of a life section totally differentiated from the other temporal parts of the life due to an intense touch with the city and both creates the marvelous as a temporary unit in their personal time perception. In comparison with the details given for that period, the parts narrated for the other times and other parts of the city is determined by remoteness and bizarre elements. An example for that is the hot springs in Sivas where they have not been before until the time of the interviews. According to the narration the hot springs were offering numerous cures made by magical snakes and become a scary part of city features. Not only mythical elements but some more practical issues about daily life is used in the narration as a part of what is bizarre and dangerous such as visiting other cities alone as a women: "There are things women cannot do without men. A woman who goes to Istanbul deserves what happens to her".[29] These ideas about non-visited places confirms the patriarchal idea on the stability of women however it also reveals the map of actual life experience.

The reason I give place to these ideas which I match with the structure of myths has no relation with ridiculing the thoughts of those women. As seen in the answers, contrary to the limited knowledge of life-outside, the life-inside is highly detailed. In this kind of narration myths become the part of an important border between the life at home and the life on the street. Between the detailed and over practiced daily life at home and the very less practiced and mostly dreamed presence at outside, only a few places have a real and experienced feature which are in fact closed and secluded spheres taking place at outside. When the life passes between closed environments, rooms briefly, the distinction between the life-outside and the life-inside do not refer to the mainstream segregations determining the public and private spheres. Some of

[29] G.C., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 15, 2012.

the internal spheres mentioned in detail by women actually take place in the public sphere.

The very situation overlaps with two spatial dominations. One is the masculinization of public sphere due to the availability of public areas especially for the male members of the community or the dependency of other's access due to the control and guidance of the male-native part of the community. The other development which is in close relation with the masculinization of public sphere is the already mentioned development over women-only and relatively less existent male-only places. Since the developments do not limit the male access, here our focus will be on the women-only places, named in this section as rooms in the public sphere. In other words the creation of home-like structures with similar limitations for women in the open to public areas and the blurred borders between home and outside leads to a *domestication of the public sphere*. Kumar and Makarova's intention in writing the developments about this blurred area is the personal achievements in which people can transfer their private life to the street.[30]

Even though this work cannot be considered among the most detailed works on the subject, how they analyzed the subject brings the possibility of making a comparison between different understandings of domestication. Beyond their belief of a personal choice on a self-manifestation in the shape of giving private sphere the forgotten feature of representing the self; two processes give the premise of visibility of private life on the public sphere. Among these privatizations comes first which links the self directly to the consumption of life-habits in any unit of societal life as Kumar and Makarova do refer in their article.[31] Secondly I argue that, still linked with economic objectives, there is the location of certain groups in the city scale according to their features, abilities, constraints and orientations. The former situation may be relevant with gender segregation, occupational segregation, a separation depending on

[30]Kumar and Makarova, "The Portable Home: The Domestication of Public Space.

[31] Kumar and Makarova, "The Portable Home, 327.

personal interests and choices as we see in the hobby cafes or playstation cafes or open to public meditation rooms. Especially for conservative spaces where the role of certain people are differentiated with other and in the case of this certain role is more linked with the domestic sphere, we witness the history of segregations and domain arrangements find their new voice in this both economically profitable and structurally stabile conditions. Home based work for women is an example of it which also reflects itself on the public interaction with the overlap between the courses given to women and their domestic patriarchal *duties*. Similarly, keeping the interest by both carrying them outside of home, making them more profitable but keeping the original segregation untouched as in the case of meeting days in women only rooms. Briefly, domestication of public sphere in the larger frame which articulates the process to the domain of power rather than individual interests and creates in the case of Sivas a profitable patriarchy.

The change manifested by the state mechanisms and local governments both strengthen the acceptance of their policies by giving place to women and enrich the city economy by opening some of the facilities to women's uses and both disable any conservative attack to their part since in reality the position of women do not change environment but only change places.

The increasing domestication of the public areas display a downbeat frame. On the other hand I will claim here, even the strictest rooms can be extended. If they do not extend themselves to the street, they at least exuberate the strictness of the frame.

5.2.3 The Condition of Women in an Isolated Cultural Center

The analysis of how women react against limitations needs a closer area than the broader structure of public life outside passing in various locations. As a result, the smaller unit to analyze becomes the Ladies Cultural Center. Women who are formerly closed to their homes adopt the center as a second home, or at least their private room to get socialized and spare time for personal parts of daily life, such as activities rather than housework. With this specific feature between the detailed life narrations in

domestic environments and less detailed or mystified stories on outside, the center have an exceptional status as being both a place in outside and both an internalized, domesticated and well known place.

The demand of domestication from the authorities and the demand of liberation from the attendants open a challenge on the claims of the place even though the attending women generally are very satisfied from the service and positive towards the acts of authorities. Most of the courses offered to the public address directly women and they are based on reproducing the traditional (gendered) crafts which are seen women's work or duty such as embroidery. The first one is the relation of the content of these courses with the private domain as possible home based labor serving the informal economy activities or spare time activities. Secondly, contrary to their strong relation with patriarchal roles reflected on women, these courses present themselves as the ones developing and enhancing women's lives and doing it especially giving them the value they deserve. On the other hand, how women use these courses goes beyond the will to perform the domestic roles reflected on them. The crucial point here is the articulation of patriarchy with the public administration showing itself in the domestication of leisure activities challenging the evaluation of free time by women visiting there.

One point that should be stressed here is the relatively weaker link of economy in the relations. The possibility of the course content's leading to informal economy cannot be taken under the greater category of economic profit or economic transformation. Rather than being the signifier of an economic change, the specific articulation is taken as the symbol of the conservative orientation and veiling processes, which beneath the major social transformation hides the economic comfort of the authorities in a tamed sphere. Therefore I am not suggesting the economic link is not important. Briefly, the entire understanding of service in which the free or affordable courses are highly visible in it, is taken here as the way to transform and domesticate the public sphere which gives a free area of action to the authorities including their economic conformism.

On the one hand, the center gives a limited freedom in fact supporting the actual limitation in women's life. However, as it is for many aspects of the daily routine, it is the same as the daily life of women: it depends on the balance between keeping the ongoing and challenging it, therefore continuing by altering, developing tactics and playing with the shade of daily life. People, according to the circumstances, play with the shade and they do not obey to it. They find ways to shelter under it and develop methods to be seen under it when they find necessary. This is briefly what happens under the roof of women's cultural center.

During my first visit, I was invited to a birthday party celebration in the ornament making course. The first meeting was surprising from many points. When I was introduced by my first interviewee who provided my further introduction to groups, I met with ten women among whom only five were wearing headscarf. When during the celebration of the birthday a camera appeared to take photographs, except one, all the rest of the women wore headscarf and they later told me only in the course they open their head.

After the photography session I learned that they have their own Facebook group where they share media and interpret the events they heard of. No one's family knew about it and additionally some women were coming by borrowing a phone from close relatives so that they use the wireless and connect to people, unbeknown to their family. Even though the secret life passing there meant a definite individualization of daily time, it was not all about secret. It was also a place to go with small children since there was nursery inside, a place for free sport and free socialization. One of the interviewees was comparing the before and after for her basing on this side of the place:

> Before the course I was passing to one couch to another. When my husband returned from work he used to say, "Oh my wife, you covered a great distance today."[32]

[32] D.S., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 13, 2012.

The center, from many sides was a connection to the outer spheres, to meet with people, to be visible in the virtual environment which was meaning a certain liberation and more importantly to stay outside of home.

Towards the end of this course, they went and asked about the new courses, when I asked the reason of their interest, they told me they do not want to return back home. Yet, to continue the courses they should be fast to apply. Many among there wanted to go with the friends they made here and mostly to apply to water marbling course, but the teacher was male. This situation created a huge problem. While leaving I saw the girl whom we celebrated her birthday cleaning the place. Others were calling and warning her because when she goes late to home she was facing problems. Then D.S. told me: “Do you see what we do for not go back home”.[33] I visited the same course once again, but I did not find the first image I had there in which half of the women were not wearing a headscarf. After that they learned that a camera system was protecting the place and the second male person of the center, the guard who has a cabin outside of the building could see them.

Coming to the course were offering a practical area of action to those women, there were some who were taking courses even though their family would not allow them to work but since to their eyes the place was safe, they were sending them. In that week, during my various visits I realized the pauses were longer than usual and I also witnessed some women were meeting like they met for the birthday party organize their weekly meeting days. There were also women using the place for gathering a small income from selling materials like hosiery. These were not only in the shape of small comfort gained by the courses, there were some women using this practical area to take education or to show the family that they can manage their life. In a similar way, being there helps them to cope with the problems in their lives. There were two women who gained the status of going out alone partially due to change brought by going to the course, therefore being able to go somewhere else than someone else’s

[33] D.S., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 13, 2012.

home. As for many interviewees for these two women also the course time is also being used to track personal plans such as applying to distance-education. D.G. as a result of the good reputation of the place and the confidence she gained told me that she managed to take the permission to go alone for paying the bill for the household expenses. Additionally, she started studying open high school at first secretly and later informed her family. She plans to study more and become a public officer.[34] Similarly Z.T. after starting to evaluate her time, finished open high school and started the distance education without letting her husband or children know about it. She gave the answer "I didn't want them to interfere" when I asked why she did it secretly.[35]

A third example of gaining self-trust was two women, one who was sent by her acquaintances due to the psychological problems she had since she was living with her mother-in-law and one who couldn't stand being alone in the city since she came recently to Sivas as a new bride. All women were interpreting their experience as developing their ways of socialization such as İ.K.: "Before, if I saw an atheist I would be very afraid, I couldn't sit together but now I say 'she cannot hurt me'. Now I can even help an atheist if she cries in front of me."[36] [37]

When considered the impact of the center for those women's lives, socialization and psychologically getting stronger is of course the main effect of the place, however, how they use the place includes more than that. For this very specific case I suggest to consider the case of the center under two features. The first one is being a place of gendered surveillance in terms of functioning. The second one is a safe place due to the utilization of it by women taking the courses. Their situation is similar to the idea of patriarchal bargain, however I see more than bargaining with patriarchy in the

[34] D.G., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 13, 2012.

[35] Z.T., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 16, 2012.

[36] İ.K., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 16, 2012.

[37] Atheist here is used as someone who is not a practicing Muslim.

creation of a safe place since it becomes an attempt of keeping the patriarchal control as far as possible from them.

The action of women inside, both during their relations with their teachers and both inside the group, depend on certain principles in which keeping what has been told inside the borders of the center is of primary importance.

On the one hand people inside do not constitute a community or society, they do not know each other, they are not relatives, in most cases they are not neighbors and therefore they can trust each other and tell about their personal and family problems. In fact my own presence among them depended on the same principle of being an outsider. The center, even though it aims to settle the position of women in a homelike place, a second guarded home in the public sphere, how women appropriate it depends on making it a safe place and even a safe node where the center containing the node is not aware of it.

When I reached various women from different courses, they used this feature of the place, instead of meeting me some place else, they wanted to give interviews to me in the center where they feel more free than their home, so no husband, brother, mother, mother in law or child could interrupt our speech. In my first visit I understood they were using the place both as a learning center and as their own living room. Similar to the meeting days women organize in their living rooms, they were gathering not only for taking courses but for gaining income, being in another space, the by collectively internet and social media and by communicating with others by borrowed phones and secret sim-cards.

The investigation of weaker and relatively ambiguous spheres poses a hard task and a rather less biased view on who are the others forming the other spheres, that is why the questioning of women's position and women's public sphere has been one of the long standing issues in the discussions. In addition to this, as De Certeau has persistently depicted, the formation of areas, routes, paths, group movements and thus

spheres does not have to be necessarily the outcome of a conscious action. Instead of concentrating on the discipline as Foucault did, De Certeau, with his own words, writes about “anti-discipline”, namely how people develop their ways to open-out the net surrounding them.[38] Even though this thesis does not include an analysis of lingual structures, his use of “walkers” to depict the connections between the functioning of language and functioning of spatial order and practitioner’s (walkers) action, offer the hint of analyzing the unplanned and less governed actions of the people on the street from the aspect of challenging the rule to be settled.

> Their story begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad, but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted because each unit has a qualitative character: a style of tactile apprehension and kinesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In that respect, pedestrian movements form one of these "real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city. They are not localized; it is rather they that spatialize. They are no more inserted within a container than those Chinese characters speakers sketch out on their hands with their fingertips.[39]

The definition of the *walkers* resembles from one aspect the definition of people visiting the new cultural programs of the municipality and governorate as they are similar to the mentioned people meeting in courses. Especially for people participating in courses, after some time the anonymity disappears, yet their first meeting is coincidental and their further remaining together not for a specific purpose, not as a planned group but according to a certain will of owning space is connected with the acts of the walkers. Walking changes the trajectory from its graphic, planned aspect and appropriates a new trajectory composed of the possibilities designed for the walkers and the paths they themselves created or abandoned. So, stressing the point of division between Foucault and De Certeau, the act and thus the act without a revolutionary goal but surviving from the day, disable the “Panopticon” to a certain limit:

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[38] Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley, Calif; London: University of California Press, 2011), 13.

[39] ibid, 97.

> The long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them (it can take place only within them) nor in conformity with them (it does not receive its identity from them). It creates shadows and ambiguities within them. It inserts its multitudinous references and citations into them (social models, cultural mores, personal factors). Within them it is itself the effect of successive encounters and occasions that constantly alter it and make it the other's blazon: in other words, it is like a peddler, carrying something surprising, transverse or attractive compared with the usual choice. These diverse aspects provide the basis of a rhetoric. They can even be said to define it. [40]

The ambiguities mentioned here, constituting a bridge between the walkers and women in courses brings us closer to the emptiness in the programmed part of daily life which can be filled with human action which sometimes functions contrary to the will of the power groups. While for the Lefebvrian approach the consciousness raised by the effect of spatial dynamics becomes prominent, from the point of De Certeau, space also leads to not consciously determined but tactically selected actions taking the form of a response to the alternatives shaped by space. In both cases, space is altered by the agents and in any case contrary to the original plan of space and for this part, both are important since the public action is also visible among the not-strictly determined borders through not mobilized group actions. No matter how, the spontaneity or the rapid development of tactics does not change the possibility of transformation nor does it for a revolutionary change.

What I witnessed in the center is a specific way of interaction which created its own codes. These codes are based on actions to form a kind of secret world in which what is known from outside is limited due to the discreteness of insiders and what has been achieved inside is getting linked to what is forbidden: an environment not controlled by closer people. Even it includes the cases of action in a walled center and in digital environment, the achievement is directed to patriarchal control and it overcomes it to a certain extent.

[40] ibid, 102.

By concentrating on the appropriation of the center by collaboratively and confidentially extending the limits of the place these women do not alter the rules of the street but attach themselves to them by developing their own free place.

5.2.4 Transforming a Controlled Place into Free Space

While the term free space is mostly used parallel with politically active groups including emancipatory movements developed by subordinated gender groups, it is not frequent to analyze the same way places where less politically oriented people or groups not overtly motivated to alter their subordination.

More often such analyses on the use of space by conservative women are influenced by the mainstream public-domestic sphere discussions and the spatial features are analyzed as a production of the authority where a counter-production by women is not often mentioned. In this section the place selected is already a domesticated area but how this space functions has been altered by its users/consumers and even though the conservatism still defines the place, it is freed to a certain extent from the pressure of the authority.

At this very point the other half of the spatial dynamics show itself, which finds its description in Lefebvre's major work "The Production of Space" as the impossibility of understanding a certain space in a given time as "a collection of people and things in space".[41] The essence of space's being a produced area lies in the fact that the active existence of people within the areas they appropriate.

As seen in the spatial cases related with Sivas, space is open to interruption which necessarily includes the interruption of the groups who cannot be reduced to nor can be subsumed by the authorities which both can be called appropriation or the production itself.

[41] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991), 31.

Appropriation, in this sense is seen by Lefebvre as the antagonist of the domination, the users or inhabitants become the modifiers of it during the same process of the planning and functioning of space to dominate.[42]

The cultural center is a dominated space but the natural co-existence of the place with its users and thus the natural antagonism between the two breaks the force of domination. Since the present subject involves how women appropriate space opened for themselves to educate and domesticate them at the same time, another Lefebvrian distinction between appropriation and diversion should be mentioned. Even though they are close both in terms of action and both in the sense that social groups prove to alter space, *diversion* for Lefebvre is an act of not fundamentally changing space but temporarily breaking its link with authority, give it another purpose. The lack of production in this act take the place away from being appropriated by people.[43]

Occupied places can be considered as an example, a case whose life starts with the life of the outer space and economy and in most cases adapt itself again to the economy and rules of outside. In our case I am not giving the example of an altogether alteration of a certain place but I do pose a case of a critical contestation between people using a certain place and the domination coming from the spatial restrictions. I simply focus on the tactics developed by women and deal with how those women appropriate space to gain back at least their *living room*.

Free space means literally and figuratively a space opened for people by people. Even though a consensus among scholars is not openly created, here I adopt both of the mainstream approaches.[44] Free spaces can have both a connection to cultural works

[42] ibid, 166.

[43] ibid, 157,168.

[44] Among various definitions of free spaces I refer to two of the mostly known works. The first one belongs to the creators of the term “free space” Sara Evans and Harry Boyte who briefly name the places used for consciousness raising and mobilization of groups enabling a certain distance to the control of the authority. A bookstore or a church or any pubic place when used for these purposes can be named as a free space. Harry Boyte and Sara Evans, "Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America," (Harper and Row, Nueva York, 1986). For some scholars like Hirsch a free place

for which the street literature or fanzines offer such an area or a cultural reserve to lead people to gather in particular places due to a certain accumulation of knowledge on appropriating space to resist oppression. Free spaces can indeed be physical places. Additionally, now we have the other space, which is the virtual space where the social networks get digitized and the question of proximity in group dynamics have been drastically challenged. The addition of the online social networks to the discussions on free spaces which happened after the publication of Polletta's article and much later than any discussion she mentions in her work, in my belief, invalidate to a certain extent the former division between the cultural and the social.

Cultural, which is used here to refer the fictional artifacts used to be seen from mainstream analyses on production as a meta-structure whose roots are tied up to the real and political which are the main areas of analysis rather than the cultural sphere itself. Social, in many works refers to the same spatial unity with the actual life happening in a real environment. Political motivations and political action for which the free places can be seen as a nest is considered to be developed by people producing their action through a common heritage of past actions and presently shared beliefs and goals sharing at least the same public sphere if not exactly the same location. I believe the structure of -especially- the social networks pose a challenge to all of these mainstream ideas since it offers an environment where people not sharing the same location can develop a *public opinion* on certain aspects those are at the same time cultural artifacts and are composed through cultural collaboration. Any of these act of creation can have a political basis and lead to a political action in spite of the spatial differences of people creating and supporting it. Briefly, when I write about a free space as I will do in the following paragraphs, I will use the term both for the real places and the digital environment.

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or a "haven" according to his terminology can be shell which fuels a movement Eric L. Hirsch, Urban Revolt : Ethnic Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Chicago Labor Movement (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). The second one, as another well-known approach refers to the features of creating a free space over the development of performances which are based on hidden transcripts, so to say an accumulated knowledge, a reserve in culture which places the reserve and the agency in different historical moments James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance Hidden Transcripts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), xii.

Agreeing to Polletta on the highly normal and not surprising existence of safe places for mobilizing people, my point of disagreement appears when the discussion begins to make a division between the advantage of analyzing the contribution of free spaces and that of the associative links in various ties in different environments. I contend that even though the need or the existence of free spaces may vary according to different contexts and may not have key importance for their developments, the investigation of spaces of mobilization and action including the free spaces, firstly links the analysis to the spatial dimension of the creation of minor communities and to focus more on the mobility of people within their surrounding environment and secondly bring in the view the communities who does not form a distinct political frame and/or action but do resist simply to survive as in some examples of women or lgbtt groups.

5.2.5 A Center of Their Own

The analysis of a free place when compared with the status of the place as a domesticated area in the public space, needs further examination of the link between the novelty brought to the development of the social media and social networks and the change in the public sphere. For the people playing a role in constructing their own free space within and against the limits of the given space, especially when considered that both the private and public spheres they experience include a certain dominancy over their acts, such a link brings an alternative way to express one's self and one's position in the given space. This feature of the place offers the other side of domestication which is based on a counter human action.

We can claim that at least after one stage the public opinion and the public sphere where this opinion is developed get parceled and multiplied. If this claim continues to defend that the specific division between the public and private spheres is firstly biased and hierarchically theorized and secondly open for the authority's interruption bringing blurred areas, than we also have to assume that divided publics can extend or restrict these spheres and change their structure to a certain extent. The domesticated areas for women's use of outside bring together specific uses of these

areas by women which may lead another way of domestication as we see in the case of the center by demanding a domestic-public node safer and more comfortable than home. Kumar and Makarova interpret the new life we enter, especially after digital developments and increased effects of consumer capitalism, as a phase in which there are the new conceptions of the self-meeting with new actions blurring the area between the public and private sphere.[45] In their approach, partially overlapping the approaches on commodification, individualization brought by carrying the habits which were once belonging to the private sphere such as listening one's music database outside or carrying the entire computer memory to the public sphere with gadgets lead to the domestication of public sphere" by making home "portable"[46]. In the article the specific development is mentioned in a historical line following the "interpenetration of public and private" for the Paris under Haussmann governance witnessed when the new façade of the city make the street the extension of the home.[47] Agreeing with this aspect of privatization or domestication, I also argue that the very developments, in certain cases, may lead to the once-again-publicity of the public sphere. The place we are dealing with, the Ladies Cultural Center takes its power from the idea that in a place where a group of people whose place in the public sphere is restricted, their demands of publicity can still be satisfied without sacrificing the quality of the place as a domesticated area, in a way it becomes the extension of home rather being a part of the street. The very gadgets opening a hole in the public life for our private life, in such a place, can serve not for the domestication or privatization, but taking part in the public life or simply outside.

As analyzed above, the specific need and act of transforming a patriarchal center is an outcome of the recent domestication of public sphere however in the historicity of public sphere in Sivas it has to be taken with the earlier control of the spheres and the resistant patriarchy in the city. In a larger frame the symbolic condition of femininity

[45] Kumar and Makarova, "The Portable Home: The Domestication of Public Space*," 325.

[46] İbid, 332.

[47] İbid. 338.

from the establishment of republic in its adopted form by successors of the state is still seen to be governing women's lives as the symbols of change. The specific condition of the women as people both to be rescued from home and to be secured in another homelike place gives their acts a certain limitation which leads them to transform a place rather than organizing an act to cover the entire city politics. Yet these tactics developed by them gain their importance exactly because of the limited and minor structure of their act since they do not only open a space for themselves but alter the function of a place where already became a symbol of the new cultural turn.

This type of a free space brings together the construction of a community with its own communication tactics and codes together with a geographical turn if not entirely, deliberately. The use of being exterior as a tool of proximity to the world shows the challenge people can pose against the subaltern position they are subjected to. This, as it overlaps with the diversion defined by Lefebvre, is seen to be a temporary gain but being temporary can well be the sign of an ongoing process of change and the steps these women takes for their life such as accessing education or basic skills for employment shows the activity in the process of transformation.

5.3 Surrounded but Not Dependent: The Case of Ali Baba, Gökçebostan, Seyrantepe

In the previous sections, the state seal on Sivas was mentioned as a sign of the attempts forcing public to not being able to own, defend and spatially produce their urban environment. Constructing the image of the city under such domination normally leaves an important area –the role of the public in coping with or resisting the dominance- unquestioned. During the previous analysis several issues on how a certain mobility is organized in the city or what are the locations where the public discontent is accumulated have been questioned. When the three of the stimulators of public action are considered which includes the impact of ghostly material haunting the city, the memory of the previous movements mostly based on worker's and student's action and the present movement, which has been transformed from commemorating the 1993 Massacre to resist the memory-erasing actions of the

authorities, we see in all of them a line which bonds the democrat Alevi community in the city with a not-always strong but continues line of mobilization. In each place mentioned as the speech of the ghostly remnants which are attempted to be silenced in city's history, Alevi public naturally participates into the process of remembering but for their memory especially three places have the signifier feature to narrate how this community gets silences and left with less marks on the city. These places as mentioned in chapter 4.2 are the Ali Baba Shrine, Susamışlar Mansion and more importantly the former Madımak Hotel. Additionally, in the past worker's movements Alevi workers had a strong part since they experienced a dual oppression due to both class and religious issues, which strengthened their vindicator position. This history accompanied by a long history of oppression, after its recurrence in 1993 led to a new movement mobilized around Madımak Massacre and became the main political public organization in defending the rights on the city.

Even though in a city where political mobilization is difficult, the existence of a movement takes its roots from an organized part of the public is highly precious, two points should be mentioned. This movement, which is articulated to the previous history of oppression and has the previous movements in the city in its repertoire, is rightfully based on and takes its power from acts directly related to the specific community, however I do not intend to overestimate the support of the democratic spheres in the city to the movement since 1993. Secondly, I believe that even though it is the most apparent way of resistance in Sivas towards the dominant city politics, still the position of the community is constructed on a withdrawal strategy.

Ali Baba was the first widespread settlement area in Sivas where a border between Alevi and Sunni public has been drawn. Later, the district was extended and soon divided into three local administrative units composed of Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe. Today, the previous border between the communities continues to exist in a lighter form. While many people from democrat spheres choose to live in the area since the life there is more liberated and therefore the structure becomes more heterogeneous and harmonious; the conservative appearance in the place as seen in

the case of Susamışlar Mansion is raised and surrounded the place using both the cultural institutions and economic enterprises such market chains feeding the conservative economy. Except certain times in a year when Alevi community appear in the city politics as an organized body, during the rest of the time, except the members of trade unions, the general appearance is living inside the borders of Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe.

Therefore the area composed of three districts has two appearances in relation with the community. These appearances are opposed to each other in spite of the proximity seen from outside. This area can be seen both as a place which is getting melted as a result of the attacks of the surrounding city or it can be interpreted as a dynamic and active area of struggle in which solidarity is still undissolved. The latter feature, which becomes the subject of this section displays an area which protects its borders while the surrounded city gets ossified in terms of the conservative turn. Even though withdrawal opens a wide area to question the ways of mobilization and resistance, the place has an ongoing, weaker to a certain extent but consistent struggle to exist.

Withdrawal in this case can be interpreted as both a reflex to avoid the impact of policies and politics targeting the group and both as a strategy to construct solidarity in close group dynamics and organize resistance. Both of the cases are valid in terms of the area associated with the Alevi public. On the one hand the memory of the past resistance organized in space keep the sense of unity, pride but also fear in the community, which results with being withdrawn to a certain area but being active in the city politics. On the other hand, the very memory, in the hand of the authorities in Sivas leads to the continuity of attempts of exercising power over the place and transforming the place. These dynamics which are more or less common to most of the *distinct places*, namely the places stigmatized with certain features or the places constructed basing on distinctive factors, create a reciprocal relationship between the power and opponent groups. Charles Tilly emphasizes the role of the repertoire created by transmission the effects and memory of past acts for both of the parties:

> Political entrepreneurs draw together credible stories from available cultural materials, similarly create we-they boundaries, activate both stories and boundaries as a function of current political circumstances, and maneuver to suppress competing models, but interaction among parties to struggle alters stories, boundaries and their social reinforcements.[48]

The repertoire has an important function for both parties, however Tilly reminds us an important difference between the strategy of the power in utilizing the material and that of the groups in struggle. According to him the line between the uses of material from both sides is drawn by the mobility of signifiers. While the authority aims to bring stabilization to the connotation of the cultural materials, the struggle or resistance by itself is targeting a sort of change which both alter the connotations of the past material and both transforms it by the addition of new stories due to its active structure. In terms of the activity brought by agents in struggle and stabilization, the non-progressive way of inscribing cultural belongings and models, the three districts marked by Alevi presence witness the reciprocal relation between the authority and the group nearly on a daily basis which becomes more apparent in important days for the Alevi culture and in some case in countrywide events. Therefore, the area analyzed here offers a chance to learn about how a resistance can be made permanent in a way by dealing with the everyday politics of the area. The very mundane life of the place is built on living while resisting even it is of a weaker one in comparison with that of 1970s. This resisting position brings withdrawal as both a reflex and strategy. When the ways to raise the political consciousness and the methods of mobilizing people are taken under scrutiny, it is seen that the primary method of political activism also depends on small community gatherings. The main actors of these gatherings are the associations functioning for the Alevi public, or in some cases individuals with the support of such associations.

Both the introverted position of the public in the area in close contact with the community associations and the acts of authorities towards the area resemble an institution which in theory can be examined either with being surrounded by politics

[48] Charles Tilly, Stories, Identities, and Political Change (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 209.

of exclusion or being a surrounded area of accumulated public action. This institution is ghetto which will be mostly evaluated by its potential of being an area of political activism in this section.

5.3.1 Ghettoization

Claiming that the area composed of Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe districts has a structure resembling the ghetto, needs further explanations. Even though there are similarities in the condition to the area, the nowadays structure which makes the place rather heterogeneous separates the area from the history of ghetto. Yet, the boundaries between communities and those between the authority and the area is based mostly on imagined borders which assume the place as a homogenous place and the intra-community idea of the area is depend on such a union.

In theory we can mention three main definitions of the ghetto, which are: Ghetto as a state of mind; ghetto as an imaginary and ghetto as the place of accommodation of a distinct group due to ostracism. The three districts remain in the intersection point of the three definitions.

As Wirth suggests, ghetto even though its harsh physical borders, includes also the psychological dimension of struggle born due to the differences and of being a community shelter in this sense:

> The ghetto, be it Chinese, Negro, Sicilian, or Jewish, can be understood only if it is viewed as a psycho-social, as well as an ecological phenomenon; for it is not merely a physical fact, but also a state of mind.[49]

The role of culture embedded in ghetto and surrounding city as well as the invariability of the place bears such a feature. A ghetto, even before being a ghetto of a distinct group, can be the surveillance, discrete and sometimes controlled place for another group. Wirth reminds us that when there are new groups appearing in the economy

[49] Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto," American Journal of Sociology 33, no. 1 (1927): 71.

with certain differences from the others, the displacement occurs by renewing the people but keeping the place stabile.[50] In the history of three districts, the beginning point becomes taking over the place from Armenians. Later, when the democrat people outside of Alevi community started to settle in the area finding the place more liberated, the borders inside were extended but the place itself and the imagination of it remained to be drawn by the same borders starting in Ali Baba and separating from the center.

Close to ghetto's being a state of mind, ghetto in theory is uttered also with the feature of having a role in the social imaginary. Jaffe, by describing ghetto as a "spatial form of social imaginary that is linked to the urban" extends the limits constructed firstly by Wirth and places it in the social imaginary rather than analyzing it solely as an analytic concept.[51] In her conceptualization, ghetto is defined with the major feature of immobility which enables the construction of spatial identities which takes precedence over the other racial or ethnical identities.[52] Such a construction may pass the physical borders of the ghetto and lead to the localization of certain identities which are not originally related with the community in borders by the adoption of marginalized status.[53] In our case immobility changes its place with flexible borders while keeping the binary construction of the identities inside and outside. These districts have never been officially ghettos, however in the city politics their condition poses a more steady presence than being affirmed figuratively as a ghetto.

The ghetto-like structure in the three districts of Sivas depends on the seemingly flexible borders which hardens both in the acts of authority towards the place and the resistance kept by the public and both in the imaginary of the locals and the authority.

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[50] "The Ghetto," American Journal of Sociology 33, no. 1 (1927): 68.

[51] Rivke Jaffe, "Talkin' 'Bout the Ghetto: Popular Culture and Urban Imaginaries of Immobility," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 36, no. 4 (2012): 676.

[52] Ibid.

[53] "Talkin' 'Bout the Ghetto: Popular Culture and Urban Imaginaries of Immobility," 682.

In this frame the third concept used to analyze the ghetto is linked to the creation of the first two –the psycho-social dimension and the traces in the social imaginary- in relation with the construction of a structure resembling the ghetto due to the policies developed by the state agents towards a certain territory. This third and rarely referred feature of ghetto is its being a place based on the relation between closure and incarceration. Wacquant by defining ghetto as an *ethnoracial prison* stresses the proximity between the politics leading to the withdrawal to a certain group of people in a certain place with condemning a distinct group.[54] His example cover the history of Afro-American population whose ghetto's as areas of no-entrance has been labeled with crime and confinement:

> Put differently, it is a relation of ethnoracial control and closure built out of four elements: (i) stigma; (ii) constraint; (iii) territorial confinement; and (iv) institutional encasement. The resulting formation is a distinct space, containing an ethnically homogeneous population, which finds itself forced to develop within it a set of interlinked institutions that duplicates the organizational framework of the broader society from which that group is banished and supplies the scaffoldings for the construction of its specific 'style of life' and social strategies. This parallel institutional nexus affords the subordinate group a measure of protection, autonomy and dignity, but at the cost of locking it in a relationship of structural subordination and dependency.[55]

From Wacquant's point the process involves the mirroring of symbolic capital whose negative value outside the place becomes a useful tool for the authority but also a way to protect the dignity which can lead to a stimulating for resistance.

Not only for ghettos labelled with strict borders but also for the ones keeping a life-style similar to the ghetto as in our case in Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe, a surrounded and withdrawn community faces confinement as an act of ostracization inherent in the everyday life of the place. Especially towards the end of 1970s, most of the young people in the Ali Baba district have been imprisoned due to acts of

[54] L. Wacquant, "Slavery to Mass Incarceration," New Left review., no. 13 (2002): 51.

[55] "Slavery to Mass Incarceration," New Left review., no. 13 (2002): 50.

threatening the safety of the state and publicly punished by the events such as in the Ali Baba attack in 1978 which turned ostracization into a state act of imprisonment or its threat and a public way of excluding the territory. During my very first visit to Ali Baba, the first place introduced to me the headquarters which together with the Ali Baba Mosque as the major sign of assimilation, marks the entrance to the area. I was warned for the possibility of seeing a panzer parked in front of the headquarters. After 1993, especially during the time of commemoration and Muharrem Month the area gains more visibility which increases both its excluded position and its resistant profile.

Contrary to the concepts of quarter, neighborhood or district, a ghetto has never been without a history and never without politics creating a place both from inside and outside. In this sense a ghetto, while being the area of a big process on homogenization inside and confinement from outside, is also a place of gradual construction. Ali Baba once have been the place where the other distinct group of Sivas, Armenians used to live and then transformed to be the place for the Alevis as the new coming labor force. The life of the place witnessed the essentials of withdrawal and surrounding in a style resembling the constructions of the ghettos. Mainly a ghetto is formed due to a negative distinctiveness affirmed to a certain group of people related with ethno-racial and/or religious concerns articulated with economic factors and an economic goal of creating a reserved labor marked with difference in addition to will of building a socio-spatial control mechanism on this very distinct very group. While the life-style and act towards outside gets crystallized inside the ghetto, the policies and social imaginary are developed parallel to the image mirrored from inside. Therefore, as a form of heterotopia, the concept of ghetto, offer the possibility to analyze the opponent politics, the economic dimension and the social imaginary in a comparative way due to the border drawn between communities and authorities.

I contend that it is this precise structure that galvanize the dynamics between three districts and the center of the city in the case of Sivas and without analyzing its historical background in relation with ostracization, economic factors, the imagined

structure and reciprocal relation with the authority; the interesting dynamics between withdrawal and resistance inherent in these districts cannot be fully understood.

5.3.2 History and Inherited Fear

The transformation of the Ali Baba district which later be divided into three districts has a story started with the first flow of workers coming from the periphery of Sivas to work in the factories during 1950s. Among the families moving into the center the number of Alevi groups were high and the segregation started with the first settlements. The industrial development which started a new life in the city by creating a proud worker population benefiting from the facilities towards enriching the leisure time and educating the workers and their families also accelerate the already existing separation between Alevis who are also considered peasants by urbanite Sunnis.

The matter was not limited with the variations in the belief system. As noted in the section 4.2, the limitations brought to the development of a united workers' consciousness and an organized workers' movement both used the existing segregation between two groups and led to another separation in terms of political orientation and reached its peak in 1978, in the assault to the Ali Baba District. What the military coup in 1980 has brought to the area, for the life of this district, is remaining alone and more vulnerable since the area has been both stigmatized as a political threat and both had the outcomes of being seen as different and dangerous. The stigma in this case meets the features defined by Wacquant, which links closure and condemnation.

When the Madımak Massacre, its long trial and the attempts to erase the effects of the massacre in the city followed this line of story we can claim that the public's withdrawal in Ali Baba started as a reflex to protect them from the center they arrived which has already been hostile towards them and turned into a strategy after being attacked, labelled and condemned from the society and the state. The very situation has a natural impact on the differing ways of political action. The first years of the settlement shows both a withdrawal but an additional attempt to prove the righteous existence in the city.

Sivas was a worker's city and even though the trade unions were not active in politicizing people, it was hard to remain indifferent to the political changes in the country. During the first two decades of the settlement both union and division becomes a part of the history of the place rather than a dominating withdrawal. An interviewee from Ali Baba district who is now one of the respected old people of the Alevi community in city center of Sivas gives a more detailed version of the relation of the period from the point of coming together:

> I came to Sivas in 1960. For three years I was a carrier. Then I started working in railways in 1964. I was a carrier but Sivas was a city which was sheltering its poor people. Still it is so, but the political games damaged the city a lot. Starting from 1965 the controversies were escalated. (...) In 1964 I came to this neighborhood, it was far away from the city. (…) During 1970s the public and the Alevi people got together. If we lost 50 people they lost 60. (…) Here when you say Ali Baba, Gökçebostan, Seyrantepe you understand that the majority is Alevi. The intellectuals escaped here, these blocks, cooperatives started. It is because this public and those groups shares a sympathy towards each other.[56]

Rather than being the symbol a social division between the rural and the urban, the memory of Ali Baba and Seyrantepe is on the union and division basing on political orientations. During the end of 1960s due to the fact that the people in this area took part in the workers' movement and showed a tendency towards the rising socialist movement in the country, Ali Baba started to be referred as *Moscow* from the right-wing people in the city as narrated by an inhabitant of Ali Baba: "For some time they called here Moscow. Here wasn't big during 1970s, but they couldn't deal with here. There was pressure but our youngsters were brave. Çavuşbaşı, the leftist neighborhood was with us then."[57]

Following the new appearance of the district as *Moscow* or the source of the socialist acts in the city, the former divisions basing on the religious differences has been

[56] A. D., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, April 11, 2012.

[57] S.G., interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, April 12, 2012.

transformed into a political conflict between the already marginalized Alevi public and the extremist nationalist and Islamist groups whose main other started to be communist rather than the previous emphasis on the other sects and religions. The leaflets distributed in the city before the 1978 Ali Baba events by the *Muslim Youth* is an outcome of this new form: "Alevis be careful: Don't be an instrument to the events. Take history into consideration, once you were saying (Shah). Now you are heading to communism instead of Shah. We will definitely prevent you from heading this way."[58]

This period which witnessed major separations between people in the city was inscribed to the memory of Ali Baba by the combination of a proud past coming from being an important part of the socialist movement and the following pressure of the place which started the actual separation of the district from the rest of the city:

> The youth movement of 1968 is the period when Alevis could say that they are Alevi. Alevis have historically a suppressed background and this suppression has also a class based structure. Since the leftist were conducting politics for the sake of the suppressed, Alevis could integrate into them. Wherever you go in the world, the suppressed support socialism. (…) The important instrument of Alevis is bağlama. (…)
>
> The importance of these minstrels is great. In the last movement, this tradition united the Alevi-Sunni youth. The revolutionary '68 generation brought the Alevi-Sunni youth, more precisely the communities. There were a lot of Armenian socialist friends of us. They left.[59]

The influence of the socialist movements in the area during 1970s, since the students and activists organized courses and consciousness raising activities, which together with the perception that they should not be suppressed because of their identity; it transformed space into a rebellious one:

[58] Zeki Coskun, Aleviler, Sünniler Ve Öteki Sivas [Alevis, Sunnis and the Other Sivas] (Cagaloglu, Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 1995), 289.

[59] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

> In Ali Baba, the entire public were supporting the revolutionists and democrats. The headquarters could not reach the upper neighborhood. When there were student demonstrations, even the old women used to rush out into the street. That was due to the education given by the young people.[60]

The effect of 1970s in the area resulted with Ali Baba's started to be associated with socialism and in 1978 the racist attack to the area ended with large numbers of death. The period followed by the military coup in 1980 when most of the people from those places were arrested. Today, the three districts are still the *free* areas where symposiums, gatherings, consciousness raising activities continuously organized. On the other hand in comparison with the previous times the motivation for organization is partially broken and the capacity for being active is limited due to the later developments in the city:

> Nothing happened after '78. All our young people were in prison. Before '78, here was so organized that police or gendarmerie could not enter. If women were hiding someone it was impossible for them to turn him in. Only soldiers could enter. The organized university students and the leftist teachers were organizing people.[61]

The later political life of the city continued with limitations for political gatherings, which was also weakened by the decrease in the number of workers and the migration started after the 1978 events. As seen in the cases the place from the beginning of the migration to the city is marked with distinctive features among them very few have been accepted by the rest of the public. Yet the actual marginalization of the place started with the appearance of its strong position in the city politics towards the end of 1960s. The dominant opponent position of the district posed a threat to both the authorities and to the conservative public. Receiving the punishment coming from public in 1978 Ali Baba Events and the state acts in the coup of 1980, the actual withdrawal of the place started which is forced from outside as a alienation strategy of authorities and an internal demand to be left alone and provide the continuity and

[60] Mahmut Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, May 5, 2012.

[61] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

the visibility of the place depending on its own people. For the next decade the withdrawal continued with solidarity inside but due to the country's condition by a sedated political appearance. The break from being certainly withdrawn and less active in politics first started with the celebration of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Festival in the village Banaz where the minstrel was born. The year it would be celebrated in the city center for the first time the Madımak Massacre posed a real threat against the Alevi visibility in the city.

The second time the Ali Baba District withdrew itself to its own borders yet became collectively political happened after the Madımak Massacre whose trial period crosscuts with different policies for Alevi community on how they live their culture and faith, which create a parallel opposition. The importance of the Massacre for the community, except the fact that their existence in the city severely threatened for the second time and in relation with the point that the very Massacre has been interpreted by the Alevi communities countrywide as a general threat to every Alevi in the country- was its revitalizing the spirit of resistance proving that withdrawal by itself does not bring safety. The place continued to be on its own, in its own borders, yet the reserve of former movements have been recalled to strengthen the re-started struggle to exist and developed an inner circle of action taking its power mostly from associations.

As seen in the development of the place, the main difference between the end of 1960s and after 1980 is a break in the unity and integration of the district to the borders of the city life in the center and city politics as member of the city. This type of transformation to an informal ghetto, in my view, forms the basis to understand the complex position of the place in the city politics, in which the small, surrounded and reclusive community is still providing the most constant and resistant movement in a city where the political life of the citizens is highly restricted. The closure and carcereal punishment creates a place re-producing its diversity on a daily basis functioning in the closed borders. The district is not the same area with the district in 1970s where police forces cannot enter, yet another separation is built due to the close

community relations and the attempt of not depending to others. The process of excluding and suppressing the marginalized place coming from the authorities led to the development of an active core and instead of realizing a suppression, resulted with the continuity of the mobility.

5.3.3 Distance from the Life in the City

The political existence of people participating to the political goals inside the three districts show a not-retreating process even though in terms of achieving the goals they are not as powerful as in the process of mobilization. The visibility of the political side of the districts in the city politics occurs mostly in the important days of action such as May Day, the commemoration of Madımak Massacre in second of July and for the issues of Human Rights in collaboration with the other democratic mass organizations. In addition to these, since the Governorate and Municipality organize events calling the participation of Alevi squares, which in some cases causes a reaction, the Alevi public through associations enter into contact with the authority. Even though these appearances are limited in number and the rest of the matters related with the public in the districts are rather solved inside; the limited action outside show a consistency both in terms of content and participation except a few not-adopted acts of some associations. This coherence in action have a key impact on the representation of the Alevi public and the attempts of dissolving the borders of the ghetto coming from the authorities, which are interpreted inside the borders as attempts of assimilation. The very tension, even though restricting the legitimate appearance of the public living in the area, strengthens the cultural bond and leads to the development of new methods for solidarity and action.

For the political memory of the city, how Alevi public is placed in the city politics symbolizes the ways of the construction of such memory well as shown in the celebration of the Muharrem month. Due to the different beliefs in two sects, the Muharrem month is the month for the mourning fast for Alevis since it is the time of the massacre of Kerbela (A.D. 680) which the origins of the sect depends and as an

event of Massacre the Fire entered to the memory as the repetition of it. For the Sunnis however it is a blessed month to be celebrated. As the president of the Alevi Culture Association told me, every year in Sivas the representatives of the Alevi community have to go to the Governorship to remind them when they celebrate publicly the Muharrem month, they are actually hurting the feelings of the community.[62] As a response a couple of times Governorship announced that the two communities should celebrate the month together which is refused by Alevi community since they do not celebrate a massacre. For the Massacre to be constructed in the memory of Alevis another step of the suffering of the community since Kerbela, this invisibility brought to Alevis by the authorities have an important role. The other point in the history of Alevism in Turkey is related with Pir Sultan Abdal who in the festival under his name people were murdered.

This tension as well as it strengthens the withdrawn structure inside the ghetto for the Alevi public, encourages the authorities to intervene to the place. The most remarkable sign of it is the Ali Baba Mosque and Shrine accompanied with the Susamışlar Mansion close to it. Since Alevis believe that the shrine belongs to the adopted brother of Pir Sultan Abdal and the Mansion to the family of him, the mosque becomes the invaded part inside the Ali Baba and the beginning of the invisible border between there and the rest of the city. Since 1973 when this mosque was used as the motive for attacking the neighborhood, it is a remnant empowering the struggle of Alevis and an active unit which reminds that the authority can always intervene the inside of the surrounded area.

Another way of being surrounded started with the area's losing its rather homogenous structure after the change in the population. Some groups perform a conservative lifestyle moved to the place because of the economically reasonable structure of three districts. However there are other groups of people who moved to these districts there

[62] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 17, 2012.

is a wave with a tendency to move to a more democrat place which influences the structure in a positive way.

In terms of city politics it is hard to say that this very border between the center and three districts separate the action of Alevis from city center. On the contrary, the impact of having a ghetto-like structure and intensifying their consciousness together enables them to exhibit a consistent action when taking side with the other non-governmental organizations and associations. The city's transformation in spatial terms such as the case of İnönü Museum and the park area in addition to the other acts of Municipality and Governorate such as intervention to the right of assembly is confronted by a mutual sensitivity and shared political goals by these groups even though most of the groups clarify their area of struggle different than the others. The importance of this solidarity shown between Alevi public (through associations) and the rest of the democrat population lies in the fact that these people in spite of their withdrawn, protected position still demand their right from the city and the sole objective is not finding an untouched place for their community. It is rather on finding a common ground in the city for it to be made a better place by the acts of the democratic mass organizations and people sharing the city. The aforementioned dynamics between the withdrawn, surrounded position and the consistent resistance through these meetings find a way to transcend the borders of three districts.

Even though these bridges kept between democrat and republican groups, the intervention to the area and the history behind does not give much space for people t meet. Especially in terms of economy, these three districts try to keep the border strong and definite since the economic intervention, according to their view, ruins the essence of the place.

During the interview with a tradesman from Ali Baba, he posed the main problem for them is the entrance of green *economy*, so the economy governed by neo-liberal

Islamism.[63] The green economy according to them is represented firstly by the market chains whose number is high in the three districts as it is high in the center.

For Alevi people who have difficulties in finding a place to eat in the center during Ramadan since they do not fast at the same time with Sunnis; the appearance of customs and lifestyle introduced by green economy, cultural associations bringing a different, more conservative culture and the raise in the number of new settlements again representing a Sunni conservatism in terms of lifestyle are perceived as an open intervention to the place. The method to confront it is again withdrawal opposing to an uneven distribution of economic resources and the attempts to alter the life in the three districts:

> It's not possible to mention in Sivas of a capital in which Alevis have an extensive part. There are two drapers, two shoemakers and two building contractors. The capital determines the culture as well and those people has been adapted to that. For example, I have the economy for that but I can't open *this place I run* in the city center.[64] (…) When you remain outside of the capital, it becomes very hard in the local areas in Sivas. Even if there is a new opened factory, everybody employs their proponents. For the Özbelsan, the subsidiary company of the municipality, 3000 people work in which there are hardly five Alevis. (…) Alevis started to live their own lifestyle and cannot present their democrat, progressivist life style.[65]

In spite of the intensifying enclosure and resistant withdrawn, the structure of the area reminds more of the relation between the ghetto as imaginary and ghetto as a punitive mechanism. The more the intervention and mechanisms of control, including the economic surveillance- and punishment rises, the more the place is governed with the ideal of the place which unites the previous memory of solidarity, resistance and

[63] H.E., interviewed by author, Sivas, February 18, 2012.

[64] A.N. −For the sake of anonymity of the interviewee I chose not the give the name and definition of the workplace.

[65] H.E.,, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 18, 2012.

homogeneity of the three districts with the present belief of having an equal right in a city which is also governed in a righteous way. The essential feature of the place which is having determined borders with the rest of the city but also links with people sharing the same goals; develops its own method of interaction. Due to the circumstances, such an interaction leads to apply the same technique of withdrawal and small community solidarity into the organizations, which brings forth the creation of community associations who are in collaboration or contact with non-governmental organizations in the city but keeping a certain autonomy.

The autonomy of community associations have a great importance to understand the dynamics in the three districts. First of all, since they do not only depend on a solidarity based membership but also on identity and neighborhood relations; the position of individuals become more apparent than that of a hierarchically ordered organization. The role of the individuals, similar to that of the associations, is to create the links between the larger organizations and their community since many members of the associations are also the members of trade unions and non-governmental organization. This active bonding between the borders of the city both creates a strength in action due to solidarity among organizations having different profiles and keeps the three districts away from a total alienation from the matters of the city. Lastly, this feature which is an outcome of oppressed small city circumstances, gives most of the community associations a wider autonomy in their relation with the central associations they become a branch of.

5.3.4 The Relations Inside

As described with the intense relation between the surrounding political structure and the inner struggle for keeping the borders, visibility and have the right to take part in the processes related with the city, the biggest role in the representation of the community is shared by the community associations.

The case of Alevi associations in the big cities is already a highly discussed subject in terms of the difficulties they face. Moreover in Sivas, especially after the Massacre, together with the shrinking of public sphere and the withdrawal of the Alevi community, having an association is very important for Alevi public and it also brings the place in a more under-the-attack position. During the interview with Cemal Şahin, the former member of board and the general media secretary of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association in Ankara, he described the general situation both for the central organization and the organization in Sivas:

> You can do only as much as how much your power permits you to do; you can do something if you have power. As the Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association we are organized in the 67 provinces of Turkey. Our financial potential is apparently limited and we do don't receive any help from the state. On the other hand there is a highly organized institution opposing to us, Diyanet.[66] We are confronting an institution with its budget equal to the budgets of 3-5 Ministries and which incorporates hundreds of thousands people within its body. It is not easy to struggle against them. The only thing we can do is to get organized, we cannot seek something else than getting organized. (…) In Sivas the fundamentalist foundations are more organized than us. As the Alevi organization we have one agency there, the Hacı Bektaş Anatolia Cultural Association has a branch and there is the branch of Alevi Associations. Except this, there is a reactionist organization. They are much more powerful than us in economic terms. It is not easy for agency to function in Sivas.[67]

Even though their existence both keeps the community united and both poses a more or less unitary body of people against the authorities; the strength and interrelation among the associations are problematic. The three associations, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association, Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association and Foundation

[66] Diyanet: Presidency of Religious Affairs in Turkish Republic. As an institution established after the abolition of caliphate in 1924, the presidency is the only institution to regulate the services related with Islam including the administration of sacred places and places for worsipping. The place of Alevism in the Islam and the validity and legalization of Alevi sacred places and places of worship is a permanent issue which has not been solved until today due to the strict regulations of the presidency.

[67] Cemal Şahin, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, January 05, 2012.

of Republican Education and Culture – CEM Foundation (Cem Vakfı) have the feature of roof organization for the others and they are the branches of important Alevi associations in Turkey and therefore they are the link between the central and peripheral organizations. Among them, due the impact of 1993 Massacre on the city, Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association have one person as their representative. However being represented by one person, due to the close inter-associational relations does not affect the association's legitimacy and effectivity in the city even though it limits its power. Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association, in spite of its being one of the most important roof organizations uniting many parties, lacks a proper building to represent itself due to economic reasons. Still the first completed floor of the building is used for courses and meetings, yet important duties of the place such as having a prayer hall, a cold storage room and a place for sacrifice cannot be served.

On the other hand, CEM Foundation in spite of serving the three abovementioned services, is confronted by the other institutions and some of the public with a distance since among the three it is the only one close to the state and city authorities. The other reason for the partial public distance towards it is that the presidency of the CEM Foundation does not involve public choice since it depends on the assignment. Yet, this top to down structure was balanced during my time there by the center organization's accepting the public discontent and bringing a well-accepted figure. Additionally, since CEM Foundation in Sivas has the most appropriate place to gather for cultural and religious purposes, despite the criticisms, it still has a strong value and power of representation. CEM Foundation is the most religious association among the three and avoids the discussions on the link between the cultural and political aspects of Alevism by merely focusing on strengthening its place in mainstream Islam and it is the only foundation serving courses to educate religious leaders and importantly without gender discrimination. Therefore, especially for the periphery of Sivas having difficulties in burial rituals, it is the CEM Foundation that serves as the mainstream agent to bring the imams from the center to the periphery.

The limitations for the three most important associations and the problems in their internal and external effectivity results with two major complications. The first one is the dissolution of the solidarity of Alevi public inside the three districts and problems in gathering together for similar purposes and/or interests. The second one is its obvious reflection on the larger political frame in the city. In such a structure, the association as the most powerful tool in a surrounded environment to organize public action becomes in need of finding smaller areas of powerful action to create solidarity and to form a unitary body against the authorities.

5.3.5 Efficient Use of Space and Time

The three districts still keep the memory and the reserve of previous action. In some cases the place of the districts in the imaginary is more definite and strong for both the authorities and the inhabitants of the districts, the area has a successful tactic development contrary to the more widespread effects of the other organizations. During my field experience I witnessed that due the use of a limited space with members few in number creates various tactics in which timing, the use of the place and to be the base of moral support have a key importance.

To investigate how people, taking power from a common memory, transform space and connotations, I believe that two distinctions should be made between the movement and attempts inside and outside of the borders of the three districts and the general frames of Alevi movement and democratic movement in Turkey which embraces the condition in Sivas.

For the first distinction, the specific condition of the districts does not allow a unified action which comprises the different parts of the city (e.g. the center and Ali Baba). Rather than organizing an action for the whole political territory, the method applied by the associations in the three districts is to create the union inside and then reflect it on the city scale in an organized schedule, such as meeting in every July the 2nd or

May Day, except the actions responding to the rapid political changes. For the restrictions coming from authorities in which the Municipality has a more apparent daily existence, the functioning in the inside of the three districts is easier when the difficulties in influencing the city politics considered. Except from surrounding the place with nodes representing an economy whose relation to the people is both politically and culturally alienating; transforming the meaning of adopted places or interpreting the culture and beliefs of the people different than their way of practicing, the basic local government action are relatively free in the place. The reason explained by Gülşen Yalçın, Mukhtar of Gökçebostan as the Municipality's knowledge on what people can do due to both the unity and the role of the NGO's.[68] This relative freedom for the politics inside links to the second distinction due to the difficulties to connect outside. As a result of the condition of people living in these areas and the restrictions and limitations forced on these places separates the action in Sivas from the action in Turkey.

The collective memory and the stimulating role of the damaged or destructed places builds a connection between the past and present action; however to understand the above mentioned distinction and how, in the very scale of the ghetto the action is organized, the present solitude of the community should be taken under focus once again. The president of Alevi Cultural Association Emine İmren describes the situation by giving reference to the dynamics between the center and the three districts:

> Sivas internally does not have the power to oppose the structure. Because of the problems in finding a vacation people can hesitate even to enroll in an association. There is a small community respecting us, if (Alevi) people do find something from themselves where they go, they stop going there. Me as well, I don't want to go out from my neighborhood for activities.[69]

[68]Gülşen Yalçın, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 17, 2012.

[69] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 17, 2012.

Being an Alevi outside of the reserved area means a potential exclusion which intensifies the union inside:

> They had to group together against the attack. During the recent years the Armenian citizens remained here are being disturbed, the same thing happened for Alevis to. There are people who cannot utter their identity.[70]

As a result of the problems related with being outside of the adopted and defended territory which is intensified by the inner divisions the memory of space, the present time and circumstances and the transformation of the past or ruling symbols and meanings become the tool of creating the internal dynamism within the borders.

My first confrontation with this effort happened in the meeting of the members and supporters to discuss and challenge the administration of the in the building of Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association. The democratic climate of the meeting displayed a strong sense of unity among the public and the administration. In addition to the works of the administration, this sense of unity was due to a rather external factor. For years, the building of the association is under construction and only the bottom floor has a structure to gather inside. This issue, even though it was a part of criticism against the works of the association, has also an impact on the sense of deprivation common to the community.

Deprivation connected with communal issues and especially related with the state acts on the community is one of the most signifying senses which keep the public in the three districts together. For the sympathizers of this association whether they are members or not, the lacks in this facility also means that they do not have a proper

[70] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 14, 2012.

place for prayer, animal sacrifice, community meetings and activities. The only place serving them is the CEM Foundation with which not the entire public is content. Yet, how such an incomplete structure functions shows a prominent example of mobilizing people. The most important part of it, except for funerals and big gatherings like symposiums, the association do use the place for many activities including courses by dividing the big completed hall into functioning units.

From the point of making use of a limited space, the particular limitation both adds something suitable for the ghetto in the imaginary due to the sense of lack and gives an area to the administration to prove themselves and transform the public discontent into an organized togetherness.

To this togetherness a similar but a bigger effect is done by the condition of the Pir Sultan Abdal Foundation in Sivas. After the massacre, the foundation has only one representative, Hidayet Yıldırım, yet, its limitation has a motivating impact on people and even represented by one person, the foundation is active and participates all of the major events and in that sense fulfills its duty both by its moral support and its going against the further limitations by not giving away representing people.

Naturally, the role of the associations does not end by their value of representing what the community lacks. The community, not limited only with the Hacı Bektaş Association, is offered various courses and meetings for education and information. For the courses supported by Hacı Bektaş Association, contrary to the conservative course structure examined in the section 5.2, one of the goals is to break the gendered structure of courses at least for the women's side. Both Emine İmren and Gülşen Yalçın both are women in the position of leading the community, uttered this aim since they don't want women to deal with only "feminine" issues.[71]

[71] Gülşen Yalçın, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 17, 2012; Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, Turkey, February 17, 2012.

These partially consciousness raising efforts are common in the three districts since 1970s. Alevi population, since they culturally do not have a major spatial separation between men and women, is believed by the community to be more open to changes in the functioning of patriarchy especially in terms of issues related with public areas. Some of the attempts are harder to realize. One case told by Hidayet Yıldırım is calling women to the coffeehouses which are places of masculinity.[72] The attempt fails since women do not adopt the place.Still as a woman it was not difficult for me to enter there and interview with men in Ali Baba or as a bigger signifier, it is not accepted as awkward for the woman mukhtar to go there since she has no nearby place to socialize around the building of her duty. The accumulation of consciousness raising activities especially on citizenship rights had such an effect on the regulation of outside activities. By that I am not mentioning the ones dividing the public and private spheres but referring mainly to the decrease in the most apparent divisions in the use of the street.

Especially with the help of women administrators, this internal structure tried to be kept informed about the issues related with women but by a conscious effort of not creating women only areas. A noticeable example of it happened during my time there in 13.05.2012, the Mother's Day in which approximately four hundred people from all age groups and sexes participated. The structure of the celebration usually done only for mothers mostly guided by schools and most of the times by including a commercial and patriarchal goal for profit, has been changed into a community celebration where everyone from the three districts has been invited by the mukhtar of Seyrantepe.

The scene was given to mothers as a chorus which is highly different than the general celebration. Additionally, each women sang a song belonging to her own language, which also brought the celebration of diversity. An award was included to the

[72] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

ceremony yet the aim was not only dignify motherhood. When the mother of two disabled children took the award, that part of the ceremony ended with information about the genetic diseases seen in the consanguineous marriages. Among the themes of the ceremony, while motherhood has always been involved, the leitmotiv was the relationship between labor and motherhood in which the condition of women having children uttered most of the case as laborer mothers with a special stress on invisible labor. An important part of the meeting was giving information to the community on the new legislations on women's rights. The meeting was a good example of the timing. As seen in this case, the limitation of space forces the community and its most visible actors to use any time appropriate to gather people, mobilize action and spread information.

The cases of the first two associations and the example of local administration display how people can be brought together by the inanimate forces such as the value of an incomplete building; by an active organization whose status limited but open for collaboration like Pir Sultan Abdal and in some cases by the importance given to time when space is too narrow. To all of these efforts the assistance of history is unavoidable. The past of the Ali Baba and how it takes place in the imaginary supports a lot the today's union created inside and action organized for the outside of borders. On the other, it is not possible to evaluate the sense of belonging to *ghetto* only by the assistance of difficulties. There is also the social togetherness and social activities that brings people together in their daily life regardless of the political structuring of the place.

All of the associations in this sense contribute to this type of togetherness. Due to its structure which is more developed, economically more comfortable and politically less under pressure structure CEM Foundation is capable of offering such kind of being together. By having the only "Cemevi" therefore the complex to serve for both religious and social needs CEM Foundation provides such relief for the community. Even though the adaptation of people is not as strong as the members of other

associations, this building work for everyone who wants to organize a meeting with the locals such as wedding, commemoration or charity dinners additional to their services for funerals and courses. The president of CEM Foundation in Sivas, Ali Akyıldız defines their role as serving a developed center for social needs:

> Our kitchen is a good one so they can cook their food and organize their mass dinners of any kind. These are our free services to the society. At the same time we hire our hall for their every activity; weddings, merry-making, henna nights. (…) The original purpose here is not to earn income; it is to respond to a social problem. Here our youth organization and women's branch have many good activities. We have music course for free, we started an English course again for free, and we continue to give 12 services and semah course.[73] (…) This place, I can say, is in the end a complex center for activity, it is not a center, foundation only for funeral and religious services. It satisfies social and cultural needs. Our women's branch for example…Our women's branch go to one by one to houses, they visit, they see with their own eyes and make their own determination. I call it a sort of modern Robin Hood, we take from the rich and give to the poor. We go there and we don't let them to throw away their domestic appliances, furniture or clothes. We take them, bring here, the women's branch in our foundation select among them. The ones remained usable is getting cleaned here and distributed to the poor families such as clothes, carpets, furniture, domestic appliances…[74]

As seen from the examples this foundation differs from the others both in terms of being available for wide services and both their more traditional style such as charities and women's branches. Still, according to my view the main difference is the different positions they take in their relation to the public. Pir Sultan Abdal and Hacı Bektaş Veli, as a result of their structure based on election and due to their cultural and political concerns place themselves among the public and the action of doing something together is realized by a participation of all parts in a more or less equal positions.

[73] Semah: A religious ritual including dances performed with music.

[74] Ali Akyıldız, interviewed by author, Sivas, June 06, 2012.

The situation of CEM Foundation basing on assigned presidential structure and concerns focused more on religious features of the Alevi community set a more distanced position which is seen in the aid projects where institution organize a support action which does not turn a collective act. However, the different parts of all associations such as Pir Sultan Abdal's being a moral motivator, Hacı Bektaş Veli's being the agent of communal organization an CEM Foundation's role in the satisfaction of social needs, create a unity which is difficult to dissolve. Even though there are conflicts, the togetherness continues in a way to be reflected as a union outside of the borders.

5.3.6 Challenging Boundaries

When the dynamics between enclosure and withdrawal; history as a base for fear and resistance and challenging the existing borders with the demand to become a part of city politics, the three districts, Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe exemplify an interesting case for being the distinct area of the center in a continuous refusal to be the satellite, a reflection, a similar of the center, separated with figurative borders. The repertoire of the place coming from the end of 1960s, the struggle strengthened after 1993, the remnants have a role in intensifying the borders and solidarity while the authorities on the other hand force a stable condition against this active structure. Since the place is culturally, politically and physically -by the structures built or transformed such as the shrine- surrounded and limited, it develops a peculiar way of socio-psychological condition, an imaginary which forms the place over and together at the same time with its past appearances and since it is a place to be penetrated by the opponents it functions also as a threshold to keep this community away from the others. This condition as mentioned resembles a ghetto as it takes place in the theory. In a ghetto-like structure we confront that community associations undertake the role of uniting the population inside and building common points with the population outside by use of tactics developed due to the circumstances.

The three districts, in terms of the role of the associations display that the limited space can be extended and challenged by a specific use of limited and problematic

places, by turning a vulnerable condition to a motive of action and resistance and by giving importance to timing when place is not functional. The cohabitation if not collaboration of the associations in the area shares certain roles such as organizing the community, providing a moral support for the community and responding it's social and cultural needs. After the accomplishment of the unity, the three districts under the representation of the associations links to the public living at the other side of the borders by collaborating with them in the action towards the transformation of the city politics and shows a consistency in action even though it cannot perform it in full strength. This specific condition and the tactics developed due to it gives a certain autonomy to the associations in their relation to the central organizations in Turkey.

5.4 The Ongoing Resistance of Madımak

The transformation of Sivas after 1993 the Madımak Massacre can not only be interpreted by the inner dynamics of the city. Similarly, the movement started after 1993 by embracing the past experiences and motives of the previous human rights struggles of Alevi population cannot be defined only in terms of what is happening in the city. Yet, Madımak corresponds to a specifically important step inside the larger frame of movement even though the condition of Madımak case even though it is not the only issue in the Alevi human rights movement. For the frame of the thesis the movement will be analyzed with the goals towards the specific map of Sivas and Madımak's heterotopic position which is constructed in the imaginary but experienced physically, by surrounding it with public action. Since it is the motive for action not only for groups in Sivas, it would not be explanatory to analyze it only by referring to the agency in Sivas. That is why the interviews on Madımak case, the attempts of transforming the former Hotel to a museum, the July the 2nd Commemoration Activities include meetings with the framing institutions in Ankara to understand the general frame of movement which makes understanding the condition of Sivas in more detail in addition to its help to understand better the value of Sivas in the greater movement.

The year I started the fieldwork, 2011, came after a major development for the Alevi population in Turkey. 2009 the state report on the 6 Alevi Workshops organized by the state have been presented. The workshop had the form of the state's presence represented by the prime minister and ministers in front of an audience composed of the representatives of Alevi Organizations such as Alevi-Bektaşi Federation, CEM Foundation Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association, Hacı Bektaş Veli Education and Cultural Association.[75] Following the discussions in the workshop, in 2010, the final report has been published. The subjects discussed in the workshop such as the obligatory religious classes based on Sunnism, state's disapproval of Alevi sanctuaries, the need to reorganize the fundamental institutions of Alevism, the need to end discrimination towards Alevis in the education programs included a debate about the future of the Madımak Hotel. To decide for the future of the Hotel there were two additional meetings one with the representatives of families whose members died in the massacre in 11.02.2010 and with the NGO's in Sivas in 24.02.2010. In the final report these meetings were also noted and the report ends by announcing the demands on the socialization of the hotel and the placement of a writing in the entrance related with the massacre.[76]

Following the report, hotel has been socialized in 2010 and later turned into the museum including the message, neither the museum nor the message in the entrance is designed properly to respond to the demand of the Alevi population. Even though the results are not welcomed the report is being in the Alevi Initiative of the state since 2013.

The trials on the massacre which does not bring a satisfactory result and the re-organization of the former hotel exemplify a long period in which the transformation

[75] 1. Alevi Çalıştayı [1. Alevi Workshop] (Ankara: Basak, 2009), 5-216, accessed December 3, 2013, http://www.farukcelik.com.tr/images/editor/1.pdf.

[76] Alevi Çalıştayları Nihai Rapor [Alevi Workshops Final Report] (Ankara: Basak, 2010), 7-216, accessed December 3, 2013, https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/alevi-c3a7alc4b1c59ftaylarc4b1-nihai-rapor-2010.pdf

demanded from the Alevi population did not happen. In the larger scale, it is seen the issues mentioned in the workshops haven't seen a satisfactory solution as well. On the other hand the lack of a substantial change towards the problems stressed by the Alevi population does not mean that nothing has been changed in the last twenty years.

1993 as a major milestone for the entire country along with the processes lacking a satisfactory result led to the revival of the Alevi movement whose transformation brought a dynamism to the movement, strengthened the struggle of the population and led to the formation of a public opinion which actually brought the developments mentioned above about the initiative. Therefore, the not-yet satisfactory results does not overshadow the new strength gained by the community to unite in the movement.

The former president of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association, former secretary general of Alevi-Bektaşi Federation and the joint attorney of the last Madımak trial Kazım Genç explains the development of the movement with two dimensions of it which are rapid organization and gaining self-thrust within the process:

> When there was nothing, no fights in the society, what else, no conflict between left and right, I mean there was nothing, PSAKD goes to the Sivas, the city of minstrels, the place where the republic was established to commemorate the minstrel whose name the association carries and confront the slogan 'republic was established here and it will be 'break down here!'. Of course it wasn't like before, the media was more developed, the ways of communication were developed, there is television… So everywhere in the world, Alevis entered into a fast process of organization. Before Alevis used to get organized under the name of their holy personalities like Hacı Bekraş association, Abdal Musa Association, now they are organized under the name of Alevi Association, Alevi-Bektaşi Federation. So they establish their frame organizations, they support them. When the frame organization calls for equal citizenship tens of thousands start a demonstration. I believe (the Massacre) provided the development of organization and the consciousness raising over getting organized.[77]

The development of NGO's, while showing the stage of active mobilization with realistic goals, displayed at the same time the need for reconciliation in the

[77] Cemal Şahin, interviewed by author, Ankara, January 5, 2012.

community. As Emine İmren mentions the reconciliation also includes the development of a shared sense of Alevism which is represented by different organizations supporting different parts of the identity:

> With NGO's people can react against daily developments such as Madımak event. Alevis cannot meet on a basis of Alevism in the recent Alevi organizations. A reason for that is their being a close community. To create an educated ground Alevi Institude in Ankara has been established.[78]

These developments seen in the larger movement is reflected on Sivas slower than the bigger cities due to both its peripheral nature and both the community's threatened existence. After July the 2nd Commemoration Activities proved themselves in the city, with the help of the increasing number of associations and public organization Sivas became an active field in the larger movement.

5.4.1 Demolishing the Museum: Transformation of Madımak Hotel

The settlement of a visible movement with continuity in Sivas was realized by an insistent display of the public body composed of both locals and participants from other cities extend over almost ten years. The year following the massacre, as told by the interviewees, entering into Sivas center to commemorate was made difficult by the state and the public not supporting the remembrance of the event:

> In 1993 the Massacre happened. When our friends and the president of PSAKD of that time went to Sivas from Ankara in 1994 to leave carnation to the place where we lost our martyrs, the police took them from outside of the city, they took to the Madımak with two police cars accompanying them, let the leave the carnations and took them again to outside of the city. They didn't even let them to buy water from a shop. It was a group of 30 people. Police was isolating them. This continued for three or five years but later it grew.[79]

[78] Emine İmren, interviewed by author, Sivas, January 17, 2012.

[79] Kazım Genç, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 6, 2011.

The aim to transform the former Hotel into a museum bloomed in such a progress in the city. However, to build a museum which would narrate the story of the victims, the deconstruction of the process against remembering and understanding the massacre was required. The ghost of the event in the course of time both had a major signifying value in the city and transformed the city into a metaphorical museum. The parallel processes as told in the previous chapters, partially to inactivate this memory, created a different history, remembrance and daily life organization in the city. The process of the movement until 2011 settled an ongoing action.

In the daily life of Sivas, the meetings whose number is increasing year by year, the attempts of the Alevi associations on defending their visibility in city politics and the role of the democratic spheres in the city to challenge the conservative transformation of Sivas kept this action effective. The socialization of the hotel, the opening of the science center and the construction of a memorial wall appeared in the end of this process as a new phase in the city's life related with the course of the movement. What has been brought by this new phase was the creation of "a Madımak without Madımak"[80] which is followed by the prohibition of 2nd July meetings started. Hüseyin Karababa, brother of a victim, interprets this development as the loss of the case from the point public opposing the commemoration and the displacement of powerless public discontent with efficient state stance:

> During the first period the public reaction was aggressive towards us. It continued to be aggressive for ten years. They tried to intervene, how they looked at us was aggressive. We organize in Cemevi, we go down, make the demonstration and we go back. Then it was settled, the others stopped reacting against and that is why the state socialized the hotel. [81]

In the new phase another dimension added to the required deconstruction process which was to demolish the image of the Center for Science as a museum or memorial of 2nd of July. Even though there was the prohibition and increased state control over

[80] Hüseyin Karababa, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 14, 2012.

[81] Hüseyin Karababa, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 14, 2011.

the center of Sivas related with the issue, the community in Sivas did not retreat. Meanwhile the countrywide processes continued without success but without retreat as well. One case among the others was the trial to erase the name of the victim Gülsüm Karababa from the wall since the names of the attackers have been replaced with the names of the victims. The trial was not successful and the name was not erased. During the same year the trial for the fugitive attackers was prescribed. All these developments seemed to strengthen the bonds in the community rather than creating a depression. The increase of discontent, according to my opinion led to a better expression of the demands which finds its shape in the construction of a museum which is decided to be called the Museum of Shame.

As discussed in the first chapter of the present thesis, the concept of museum and processes of stabilizing a certain time and life style due to the transformation of space historically and chronologically, namely musealization, is analyzed in the frame of the present work critically. Inside the attempt of transforming the presence by the inscription of a selected past on space, the structure of museum cannot be taken without adding the state or a powerful authority on signification. However, in case of the Museum of Shame, against the musealization of Sivas by erasing the history related with repudiated communities and historical periods/moments we see a counter attempt whose method is also building a museum that would crack the solid narration we witness in the city.

Before analyzing the present and future place of the Museum of Shame project in Sivas and in country politics it is helpful to remind the relation between the present condition of the former hotel in city politics which embraces both the value of being a ghostly motivator due to its memory and both being the antagonist of the remembrance of the event due to its present condition at the same time.

I evaluate the physical existence of the former Madımak Hotel from two aspects it covers. Firstly, while the center for science opened in place of Madımak Hotel by changing its memorial place in the city center, creates a space of illusion which

functions to bring controversy to the daily existence of this place by its structural difference then that of the *other place*. When the center was opened in Sivas, from the street it belongs to the entire city, it brought the illusion of denial of historicity and rendered the nearby map illusionary unproblematic, while making the ground of opposition to it less real than its solid existence. In physical terms, except being a node once inscribed on the temporality there is no actual built structure to spread it to time and build a narration parallel to its purpose. However, by replacing it and attempting to erase its part in the memory, it kept the former place alive and motivated people to adopt it as the place of the otherness which represents the otherness of people opposing to its new structure. By the reaction it creates among the public, the replacement led people to affirm Madımak Hotel a heterotopic feature through the meetings happening in front of it every year and the plans about its future. Yet, even though this heterotopic structure do combine the features of a memorial place, calling a ghostly place a museum would be unrealistic since it does not have any means of narration especially after its façade has been removed. Moreover, its capacity to motivate people is limited with the capacity of the knowledge of population. Even if they avoid to see or interpret the event differently, people in Sivas are aware of the existence of the building no matter what its new façade aim to show or shadow. For someone visiting Sivas or for the new generation whose knowledge is limited, the building does not have the same value since it does not include any narration and it totally depends on the memory of people to be able to exist in the narration.

The second aspect of this ghostly appearance is its effectivity especially outside of the borders of the city which turns the entire city center, except the peripheries, into a city recalled with the event as if it is entirely the museum of the massacre. This second aspect is also highly related with the dynamics of remembering and production of knowledge, which poses a problem for Alevi population in Turkey since many events they consider as a threat to their identity do not occupy a similar place in the collective memory of the country.

Whether the construction of such a museum narrating what happened in July the 2nd 1993 is possible in the present structure or not is beyond the frame of this thesis. On the other hand questioning its prospective form and finding its present place in the city politics is both in the very frame of the thesis and it reveals the difference between the museums in terms of space created between the aims of an authoritarian musealized space and publicly created places.

5.4.2 The Museum of Shame

The idea of a museum related with the massacre, while it is uttered most powerfully during the Alevi workshops, dates back than the workshops. This project leads to conflicts both between Alevi Movement and the state and the Alevi and non-Alevi public in Sivas. A prototype of the museum was opened in the center of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association in Ankara including personal items of the victims which was attacked and robbed in 2011 showing that the idea of such museum is not only strange for Sivas, which rather than having a passivating effect strengthened the need to open this museum in the place the event happened.

As a response to the Alevi workshops the Central Office of the Alevi Cultural Associations published a report in 2009 which explains what the Museum of Shame means for the community:

> The will of Alevis to change the Madımak Hotel into a 'Museum of Shame', contrary to the claims of some spheres, is not resulted by the desire of Alevis to eternalize mourning and pain. To the contrary, it is a ring in the chain of massacres contained in the centuries-old Alevi history which includes the period of republic as well. Yet, now our country has to face this shame and to take the burden and heaviness of the pain from the shoulders of Alevi communities who carry it alone. In this respect, the demand for the Madımak Hotel's being a museum is at the same time the demand for sharing the pain and facing with the massacre. Madımak Hotel should be a museum and the future generations and everyone who lived, shared, witnessed this massacre, including us to bow our head with shame in front of Alevis and other communities who were subjected to discrimination and pain like Alevis. At the same time it is for everyone to share to the burden of remembrance laid

> on Alevis and to learn the necessary lesson to avoid the happening of similar events.[82]

Among the points emphasized in this part of the report I find the definitions of "being a ring in the chain of massacres and burden of remembering laid on Alevis" are critical in terms explaining the meaning of the museum. A museum is, by its nature, related with past and its most accurate benefit lies in its structure which does not only narrates the past but nails a certain moment in history, the features of a certain culture, the meaning of a particular event to the present time, not much open to alternative narrations. I see two points here related with the aim of opening the Museum of Shame. The first one is related with the condition of Alevism in Turkey, whose demands on the recognition of their identity and belief in equal terms with the dominant identity in Turkey have not been satisfied yet. The Massacre of Madımak rather than being an isolated event in the country's history, is related directly to this not-yet-recognized position of the Alevi community and since it is not a sole moment in history by itself but an outcome and signifier of this condition which is uttered in the above text as *the chain of massacres*, stabilizing the time by using the museum may have a parallel meaning which assumes the actual problems remained in the past. Related with this first possibility, the second point I see is the difficulty of imagining a museum without a relation, even in the most secondary bureaucratic relations, with the state structure.

Museums stabilize meanings but they are structures one of whose initial roles is to design a content and transform it according to developments related with the present time and space, which has a natural effect in obscuring or dislocating the ground the meaning is attached to. During the interviews I shared my concerns with the representatives of the community and the answers had the shape of sharing a similar concern but adding a different dimension. During the interview, Kazım Genç, while

[82] Central Office of the Alevi Cultural Associations, and Central Office of Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association. Alevi çalıştayı 1. Etap Alevi Örgütleri ve Temsilcileri Toplantısı: Değerlendirme ve Öneri Raporu [Alevi Workshop 1. Stage Meeting with Alevi Organizations and Representatives: Report of Evaluation and Proposal] (Ankara: Hisar Ofset, 2009), 60-61.

accepting that a public initiative for museum needs the confirmation of state, explained the necessity of the museum as follows:

> The Madımak Massacre over shadows Sivas. The biggest step for this shadow to disappear is the stance of the public in Sivas against the massacre, against this massacre's being staged in their city. That is why Madımak should be a museum and it should be protected and adopted by the locals.[83]

Genç's emphasis on the role of the public and more importantly the transformation of the public opinion towards taking a stance against the reasons of the massacre shared also by Emel Sungur, the president of Pir Sultan Abdal July the 2nd Culture and Education Foundation (Pir Sultan Abdal 2 Temmuz Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı). In her description of the features of museum and why there should be a museum for the memory of the massacre, it is seen that the present condition of the former hotel is taken as the symbol of the unchanged structure of the city and the main problem becomes once again the lack of a total change in the public opinion even though the present situation brings the fear of a false history being told in the future museum due to the intervention of the state:

> If there will really be a place to remind that moment, there should be first the evidence showing that it will not happen again. Sivas should chance so much that another Sivas wouldn't happen in this land, opening a museum is not the indicator of that.[84]

It appears that the fear of intervention to the content of the museum, whose signs were given through the intervention to the memorial wall by not addressing the massacre and by adding the names of the assailants, is a shared concern which does not lead the community to take steps backwards but render them worrisome. The representative of the PSAKD in Sivas Hidayet Yıldırım explains this concern by emphasizing the necessity of having a museum directed by the victim families and PSAKD:

[83] Kazım Genç, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 6, 2011.

[84] Emel Sungur, interviewed by author, Ankara, December 7, 2011.

> During the period of establishing a museum state firstly tries to cover its shame and secondly manipulates people. (…) The place should be governed by the families of people died there and by PSAKD. I mean, if one day the Provincial Spatial Administration says that they will hang the picture of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, I mean it hurts me.[85]

5.4.3 Signifying the Present Time: Madımak's Place for the Movement

As seen in the interviews, together with the necessity of the remembrance of the massacre, what appears is the will for an entire transformation which is not limited neither with 1993 Massacre nor with Sivas. The importance of the museum and Sivas becomes important as being the location of a critical event whose transformation would become the signifier of a major change throughout the country. That is why I believe that the evaluation of the movement in terms of goals and ends comes prior than a museum. As appears, even in the shape of a counter-narration that would end the state seal on the memory, this project exercise itself first on creating a counter space to embed the narration. From a wider perspective, the aim seems beyond shifting heterotopia into a real museum. It is rather creating a future image, a prospect, to mobilize the movement towards its realization during whose process the need for heterotopia is aimed to be overcome through the transformation brought to space. Moreover, contrary to the structure of a state museum which excludes the public from its planning and function; a museum created due to public initiative and interaction would be more liberated and open to mutual share in terms of its borders and goals.

For the present place of this prospect of museum in the imaginary of the public movement around it, it can be said that there is now an imagined museum confronting the center which signifies the change and movement and therefore the present time rather than inscribing the past.

[85] Hidayet Yıldırım, interviewed by author, Sivas, February 14, 2012.

5.5 Conclusion: Different Appearances of Spatial Resistance in Sivas

Considering the four heterotopia analyzed in this chapter, in spite of the differences in size and form of action developed inside, we see different versions of developing a spatial form and tactics to make different groups visible opposing the politics whose strategy is initially forcing the visibility and remembrance of the selected elements in the city center while rendering the others invisible. Additionally the clash between sanctification of some elements and desanctification of the others in the center brings together the strengthening of previously divided borders, new divisions, multiplying the groups marked by otherness and withdrawal from the actual political sphere to the borders created for groups to develop tactics to loosen the borders.

Each heterotopia as the places of shopkeepers and craftsmen, conservative women, Alevi community and the former Madımak Hotel which unites many NGO's and associations countrywide occupy a different place in the map of division of the city. To illustrate how these heterotopia function and create their relations outside of their borders the below image showing the place of heterotopia in the city politics of Sivas rather than their physical locations has been prepared. Each line includes the internal area until the next line. These areas cover four domains related with the development of action in the city and the production of heterotopias, namely the political domain outside of Sivas (orange), the area subjected to lesser control from the authorities (green) in comparison with the next area (red) under strict control and the area which is governed by the musealization and memory building (blue). The latter among them drawn with dashed lines differ from the others since it belongs actually to the area of control but it has a specific place inside it to make the politics of control and transformation functional. Inside those domains we see the circles named as objects confronting to the heterotopia. Respectively, the Object 1 stands for the one produced by shopkeepers and craftsmen; the Object 2 represents the cultural center as heterotopia of conservative women; the Object 3 refers to that of the Alevi community and lastly the Object 4 is for the former Madımak Hotel showing in which domains there is an activity about it. Their location symbolizes with which domains they

interact. The crosses in Object 2 and between Object 3 and 4 refers to a crosscutting relation.

We see in the illustration that each circle interacts with different borders. Accordingly, in the politics of the city they cover different areas. In the case of shopkeepers and craftsmen we see their location directly in the domain controlled by the authorities. Their aim to keep the center and the identity they defend as the urbanites and sometimes as the Sunni urbanites, since it leads them both to produce, reproduce and remain under the influence the narration on the lost city, they actively take part in the domain of musealization as well. So, as referred in section 5.1, they place themselves in the center of the city politics and literally to the city center. Even though this stance and their closeness to the authorities support the transformation of the city, in return they become one of the vulnerable communities limited in terms of bringing a solution to their condition.

On the other hand, the second circle, contrary to that of the Object 1, interacts with the domain of less control while keeping the relation with musealization only as a border contact. The reason of such type of a relation between the dashed lines of musealization results from their being the subjects used to promote the transformations whose experience, in a contradictory way, restricted by the area of control. Even though the conservative women become the symbols of the new developments, since the life of the street is welcoming them less than the other communities, they also do not participate of the new structures opened except the cultural center, which according to my view is one of the symbols of the transformation but instead of bringing a new life style, reproduces what already exists for these women. As a result I draw the crosscutting line but did not locate the exactly inside the domain of musealization. The areas they interact are composed of the area of control where they came into conflict and the area with less control where they make themselves visible.

When it comes to object 3, the neighborhoods recognized as the Alevi neighborhoods in the city, which were analyzed according to their resemblance of the ghetto structure, it is seen that they construct relations with each sphere in the city. Since musealization addresses their community by changing the significations of the structures they adopt and the area of control brings obstacles to their political action and intervenes the places known as their location, they appear both in the domain of control and musealization. However, since they constructed an autonomy in the places where most of the Alevi community settled, they are also seen in the area of less control.

In contact with them we see the fourth circle, since both Alevi associations and associations functioning outside of Sivas are collaborating over the symbol of for the former Madımak Hotel. Since the former hotel as a symbol mobilizes various groups to change the segregation among populations and the political domination over opposing groups in the city, it engages four of the lines.

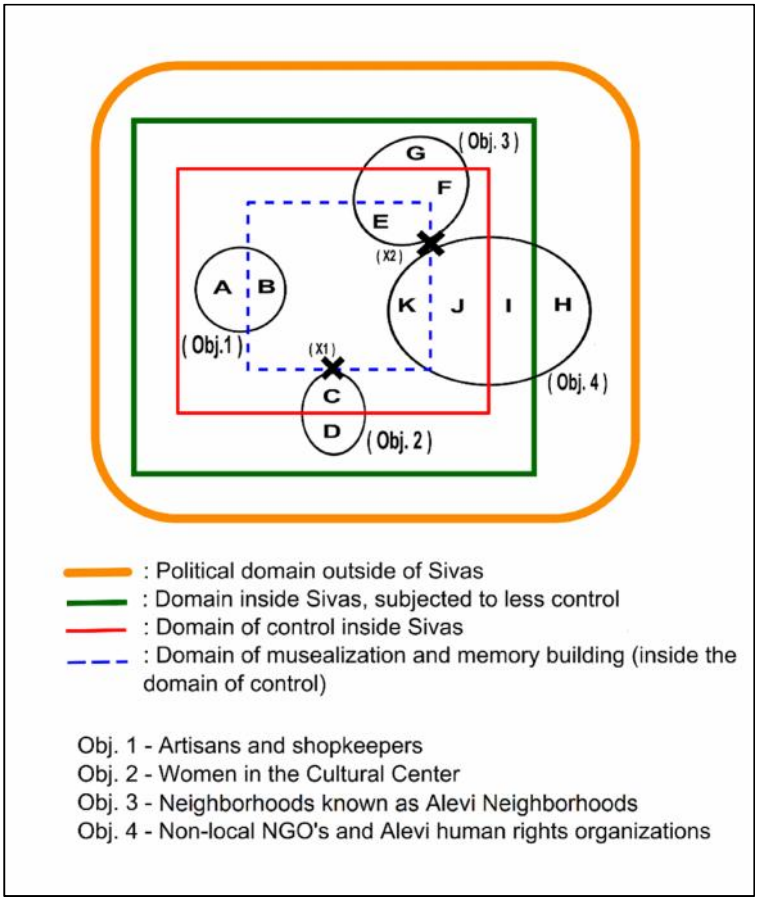

Figure 1 The place of heterotopia in Sivas in the city politics.

Thinking the areas they interact we can claim that in the divided map, the first and the fourth heterotopia are located in the center, their actions are related with the center and in that sense under certain political circumstance the members constructing them enter into conflict with each other. The second group remains in the margins while the third group which is active about the issues related with the center, is located in the periphery.

The divisions between them reveal the problematic structure of heterotopia. They are based on similarity in the borders and difference with the other side of the borders, stabile in that sense. On the other hand, what constructs them, the circumstances and human action developed as a response to circumstances, give them a changing

structure. For heterotopia the future is unclear since they depend on a controversy with the organization of space according to the function of norm controlling a society whose flow would change the structure of heterotopia. The uncertainty of the condition in Sivas also points to the necessity of the development of an awareness to clarify the goals of the publics by considering timing and relations with the others. Similarly, I believe the ways the discontent is uttered by different communities and the action developed to alter the discontent should extend itself towards the center rather than remaining in the edges or being fixed and motionless in the center at the expense of developing another ghetto paralyzed in the changing structures. When the attempts of agency start challenging the control and domination in the flow of daily life, it is possible that the center's shrinking structure would be relaxed to a certain extent, since it would mean the green area, the area of less control, would be closer to the center. This way offers, in my view, a way back to the street which is taken from the publics by the processes under musealization.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis attempts to reveal the dynamics between agency, spatial transformation and authorities focusing on how people living in a city challenge the spatial transformation brought by authorities by the use of a spatial memory and places they adopt as their environment. In this scope, the mentioned transformation appears on the more superficial level of city aesthetics however when analyzed, its main function to sedate the public action, bring a conservative culture and settle neo-liberal economics become visible. Musealization as the analytical tool to analyze the ongoing spatial transformation is discussed in this work firstly as an attempt of displacement. As Müller points out, when the specific signification of space which is an outcome of the social life interwoven with it in addition to its historic features gets blurred due to the intervention of the museal aspect of space; the entire narration of space is displaced. [86] As a result, not only the difference between the local and tourist disappears but the everyday reality, the daily rhythm of space which is produced by the social relations of people is reduced to the idea of consumption of space as history. This depletive relation which in our day converts cities into resources which do not produce to supply for its inhabitants but bound to consume its own existence creates the frame of musealization in this work.

The second feature of musealization takes place as an outcome of the processes showing their effects for the last two decades in Turkey by the rise of neo-liberal Islamist politics. The Turkish example includes both the rising power of conservative municipalities with their transformation of the principle of service into charity and increasing attempts by a larger group of authorities to change the signification of space on which they attempt to impose a full control. Both of the features are related with

[86] Michael Muller, "Musealisation, Aestheticisation and Reconstructing the Past," 365.

the changing economy and wasting resources as they are with the imposed conservative lifestyle one of whose main impact is seen on the changes in the life-outside where both spontaneous and political action on streets get limited.

The analysis of limitations and displacement focusing on the transformation of places but not space as the producer and product of social relations create a negative and almost irreversible image of transformation. How musealization is discussed in this work is also an attempt to analyze this process, which is fluid and open to intervention as much as it intervenes life, by focusing on the experience of publics in space under musealization which I found as a lack in the recent literature on musealization.

Places as one of the nodes forming space are defined by experience of publics and it is this experience facing a threat to dissolve in the musealized space. Space itself on the other hand is formed through many interactions which includes but goes beyond the life of publics inside. Space is accumulative. It is, as Lefebvre mentioned, a triad incorporating interlinked processes of its *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* features by being planned, abstracted and experienced.[87] Moreover, through these interactions it has a defining status; space produces social relations developed inside of it. When these relations are brought to the core of the analysis, even though they are complex, the contradictions in space appear and thus the experience and challenge of publics take their place against the attempt of authorities. Publics as a term adopted from Fraser's idea on the multiplicity of people forming multiple public spaces, have a variety of experiences, which can be focused in more detail by this approach. [88]

When we discuss musealization as an interpretation of what is historical and an implication of such interpretation of space, the concept enters under the domination of history proving the point of Benjamin on the transitivity of domination (barbarism)

[87] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 42.

88 Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy",70.

through power under the frame of history as a linear process interpreted by authorities according to their interests.[89] The experience of publics and their counter actions, therefore agency, are formed in a reciprocal relation with the acts of authorities and the directions of space; making it more than of an experience developed in places but an overall process of appropriation. Agency is not composed of members with a sole objective, it embraces differences, contradictions and multiplicity. Rather than being a mutually agreed on public opinion on a public sphere veiling differences, agency's main relations occur in different places adopted by different people but also in a larger space of action. As it is true for musealization that it is not a transformation of place but of space encompassing interrelated social relations, abstractions and control; it is also true for agency that it cannot be formed without considering space as a natural element of public life and action.

Spatial units and relations produced by publics can be classified under many forms such as appropriation –inscription of a non-authoritarian public practice on space− or diversion –temporal change of space without change in structure− as analyzed by Lefebvre.[90] For the case examined in this thesis, the main form of opposition appears as heterotopia since other means of opposing dominated space such as forming a political movement or simply demonstrating on the street is blocked by processes of which musealization is an apparatus. Heterotopia in its many definitions done mainly by Foucault and Lefebvre denote a space of otherness and in the specific case examined, it includes a withdrawal and intensification of relations inside the borders adopted by different publics and different groups as a tactic to overcome interruption. Musealization as the vehicle of authorities faces heterotopia as the location of publics. In this relation memory, even though it is very open to interruption, gains a spatial aspect and motivates people as a challenge by its nature towards the linear structure of history as described by Neyzi.[91] As memorial structures do gain a specific value so

[89] Walter Benjamin, On the Concept of History.

[90] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 166,167.

[91] Leyla Neyzi, "Remembering Smyrna/Izmir", 124.

does the memory in the hands of both authorities and publics. While memorial structures and the memory of the city itself is used to promote musealization by authorities; the utilization of memory by publics is to strengthen the bonds inside groups and recruit people against spatial transformation. According to the findings of this research, the spatial feature the memory gains is discussed over phantasmagoria or ghostly structures as mostly referred in this work. The use of ghostly material as the materialized memory elements emphasizing a lack whose existence would mean visibility of certain groups and their participation to city politics open a path in the discussions on musealization and current spatial transformation of cities under neo-liberal city politics. Walter Benjamin while bringing the importance of ghostly material to the fore by emphasizing their shock effect that bases on adding a positive feature to the phantom objectivity analyzed by Marx and later Lukács; revealed the potential of ex-commodities to challenge the existing structures.[92] Adopting a similar approach, Hetherington poses the role of ghostly structures similar to that of memory since they challenge the linear understanding of progress by adding a different perspective to the perception of past and present.[93]

In this thesis to all of these sub-categories of spatial transformation (musealization, intervention to the history of space) and spatial resistance (appropriation, heterotopia, utilization of ghostly structures and memory) I add the aspect of publics' experiences. I contend that without an analysis of these experiences, which are multiple and layered, neither the impact of authorities on space nor the potential of the former structures which are aimed to be cleared away by musealization can be fully understood, especially for an active, ongoing process of re-producing historic urban environment. The inclusion of experience, since it involves the dynamic processes of resistance, enables both the analysis of historical development of spatial transformation and the analysis of how the present transformation and resistance take

[92] Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project.

[93] Kevin Hetherington, "The Time of the Entrepreneurial City, Museum, Heritage & Kairos", 276.

their present shape. The evaluation on the other hand is discussed over the socio-spatial dynamics based on the dialectical relationship between society and space. Space cannot be decontextualized from societies and specific mode of production since, more than being a reflection, it is an agent of transformation.

Both the apparatuses of spatial transformation and those of resistance offer a transitive process of the production of urban dynamics. Neither can be evaluated by its area of impact. As seen in the case analyzed here, most of the monuments whose signification have been transformed depend on a process of re-shaping the practices of remembrance and forgetting. Memory, by its fluid nature is used by some groups to claim their rights on space which ended up with supporting musealization even though the outcome is not suitable to their claims on space. They are all open to interpretation and fluid in this respect. Some of the heterotopia analyzed in this thesis for example, use memory in a certain way to imagine the place as a continuity of the earlier place, neglecting differences, which had occurred during time. Musealization as a bigger process of imagination re-creates space as an earlier form of lifestyle, habits and history. In each case imagination creates a certain veil over the lived, experienced aspect of space. In spite of their close connection to illusions their analytical use makes them explanatory apparatuses to denounce illusions, which, for this work, is the basic aspect of study adopted from the Lefebvrian analysis. Because of this feature, the adopted spatial study enables the investigation of margins in a critical way which questions both the path of musealization, reproduction of history and the dynamics of agency, memory and heterotopia. The question formed according to these concerns is, “how multiple public places are produced by publics against the musealized space developed by authorities?” aims to decipher the construction of methods to challenge the dominated space.

For such a study Sivas becomes an important research area due to several reasons. The long history of unrest in Sivas created the present form in which many social phenomena discussed in Turkey were crystallized in its city center. Being an active area of opposition starting from 1960s Sivas is also the city in which any rebellion of

publics could not achieve appropriating the city yet. On the other hand, their stance against the authorities transferred to the new generations and some of the places they protect as their area shows a continuity. Being a formerly important industrial city and the place where the critical divisions between groups were reflected on the country scale as in the cases of 1978 and 1993, Sivas displayed in its history a condensed version of problematic issues in Turkey. As for musealization, even though many other cities in Turkey are subjected to a similar transformation, in terms of functioning of the process to settle a new economy forcing at the same time a unitary identity which has increased divisions in society, Sivas exemplifies musealization in a more strict form. The city center as the main area of transformation is a unique case reinforced by the nodes of discontent and challenge settled at the same center. One of the reasons for that is the distance of peripheries to the center, but more importantly, starting after 1950s the migration flow into the center creates debates as seen in the Sunni-Alevi, Kurd-Turk, socialist-Islamist or rural-urban debates. The settlement after migration carries the mainstream discussions on the multiplicity of Turkish society directly to the center. It is this multiplicity and political activities of different groups that the process of musealization targets and attempts to dominate under a single identity, while bringing a conservative, Sunni and Turkish referenced, less-politically active lifestyle. After the shock of 1993 Sivas Massacre, the city coincided with a process both attempts to erase the negative memory of the massacre with less confrontation for the majority and settles the new regulations for the city. Under those circumstances, even though the initial attempt of this process to bring full control of space is bound to fail due to the factors related with agency, the last decade in Sivas shows that the increasing historical importance the city center gained as a functional tool for the authorities to settle the politics and economy they forced on space.

As a prolific research field to analyze the impact of musealization on publics in Turkey, the case of Sivas is also important for the analysis of ongoing spatial transformation projects in the world. The case of Sivas displays an important articulation between conservative neo-liberal policies and spatial transformation. Musealization is a worldwide tendency to open cities themselves to consumption,

however in the Turkish case its main agents are mainly agents from Islamist and neo-liberal municipalities and power groups. The difference enables to focus on the framing ideological processes in more detail due to mentioned crystallization and articulation such as the weakening link between publics and space, decreasing utilization of street in a less-controlled way by people, covering a non-productive economic system and sanitized identity politics.

Similar to the specific type of musealization seen in Turkey and in Sivas more specifically, the activities of publics against the transformation, due to the limitations brought to the political life of cities, have their distinct nature. In Sivas, heterotopia, or mainly specific places adopted by people to reinforce their unity by withdrawal and protection of their area, show a difference from many heterotopia referred in literature in terms of spatial contestation between authorities and publics. While space of others refers to a spatial construction in the margins, due to the relation with otherness, in Sivas the analyzed heterotopia are settled in the very center of the city and people who can be seen as margins inhabit in the very heart of social and spatial transformation. The heterotopia they form are more withdrawn in terms of relation with the rest of the community and strengthen inner divisions. Their settlement gives a unique change to analyze spatial transformation over the first addressees who share the same map with the transformation project.

The relations in Sivas display that space organized by the urbanization processes developed during the early years of the Republic and has entered into a new phase especially during the last decade. The new regulation aims to re-organize the city by attaching it to an idea of Sivas located on a linear history related with Turkishness and Sunni-Islam and forces the forgetting of the undesired impact of other communities, sects and events. The mentioned development turns into a transformative process when it serves as a veil for the articulated economic and political decisions on the city in which the historical becomes the positive face of the neo-liberal. The neo-liberal economy articulated to musealization functions in the city especially with decreasing state investments, de-industrialization, insecure employment opportunities and

increasing settlement of insecure ways of employment such as flexible working schedules, increased grants to small and medium size enterprises but decreasing income and opportunities for sustainable works and growing out migration to other cities for better living conditions. This turn which is related with the Islamist conservatism is reflected on streets by increased control over everyday mobility of the population, raising groupings among people, continuity of inherited divisions between society with an increased control over the politics adopted by groups and the decreased spontaneity of daily life.

By presenting the transformation as a way to change the ill-economy and when this promise fails, by establishing affordable leisure time and recreational places and organizing charities, the thankful dependency of some groups to state institutions and local government is constructed. The steps related with this use of cultural and recreational areas find their most concrete form in the cultural centers and exhibitionary practices for arts and crafts from concerts to places for public conversations, meetings and spectacles which mostly include religious connotations.

When the development of this process is traced back, we confront the repetition of some of the acts inherited from earlier years of the republic. In section 3.1 *A Concise History of Spatial Interruption in Turkey,* it is discussed that interruption has its history in Turkey which results into divisions between minorities and majorities, ethnicities, religions and denominations within the same religion. As Lefebvre points out, the history of urban areas begins by being forms of heterotopia -a space of difference in comparison with the settled structure of the rural life- but it confronts with domination which transforms it to space of sameness, isotopia which is governed by a strict organization, codes, a break with the earlier regimes and by the settlement of strong differences to its periphery.[94] The history of modern Turkey related with the passage from heterotopia to isotopia, brings collectivities together such as in the use of People's Houses with an additional support of institutions developed by

[94] Henri Lefebvre, The Urban Revolution (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 128, 29.

industrialization, which were seen in the services of factories to educate the workers. Even though this togetherness supported the consciousness raising for many groups, it led to the divisions between the Republican elite and the lower classes and between urban and rural areas. Similarly, the secular face of urbanization brought divisions following the function of laicism in Turkey, in which Sunnism remained rather untouched in comparison to other denominations and religions. Inherited from the earlier years of the Republic, the frame of Turkishness, the emphasis on the urbanite style of life and the veiled but not weakened Sunnism compose the most visible elements of citizenship in Turkey.

By saying that, I do not intend directly to attach the present politics to the politics of Early Republican Turkey or earlier regimes. Yet, I claim briefly some of the divisions between the mainstream identity and others and some practices such as interrupting space, in our case especially the urban space, show a resemblance in terms of their function to define the mainstream, the area of the majority. The novelty seen related with the borders of this thesis, is the articulation of some of the earlier elements, such as divisions between ethnicity and religion, to a new form of neo-liberal space which tends to act beyond identities, places and economic projects by the promises given for a mutually long-awaited correction that will be reflected to all. Contrary to this promise, this space displays the limitation of public visibility on the street and participation to the decision making processes in city politics parallel with a limitation of the street, habits and market for the sake of the continuity in economic and political profits not shared or distributed to the simple crowd together with the unofficial abolition of claiming it. Because of this difference, I start the beginning of the musealization in Turkey with the appearance of neo-liberal Islamist power groups. For the literature of musealization this can be a short period of time and many projects of the earlier times of the Republic can be analyzed over its similarity to turn cities into distributers of a certain state ideology. However, musealization, to my opinion does more than spreading an ideology. Its connection to consumerism and taming collectivities changes the entire social relations in space converting space into

commodity and therefore it is a phase that came with the introduction of neo-liberalism and in Turkey's case neo-liberal Islamism.

Applying a socio-spatial perspective on the new developments in cities, in our case Sivas, supports to dissociate the elements gathered under spatial transformation and resistance. By this way both the functioning of processes can be analyzed in more detail and the action of different groups can be evaluated from different scales, whose visibility, appropriation of space and efforts may differ in size and character. Their evaluation focuses, rather than their effectivity and strength, on the ways of forming a challenge, which makes even the smallest attempts visible and therefore the impact of spatial transformation can be traced to smaller scales. As the research shows among the ways of settling a new façade and social life while empowering the economic and social transformation two main steps appear in the center of Sivas. The first one is the production of a narration on the lost city supported by local government and spheres close to the mainstream discourses created by authorities. Containing in itself elements from the mentioned narration, the second step includes the silencing of opponent memorial material either by ending its life literally or on the basis of signification.

For the first step, the research shows that the processes of remembering and forgetting follows the years after 1993 with the creation of a group of authors who represent the public of an old and better Sivas and with the publication of books and magazines dealing with similar issues. Even though the narration seems to support musealization and the memory of the author group is incorporated to the mainstream transformation in the city, still we can see the different positions of public represented and the authorities represented in the functional use of this narration. The publications mainly focus on the two appearances of Sivas as the lost old city with its marvelous structure and the bizarre, corrupted new city. The function of the use of marvelous and bizarre seems basically to lessen the feeling of responsibility of the publics on the issues related with the city. For this aim, the character of other whose identity changes form according to the type of corruption leading to general discontent is developed. In the

binary construction of urbanite-peasant, Sunni-Alevi, Muslim-non-Muslim, innocent citizen and assailant other, we see that the first actor of the dichotomy is described as the one losing the city while the second actor is the reason of corruption. By producing narrations on two different times related with the urban area of Sivas, these texts also create a gap between the urbanite and his/her experience of the city. By separating the two times and overestimating the processes leading to corruption except placing the figure of other as the perpetrator, what has been achieved is the production of an pacified identity by the image of the past, which cannot claim rights on the lost city or take the responsibility of the conditions. Publications lead to the illusion of the resurrection of the old city by the process of musealization, while the elements claimed to be brought back do not match with those of the old city has been seen in the replacement of secular social life with a street involving Islamist conservative features such as different places for both sexes. The gap between the individual and his/her city results in neglect of the difference between the groups demanding the resurrection of the city and groups who the transformation addresses, who are replaced in the narrations as the others.

The conservative turn in the organization of Sivas shows itself in the life brought together with the restorations and renovations. Even though the transformation emphasizes the development of tourism as one of the reasons for resurrecting the past image of the city, the lack of tourism in Sivas and the exhibition developed on the city over the transformed places display that the main addressee of this transformation is the local people rather than tourists. On the other hand, the mentioned exhibition does not render the public into unity which is supposed to experience the developments under similar conditions. To the contrary if we compare the experiences of publics on the new street we see that the rivalry for memorial material is a reflection of how different groups and publics addressed differently at authorities while these differences are reduced to the forced experience of one group. The most simple and less political version of this attitude seen in the transformation of the former park area, where the nature is destructed around the Seljuk Complex. The control built in this area and the other recreation areas opened instead of it such as Aksu Promenades

intervene directly to the habit of wandering in the center in which the controlled behavior replaces the randomness of walking in the center. The Seljuk Complex some of whose parts are turned into coffeehouses and markets, occupies the former location of the park and embraces both the consumption of history, settling of behavior codes and the affordable image of the municipal services.

A similar function is seen in the increasing number of restored mansions. Different from the Seljuk Complex, some of these places offer meetings having a religious content such as conversations with religious scholars, in most cases by separating the places of sexes from each other. These transformations and the new life style covers the center of the city by reducing its history to a Seljuk-Ottoman-Early Republic line addressing conservative Sunni Turks but supposedly serving to the entire population. For the democrat and leftist spheres in the city, finding a place signifying their values become more difficult. Two examples of this difficulty can be seen in the transformation of the former Dev-Maden-Sen Building and former Madımak Hotel. The former, represents the dynamism in 1970s and how these spheres lost their power in city politics, since that building was the main target of anti-socialist attacks and presently it is a place for shopping. The latter, leads to a division between people since it is adopted by the democrats including both the Alevi public, NGO's and democrats (each group includes parts from the remaining two) while for others it is a symbol damaging the respectability of the city. After its transformation to a science center with a new façade changing the appearance of it in the memory, this node became one of the most important symbols of transformation by its total neglect of recognizing what happened there in 1993. The internal design including a memorial wall built for 1993 without mentioning the assault and adding the names of two assailants to the names of the victims, it increased the tensions between opposing groups in the city.

The center becoming the subject of such kind of a spatial transformation experiences also the change in the cultural centers such as AKM and Çevre Culture and Art House. These two places, even though they were rivals in their time were both symbols of a city which had its roots in the Republican ideal of education. Especially AKM is

referred countrywide as a symbol of state support to cultural and educational development. The new centers taking their place changes this function with references to traditional arts related with Islam and in some places separate the male and female public from each other physically and in terms of the types of courses offered.

These type of reductions and changes in recent history increased the divisions in the city center. When we shift the focus from center to the peripheries of this center, we see an increasing spatial attempt to change the significations and remembrance related with some place. A good case is seen in the Ali Baba neighborhood, which for the people living in Sivas marks the beginning of the *Alevi Area*. On the Ali Baba Avenue we see three nodes whose transformation created problems by excluding some groups from being part of the city's historical narration and from having a respected identity in the city politics. The first one is the İnönü Mansion which served as a museum for İsmet İnönü's former living place in Sivas and adopted by democrat spheres as their place. The museum was later transformed into a restaurant serving the former museum as a feature of the dining place. The second place is the Ali Baba Shrine, which is holy for Alevis, but since it remains in the Mosque excluding the Alevi entrance inside and does not recognize the denomination of Ali Baba as Alevi, blocks the relation of the community with their holy place. Nearby, there is the third place, Susamışlar Mansion claimed by Alevi public as the house of the Ali Baba's posterity. This place is also claimed by Susamışlar family and now functions as a Sufi center for religious meetings, which is interpreted by the Alevi community as an intervention to their religious and cultural identity.

The differences brought by the divisions constructed in the city result to the development of various tactics as discussed in Chapter 5 "Challenging Musealization: Four Heterotopia in the City Center". If we place the four addresses of the transformation on the city map as: (1) the historic center, where the control on social life concentrated and being the local, urbanite, Sunni identity is represented; (2) the former Madımak Hotel as the node symbolizing the change in the city politics by forcing practices of forgetting; (3) the former Ali Baba District now composed of Ali

Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe where the control shifts to a direct intervention to public life including values and habits and the changing image of the cultural centers. The heterotopia of the cultural center (4) remains in the margins. We see that the same areas are also the places of activities by publics developed for each case as a response to these transformations using spatial tactics.

Agency in this sense is the main opponent of the authorities' use of space. Similar to the examples of many spatial debates between people and authorities, agency does not refer to a unified public activity covering the entire population. Even though it is a single term it covers lots of group formations, interactions between different groups and publics and development of various public opinions and acts. When agency is analyzed by a larger frame constructed by various publics, groups and their activities, both the divisions and different ways of challenge appear in a single map confronting similar problems –here, musealization- from different reasons. Sivas in its relatively small map and intense relations poses a good case for this situation. In the analysis of development of publics' actions we see different sides of agency, whose production sometimes benefits the authorities as in the case of creating a narration on the lost city. Even though they are separated, their use of space for getting organized and for developing ways to change or challenge the developments resemble each other in terms of heterotopia.

Heterotopia as spaces of otherness positioned outside of the norms of authorities, function as ephemeral spaces in the processes of transformation which includes a constant change in their structure due to the opposition inherent in them. Heterotopia located according to the above distribution of nodes subjected to musealization are as that of the shopkeepers and craftsmen in the market area to keep the center, the former Madımak Hotel whose symbolic value, makes it the point where groups from the entire country meet and develop action; the former Ali Baba District as the ghetto in the center and the Ladies Cultural Center, another symbol of the transformation.

The attempt of keeping the center and organizing the market area seems to be the most different heterotopia among the others, additionally its entire production is against the others. However, when the problems faced in the market area are considered, it is seen that the other face of this structure attempts to work contrary to the practices of transformation. Despite the fact that shopkeepers and craftsmen are one of the groups creating the narration of the old city, they are also among the groups who are affected badly from the developments it brought. The use of this narration in city politics, contrary to its claim of bringing back the old Sivas, actually brings the consumption of the city. The first problem it poses is the increasing rents of shops. Secondly, the affordable prices in the center settled by new services keep the income of the shops on a lower level and since tourism has not been developed as promised, related with the weak local economy, shopkeepers and craftsmen depend mostly on state grants to survive. Additionally, the other face of the new consumption is contrary to the traditional ways of trade and the neo-liberal face of conservatism brings the possibility of malls which are not welcomed by this group since they endanger their power on the locals. During the production of the lost city narration which takes its power from the appearance of the antagonism between the old urbanite identity and the image of outsider, this group's activity supported the development of a more conservative center related with the promises of the return of old urban relations. This promise including the increase of the number of outsiders and simply non-urbanites, turned against the group producing the narration since most of the activities addresses the conservative groups who are the outsiders in the eyes of the urbanite shopkeepers and craftsmen. We see the development of associations opposing these developments both in terms of urbanite identity and economy. A fact about the market area, is that it is sliding since 1960s results with a great attempt of stabilizing it and keeping the power in terms of relations with publics. On the other hand, the very attempt makes shopkeepers a group both closer to the authorities and endangered from their projects. Even though it does not function, the features of this heterotopia as the production of a narration influencing the entire city and the activities to resist the circumstances results into their demand for a transformation even if it does not cover the re-organization of the entire city.

The second heterotopia is produced by people who are addressed by the narration on *outsider* created at the borders of the above mentioned heterotopia. The three districts, Ali Baba, Gökçebostan and Seyrantepe where are mostly inhabited by Alevi population and are both areas where the public opinion for Alevi public is developed and the action against the dominated space is created. The structure of life in the three places resemble that of a ghetto since it is subjected to ostracization, penalties coming from authorities and a strong imaginary forming the place. Even though the representative borders between inside and outside are created and kept due to a continuing intervention coming from authorities and public groups, they are also kept to strengthen and protect the community inside and create a relatively free area for the community. Withdrawal to thee borders is seen like a major strategy for the community. Due to the withdrawal and the difficulties of keeping and defending this identity establishing community association seems the way to raise consciousness, unite people, create their representation in city politics and politically appear on the other side of the borders. The associations are also the way to interact with the other associations and NGO's in the city and in Turkey and therefore have an important intermediary status.

Even though not all the organizations and not the entire public share the same opinions about the political objectives, by this way they are being represented in unity outside of the *ghetto.* For the continuity of the adoption of these three districts the place of the area in the imaginary is used as an important motivator. The organized struggle during 1970s which had an important support from the Alevi public, the attacks to the neighborhoods, Madımak Massacre all take part in the history of this place, referred to remind that this place is still strong in terms of opposition. Secondly, the lacks have such a use. The unfinished association building or the representation of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association with one person, create a common idea about the place and the discourses on the righteousness of the people are supported by the recognition of the lack. Even though it depends on withdrawal, the activities developed in the three districts are not addressing only the Alevi community. They include the collaboration with other associations in the city on city politics and the issues on

transformation are taken as the general problem related with the entire population in Sivas.

The activities developed here are also related with the other heterotopia developed around the former Madımak Hotel. After the transformation of the building, the place became the node of a countrywide action persistently claiming to take back the place, give it its history back and to use it as a metaphor for change in the city politics towards a city with equal rights and without discrimination. Organization of collectivities and persistent action -going there ever year and not retreating from demands- are the tools developed. The significations of Madımak and Massacre have been kept together by this way and they are used in a way to emphasise the present demand on the transformation towards equality rather than stabilizing the past. The difference between the emphasis on the present and past is one of the main division between the first group getting pacified by the narration they produced and the two former ones using memory to activate people. By this way, Madımak as a node for memory and activism is separated by the relations developed in the Ladies' Cultural Center as another symbol of the recent spatial transformation in Sivas.

Even though the life developed in the cultural center is challenging the function of societal norms and gendered use of space, still this life is not constructed on the idea of developing a movement and even if it changes the domination of authorities on a certain node, cultural center does not openly claim to oppose the authorities. On the other hand, women's action which started with the meeting of different women, strangers to each other sharing the same goal of going outside developed a valuable dynamism and led to the development of many tactics. The most important among them is the change brought by the use of invisibility. Being invisible but being outside as the reason for them to start courses there become the weapon and uses anonymity to appear in street either literally or using the digital environment. How this goal is achieved depends also on the codes developed inside such as keeping the life inside as a secret. The agreement of confidentiality works for the use of the good reputation of the place to convince families for taking education or wok outside and similarly it

enables the women to communicate with outside and develop a small economy for themselves inside.

As seen in all four cases, agency's involvement to the process of transformation appropriates space simultaneously with domination. Therefore the history of musealization of Sivas also becomes the history of the publics' attempts to challenge the musealization. The gaps created in the mainstream narration and the function of the ghostly material as a motivator destructing the wholeness of the dominated view are used as potential areas to be appropriated by publics. The use of memory such as the memory of patriarchy from which women find a less intervened but also a less critical place or the memory of Alevism in city which goes always parallel to interruption and keeps its critical form through decades; functions with spatial references. Even in the case of the least critical action, that of conservative women, the memory of the house as the unit implying separation from life contrary to the presence of the cultural center which means to be outside, it functions this way. Even though the link between spatial units and memory is highly important for the four cases analyzed here, it also adds temporality to the actions motivated by memories and memorial structures and therefore stresses the importance of solving the problem before musealization or other spatial transformations intervene more to the memory The dynamism of agency and its potential to keep and transmit memory gains more importance because of this aspect.

According to the features of the four heterotopia analyzed in this thesis, the differences between them places these nodes as the node for communication and power in the center, which uses production and transmission of information as the main tactic; the ghetto in the periphery using withdrawal and organization to influence the center; the memorial place for keeping constant action and intervening the musealization during the process and the free place created by women in the margin developing a less controlled area meeting with street by using anonymity. In each of them there is the tension of not being a part of the entire city, its politics, economy and the organization of the life on the street. In this frame musealization and the economic concerns under

it seem to increase the production of groups but also the groupings between people. Heterotopia are the best examples of it with the sharpened group identities, distinct ways of communication and development of tactics. It is a form of division in the power of agents even though it is useful to develop an action. Additionally, heterotopia marks a place remained between the domination and appropriation without a determined future.

Still, contrary to the influence of musealization which works to block agency, we see in all four heterotopia the utterance of a different city ideal rather than ending the momentary effects of transformation. Heterotopia are temporal structures but they do inspire people to highlight a larger frame of discontent while occupying a small point in the city. Whether a union between the nodes in Sivas is possible in terms challenging this ongoing transformation and whether the action they pose will bring collectively organized action questioning different aspects of the problems in Sivas are two possible questions which can be directed to the present situation. While establishing politics in the city, they increase the divisions which also have positive functions for consciousness raising. On the other hand, musealization as a major transformation has the power of intervening space and it has already changed street life in the city. Without a union in the publics of Sivas actions such as taking the street back or lessen the control, preventing interruption to the *free* areas of people and ending the increasing domestication and masculinization seems difficult, especially when it is thought that one of the main reasons of the development of heterotopia is the weak structure of political parties, human rights organizations, trade unions and other NGO's.

One point to be remembered in this surrounded structure is, contrary to the problems in getting organized in great numbers, Sivas has a settled tradition of action. The political reactions are not random or rapidly developed but even the numbers in participation change, people do come together during specific events such as May Day. In its history the city witnessed unions between different publics on the basis of a fair life as seen during 1970s and 1980s whose memory still have a mediator role

for the co-operation of some groups. These unions were realized in spite of the lack of a strong workers' consciousness, and the solidarity as a historic motive still has importance in the city.

Political actions having an agenda in the city and the continuity of action creates the obstacle in front of the total disappearance of politics from the street. Public action's and political development's withdrawal to heterotopia create a divided street with different political nodes. However, political activity has the feature of going beyond the borders. The most important activity in this respect is the one gathered around Madımak since it unites people from different spheres and links it directly to the political developments in the country. The active stance of three districts described as ghetto as well is not isolated from other groups and city politics in that sense. The opposing ideas developed in the market area on the other hand are also struggling with a changing economy which started keeping distance from authorities. The economy in decrease and the high unemployment rate has also such a feature and brings communities together.

Considering the structures and divisions, the will to reach the street expressed in the case of women, together with the other actions for taking the street back are strong claims, which reminds that these claims are, not rapidly but continuously appropriating different parts of the city center. Since agency of publics and not of worker's unions or political parties seems to be the main opponent of this transformation I found the potential of appropriation, which can only be done by people, grassroots, as a positive promise given by publics. The city and the country are naturally linked to each other. For major changes, the peripheral structure of the city demands the entrance of change from the bigger circle. On the other hand, as one of the continuous activities in Turkey, the Alevi movement's persistent action related with massacre, museum and equal rights in the city is raising the consciousness on human rights and discrimination countrywide. I believe the valuable consistency seen in the small scale movements and demands in the city can also create a link starting from periphery and reaches to the larger circles.

According to my view, the key element to be emphasized in what is signified by the condition of musealization in Sivas and actions against it is the necessity to identify the reasons behind the aesthetics of the city, its stimulators from the side of the authorities and the processes involved in its function to develop ways to response to it on the ground of the publics. The reactions in the city center partially analyze this content but do not involve a total criticism of it, which leads to the divisions in action and separations between different groups. Similarly, the need to face with the history of any space against the politics of forgetting is seen as creating further divisions, but actually the knowledge on space offers people the accumulated knowledge of the past experiences and nodes of opposition which still exist in the city physically or as ghosts of the city map.

Sivas, by being the city which offers a clear vision of spatial transformation to the researcher, since its very center is the subject of change and it has a humble map in comparison with many other cities under the same condition, poses a good example to discuss the musealization, which started to be the main cultural act of conservative local governments and private institutions in collaboration with them. Covering important discussions related with identity politics and spatial transformation in Turkey in a crystallized form Sivas becomes an important example to understand the dynamics in the country. Turkey has a long history with spatial interruption and the study of nodes showing the materialization of interruption on a city scale is also important to evaluate the route of spatial transformation countrywide.

By its differences from the worldwide musealization projects, the case of Turkey and Sivas enables to focus on the economic and social dynamics under musealization since they take a more strict form due to the imbalance between the power of authorities and that of publics.

For the literature of memory studies, cultural heritage and musealization this work adds the aspect of publics' experience, which both enables a simultaneous

investigation of the process of transformation and public reaction and settles the transformation process in relation with society and space it addresses. The analysis of memory and memorial structures in relation with space, similarly offers the change to evaluate the role of memory in the dialectical relation between space and society. By this way both the complex function of memory and its challenge the mainstream construction of history can be analyzed in more detail.

During my research, there was very few written, especially academic material on Sivas and on the recent history of the city. Similarly, on the issue of recent spatial transformations addressing city aesthetics in the first gaze but actually targeting the social life, there was not enough resources for Turkey. I hope this work covers the mentioned lacks to some extent.

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APPENDICES

A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name of the Interviewee*	Occupation of the Interviewee	The Place of Interview	Date the Interview
Kazım Genç	Joint attorney of the Sivas Massacre Trial/ Former president of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Foundation	Ankara	06/12/2011
Emel Sungur	President of July the 2nd Foundation	Ankara	07/12/2011
Hüseyin Karababa	Brother of Gülsüm Karababa, victim of Sivas Massacre 1993/ President of Madımak Museum Association	Ankara	14/12/2011
Cemal Şahin	Former General Secretary of Pir Sultan Abdal Foundation	Ankara	05/01/2012
C.Y.	Academic Personnel	Sivas	20/01/2012
T.T.	Craftsman	Sivas	21/01/2012
S.A.	Craftsman	Sivas	21/01/2012
A.A.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	21/01/2012
S.A.	Student	Sivas	22/01/2012
K.K.	Retired teacher	Sivas	22/01/2012
Kadir Üredi	Writer	Sivas	22/01/2012
Hüseyin Erol	Provincial Director of Republican People's Party	Sivas	07/02/2012
A.O.	Shopkeeper	Sivas	11/02/2012
D.A.	Shopkeeper	Sivas	11/02/2012
S.E.	Teacher	Sivas	11/02/2012
A.T.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	13/02/2012
D.S.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	13/02/2012
K.E.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	13/02/2012
S.M.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	13/02/2012
G.C.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	13/02/2012
F.K.	Student	Sivas	13/02/2012
E.H.	Unpaid household laborer/writer	Sivas	13/02/2012

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (Continued)			
D.G.	Student	Sivas	13/02/2012
Y.T.	Unemployed	Sivas	13/02/2012
L.H.	Student	Sivas	14/02/2012
Y.B.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	14/02/2012
L.P.	Teacher/unemployed	Sivas	14/02/2012
Hidayet Yıldırım	Representative of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Foundation in Sivas	Sivas	14/02/2012
M.O.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	15/02/2012
R.P.	Teacher	Sivas	15/02/2012
İ.R.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	15/02/2012
C.H.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	15/02/2012
İ.K.	Retired	Sivas	15/02/2012
N.S.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	16/02/2012
Z.T.	Student	Sivas	16/02/2012
Ş.N.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	16/02/2012
G.T	Retired	Sivas	16/02/2012
S.A.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	19/02/2012
Emine İmren	President of Alevi Culture Association in Sivas	Sivas	17/02/2012
Gülşen Yalçın	Mukhtar of Seyrantepe	Sivas	17/02/2012
Cahit Albayrak	President of Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association	Sivas	17/02/2012
Ali Ceylan Demir	Secretary General of Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association	Sivas	17/02/2012
H.E.	Craftsman	Sivas	18/02/2012
A. D.	Retired	Sivas	11/04/2012
S.G.	Retired	Sivas	12/04/2012
E.G.	Unpaid household laborer	Sivas	12/04/2012
Burhanettin Yurdagül	Architect	Sivas	16/04/2012
Burhan Bilget	Former President of Culture of Sivas	Sivas	art historian
Mahmut Şahin	Member of board in Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Cultural Association	Sivas	07/05/2012
Mustafa Akyol	Former president of Union for Laborers of Education and Science in Sivas		07/05/2012
K.A.	Retired		07/05/2012

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (Continued)			
Sami Alpan	Officer in the Sivas Center of Science and Culture		08/05/2012
Serdar İnce	Representative of the Chamber of Architects in Sivas		08/05/2012
Osman Ada	Former president of Chamber of Industry in Sivas/ shopkeeper		09/05/2012
Mustafa Saydam	Advisor of the Major		09/05/2012
Kadir Pürlü	President of Culture of Sivas		14/05/2012
Tekin Şener	The Executive Editor of Hayat Ağacı Magazine		16/05/2012
Tahir Aslandaş	President of Protection, Restoration and Sustenance of Ali Baba Shrine		Restoration and Sustenance of Ali Baba Shrine
Osman Yıldırım (1)**	Shopkeeper		29/05/2012
Ali Kesti	President of The Association to Spread and Sustain the Urban Culture		30/05/2012
Mehmet Şarkışla	Program maker in TV58 /representative of Sivas Culture and Art Association		01/06/2012
Faruk Yücel	shopkeeper		04/06/2012
Osman Yıldırım (2)	President of Chamber of Industry		04/06/2012
Saadettin Doğan	Secretary General of Sivas Service Foundation		05/06/2012
Ahmet Opan	Former President of the Atatürk Cultural Center		05/06/2012
Ali Akyıldız	President of CEM Foundation		07/06/2012

* The names of some interviewees are not stated for the sake of confidentiality, according to their demand.

**Not the same person with Osman Yıldırım (2).

B: COMPARISON OF 2009 AND 2012 DATA (POPULATION, MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT)

	2009		2012	
Total Population of Sivas	633.347		623.535	
Population in the Center of Sivas	300.795		312.587	
Number of People Migrate to Sivas	23.217		21.492	
Number of People Migrated to Sivas (+15 age group)	19.562	**Educational Distribution (100%)**	18.280	**Educational Distribution (100%)**
		None: 1.845 (9,43 %)		**None:** 1480 (8,09 %)
		Primary School: 4.641 (23,72%)		**Primary School:** 3002 (16,42%)
		Primary Education: 1259 (6,44%)		**Primary Education**: 2158 (11,81%)
		Secondary School and Equivalent: 711 (3,63 %)		**Secondary School and Equivalent:** 567 (3,10%)
		High School and Equivalent: 7794 (39,84%)		**High School and Equivalent**: 7017 (38,39%)
		Vocational School/University: 2261 (11,56 %)		**Vocational School/University:** 3306 (18,09%)
		Post-Graduate: 152 (0,78%)		**Post-Graduate:** 198 (1,08 %)
		Unknown: 899 (4,60%)		**Unknown:** 552 (3,02%)

COMPARISON OF 2009 AND 2012 DATA (Continued)				
Number of People Migrating from Sivas	28.585		27.441	
Number of People Migrating to Sivas (+15 age group)	22.990	**Educational Distribution (100%)**	22.233	**Educational Distribution (100%)**
		None: 1880 (8,18 %)		**None:** 1670 (7,51 %)
		Primary School: 5292(5,48%)		**Primary School:** 3538 (15,91%)
		Primary Education: 2382 (10.36%)		**Primary Education**: 3847 (17.30%)
		Secondary School and Equivalent: 859 (3.74 %)		**Secondary School and Equivalent:** 654 (2.94 %)
		High School and Equivalent: 6451 (28.06%)		**High School and Equivalent**: 6593 (29.65%)
		Vocational School/University: 3978 (17.30 %)		**Vocational School/University:** 5058 (22.75%)
		Post-Graduate: 200 (8.47%)		**Post-Graduate:** 259 (1.16%)
		Unknown: 1948 (4.60%)		**Unknown:** 614 (2.76%)
Net Migration	-5368		-5949	
Labor Force Participation Rate [1,*]	39.0%	Lower Limit: 37.1% Upper Limit: 40.9% Coefficient of Variation: 2.5%	50.5%	Lower Limit: 49.0% Upper Limit: 52.0% Coefficient of Variation: 1.5%
Unemployment Rate [2,*]	13.2%	Lower Limit: 10.0% Upper Limit: 16.3% Coefficient of Variation: 12.1%	7.8%	Lower Limit: 6.3% Upper Limit: 9.2% Coefficient of Variation: 9.7%
Employment Rate [3,*]	33.9%	Lower Limit: 31.6% Upper Limit: 36.2% Coefficient of Variation: 3.4%	46.6%	Lower Limit: 44.9% Upper Limit: 48.3% Coefficient of Variation: 1.9%

[1] Labor Force Participation Rate: The ratio between the labor force and the non-institutional population.

[2] Unemployment Rate: The ration of the unemployed population in the labor force.

[3] Employment Rate: The ratio of the employment in the non-institutional population in working age.

[*] The upper and lower limit values define the 95% confidence interval.

Source: Data from Turkish Statistical Institute, Address-Based Population Registration Results on Population and Demography and Labor Force Statistics, 2009 and 2012 [Database Online].

C: COMPARISON OF 2009 AND 2012 DATA OF TURKEY AND SIVAS (LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, EMPLOYMENT)

2009	*LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE*			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	39.0%	*48.8%*	*- 20.0%*	*73*
	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	13.2%	*12.3%*	*7.3%*	*37*
	EMPLOYMENT RATE			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	33.9%	*43.0%*	*21.0%*	*72*
2012	*LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE*			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	50.5%	*50.1%*	*0.8%*	*42*
	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	7.8%	*8.3%*	*- 6.0%*	*36*
	EMPLOYMENT RATE			
	Rate	*Mean (Turkey)*	*Relative Difference*	*Rank Among 81 Provinces*
	46.6%	46.1%	1.1%	40

Source: Data from Turkish Statistical Institute, Address-Based Population Registration Results on Labor Force Statistics, 2009 and 2012 [Database Online].

D: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES FROM LADIES CULTURAL CENTER

Name	Age Group	Education	Occupation	Marital status	Reason for Taking Courses	Condition of going outside	Condition of working
A.T.	35-39	High school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	Fill in time until she takes her daughter from school	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
D.S.	35-39	High school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
K.E.	35-39	High school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
S.M.	50-54	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To prepare her daughter's trousseau	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
G.C.	50-54	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To prepare her daughter's trousseau	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
F.K.	20-24	High school	Student (distance education)	Single	To acquire a profession	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
E.H.	30-35	High school	Unpaid household laborer – writer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
D.G.	20-24	Secondary School	Student - distance education	Divorce e	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
Y.T.	20-24	High school	Unpaid household laborer	Single	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
L.H.	20-24	High school	Student (distance education)	Single	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Can work by her own will

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES (Continued)							
Y.B.	35-39	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
L.P.	35-39	University	Teacher/	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
M.O.	35-39	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To prepare her daughter's trousseau	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
R.P.	35-39	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To prepare her daughter's trousseau	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
I.R.	35-39	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To prepare her daughter's trousseau	Can leave home by herself	Can work by her own will
C.H	55-64	Primary school	Unpaid household laborer	Widowed	To acquire a profession	Can leave home by herself	Can work by her own will
İ.K.	55-64	High school	Retired – public officer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Can work by her own will
N.S.	30-35	High school	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
Z.T.	50-54	High school	Student (distance education)- Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Can leave home by herself	Not allowed to work
Ş.N	50-54	Primary School	Unpaid household laborer	Married	To spend time outside at home	Not allowed to leave home by herself	Not allowed to work

E: PHOTOGRAPHS FROM AREA OF RESEARCH

Photograph 1: Buruciye Madrasah, Ramadan, 2012.

Photograph 2: Çifte Minare Madrasah, Ramadan, 2012.

Photograph 3: Abdullah Acungil Mansion under restoration, 2012.

Photograph 4: Abdi Ağa Mansion, 2012

Photograph 5: Memorial Wall for 1993 Massacre in Sivas Center of Science and Culture, 2012.

Photograph 6: Sivas Center of Science and Culture, 2012.

Photograph 7: Aksu Promenades, 2012.

F: CURRICULUM VITAE

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PUBLICATIONS

Karababa Kayalıgil, P. (2014) Sivas'ın Tahayyülü: Bir Kenti Baştan Yazmak [Imagining Sivas: Re-writing a City], Doğu Batı 68: 145-163.

G: TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı aktörler, mekânsal dönüşüm ve otorite arasındaki ilişkiyi günümüzde birçok şehirde karşılaşılan kentlerin *müzeleşme* pratikleri üzerinden ve odağı insanların bu dönüşüşüme karşı çıkma ve direnme pratiklerine çevirerek incelemektir. Araştırma için seçilen şehir yakın tarihinde sıfatı "Cumhuriyet şehrinden" "Cumhuriyet'in yıkılacağı şehre" ve mekânsal dönüşüm sonrası "Sultan Şehir'e" dönüşmüş; neo-liberal İslam politikalarının özellikle belediyecilikte etkili olmasından sonra kentin tarihsel bir meta olarak tüketiminin merkezinde yer alan bir şehir olan Sivas'tır. Sivas'ta yaşayan insanların yaşadıkları şehirde otorite tarafından yapılan düzenlemelere nasıl direndiklerinin ve karşı çıktıklarının incelenmesinde öne çıkan direnme pratikleri halkaların mekâna dair belleği kullanımı ve kendilerinin olarak benimsedikleri yerleri koruma ve uygunlaştırma yöntemleridir.

Tezin araştırma sorusu "otoritenin geliştirdiği müzeleşmiş mekâna karşı çoğul halk mahalleri halklar tarafından nasıl üretilir?" olarak belirlenmiştir. Çoğul halk mahalleri otoritenin egemenlik kurmayı amaçladığı bir mekânda yaşayan halkların kendi farklı taleplerine göre ürettiği, içinde teptipleşmeye karşı farklılık barındıran yerler anlamında kullanılmıştır.

Bu pratikleri incelemek için araştırma *sosyo-mekânsal* bir yaklaşım benimsemiştir. Mekânın böyle bir inceleme için kilit önemi Lefebvre'in tanımladığı gibi hem toplumsal ilişkilerin üretimini sağlayacak zemin olarak hayatın merkezinde yer alması hem de bu ilişkiler tarafından üretiliyor olmasıdır; mekân birbirine eklemlenmiş kavrama, tasarlama ve deneyimleme pratiklerinin merkezidir. [1] Bundan dolayı nasıl ki otoritenin toplumsal hayata müdahalesinin çerçevesi mekâna müdahale dâhil edilerek incelenmedikçe tam olarak belirlenemezse, insanların kent deneyimleri ve karşı çıkma pratikleri de içinde şekillendikleri mekânlar ve ürettikleri direniş mekânları

[1] Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 42.

incelenmeden tam olarak anlaşılamaz. Soja, Lefebvre'in yöntemini tekrar tartışarak mekân incelemelerinin diyalektik yapısına yeniden vurgu yapmış ve "sosyo-mekânsal diyalektiğin" araştırmaya yansımasının hem mekânı ve insan deneyimini çevreleyen ekonomik ve siyasi süreçlerin hem de kitlelerin hareketinin derinlemesine incelenmesini sağlayacağını savunmuştur. [2]

Tezin konusun olan ilişkilerin mekân merkeze alınarak incelenmesi halkların deneyimi çeşitli ve değişken ölçekli mekânlarda –kahvehaneler, işyerleri, dinlenme yerleri, kitle örgütü ofisleri, siyasi parti ofisleri− ve farklı ilişki biçimleriyle –eyleme katılmak gibi örgütlü veya üst geçit kullanmamayı seçme gibi kendiliğinden− şekillendiği için bu deneyimin tüm çeşitliliğinin araştırmaya derinlemesine yansımasını sağlamaktır. Deneyimin müzeleşme çalışmalarına eklenmesi, hem çoğunlukla yapının incelenmesine odaklanan araştırmaların genişletilmesini hem de günümüzün yeni tüketim biçimlerinden biri haline gelen müze kentlerdeki ilişkilerin yerinde ve sürecin içinden incelenmesini sağlamaktadır.

Araştırmanın saha çalışması 20.01.2012 tarihinden 07.06.2012'e tarihine kadar sürmüş ve Ankara'da da mülakatlar yapılmakla beraber çoğunlukla Sivas'ta yürütülmüştür. Bu süreç içinde yarı yapılandırılmış 66 mülakat, resmi kurumlar, dernekler ve örgütlerde yapılan mülakatlar dışında kartopu örneklemesi ile yapılmıştır. Kartopu örneklemesi bir ağın içinden bir kişiyle tanışıp onun vasıtasıyla daha büyük gruba ulaşmayı sağlayan ve bu şekilde kapalı gruplara ulaşmayı kolaylaştıran bir yöntemdir. [3] Mülakatlar dışında kentin dönüşümünde etkili olan yazın sürecini incelemek için küçük çaplı bir arşiv çalışması yapılmış ve kent dergileri, resmi kurumlar tarafından kent ve kentliler hakkında yapılan yayınlar ve kent üzerine kitaplar söylem analizi üzerinden incelenmiştir. Söylem analizi metnin hâkim söylemlerle ilişkisini toplumsal ve tarihsel çerçeveye oturtarak kurmayı

[2] Edward W. Soja, "The Socio-Spatial Dialectic".

[3] J. Faugier and M. Sargeant, "Sampling Hard to Reach Populations".

amaçlar.[4] Metinler bu tez içinde önce aralarındaki söylemsel ittifak noktaları üzerinden okunmuş ardından içerdikleri boşluklar ve çelişkili noktalar mülakatlarla benzeşme ve ayrışma noktaları üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Tezde benimsenen tutum, feminist metodolojinin benimsediği dönüşlülük yaklaşımıdır ve araştırmacının hem araştırdığı kişilerle arasındaki konum farkının bilincinde olmasını hem de bunu hiyerarşik olarak kullanmamasını sağlamayı amaçlar; bundan dolayı araştırmacının araştırma yaptığı kişilere karşı sorumluluk hissetmesini ve kendini araştırma çerçevesinden soyutlamamasını öngörür. [5]

Tez hem müzeleşme pratiklerinin Sivas üzerine etkisini hem de aktörlerin direnişini detaylı olarak incelemek için temel olarak iki bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk bölüm tarih, bellek ve mekân dönüşümü üzerinden Sivas'ın yakın tarihini incelerken ikinci bölüm halkların mekân ve bellek üzerinden direnişini örgütleri mekânlardaki ilişkiye odaklanarak inceler.

Tezde konu edilen ve müzeleşme başlığı altında incelenen mekânsal dönüşüm kent estetiğinin değiştirilmesi pratiklerinin yanı sıra kentin hâkim kılınması amaçlanan ekonomiye, otoritenin uygun gördüğü yaşam biçimine ve otoritenin tarafından benimsenen tarih anlayışına göre biçimlenir.

Otoritenin mekân üzerindeki pratiklerinin temel araçlarından biri olarak ele alınan müzeleşme bir yersizleştirme-yerinden etme süreci olarak incelenmiştir. Müller tarafından yapılan tanımı mekânı, ona atfedilen tarihi önemin kurgusal yapısı ile kişiliğinden koparan bir süreç olan müzeleşme mekânın kendi anlatısını bozar ve mekânı doğrudan yaşayan insanların deneyimi ile onu kısmen yaşayan turistin

[4] Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy, Discourse Analysis : Investigating Processes of Social Construction (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 4.

[5] Sandra Harding, Feminism and Methodology : Social Science Issues: 8,9.

deneyimi arasındaki farkın ortadan kalkmasına neden olur.[6] Başka bir deyişle kentin deneyimlenmesinin öznel yapısı genel ve otorite tarafından tanımlanmış bir mekân deneyiminde kaybolur. Kente tarihi dokusunu yeniden kazandırma projeleri üzerinden gerçekleşen müzeleşme ekonominin tüketim politikalarıyla yakından ilgilidir ve bahsedilen öznel deneyimin kaybolması aynı zamanda kenti bir toplumsal ilişkiler zemini ve üretim mekânı olmaktan çıkartarak tüketilecek bir metaya dönüşmesini beraberinde getirir. Bu dönüşümün özellikle Türkiye ve Sivas örneğinde belirginleşen ikinci etkisi ise bahsedilen dönüşümün neo-liberal etkilerine eklenen İslamcı politikalarla beraber muhafazakâr bir yaşam tarzını dayatması ve Türk-İslam çizgisinde yeniden üretilen mekânlarla kent içinde bu kimliği veya görüşü paylaşmayan nüfusun farklı aidiyetlerinin görünürlüğünü kaldırmasıdır.

Kent farklı boyutlarda ilişkiler içerdiğinden dışarıdaki hayat nüfusun tamamının bir arada bulunarak, paylaşılan fikirlere dayalı bir kamuoyu oluşturmasına izin vermeyecek şekilde düzenlenir. Kamuoyu çoğunluğun görünürlüğü altında yiten grupların susturulmuşluğunu da içeren bir kavramdır. Bundan dolayı tezde kamuoyu ve kamusal alan üzerinden bir inceleme yapılmamış, daha çok grupların kendi mekânları ile diğer mekânlarla ilişkileri incelenerek kentte nasıl kendilerini görünür kıldıkları incelenmiştir. Aynı sebepten halk kavramı bu gruplar arasındaki çoğulluğu yeterince ifade etmediği için, Fraser'ın tanımına dayanarak "halklar" kullanımı benimsenmiştir.[7]

Bu doğrultuda tezde aktörlere verilen yer çoğulluğu, aktörler arasındaki çatışmaları da vererek yansıtmayı hedeflemektedir. Aktörlük tez çerçevesinde müzeleşme sürecinin karşısında yer alan halk ve gruplardan oluşmaktadır. Aktörlüğün mekânsal pratikler üzerinden okunması, mekânın üretimi içinde yaşayanların deneyimi ve kitle

[6] Michael Muller, "Musealisation, Aestheticisation and Reconstructing the Past," 365.

[7] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy": 69, 70.

tepkisine de dayandığı için yapıya geçişli ve değişken bir nitelik atfeder ve yapının tahakkümünün mutlak bir şekilde ortaya konmasını engeller.

Aktörler otoritenin karşısına mekânın üreticisi olarak yerleştirildiğinde, her iki grubun da araçları birbirleriyle ilişkili olarak bu gruplar altında yerlerini alırlar. Bu ayrıma göre, otoritenin tarihi işlevselleştirmesinin bir aracı olarak müzeleşme ve geçmişi düz bir çizgide, iktidarla ilişkili olarak yansıtan tarih, otoritenin sahasında kalır. Bunun karşısında ise aktörlerin kendi amaçları için uygunlaştırdığı mekânlar ve bellek, konumlarını ve görünümlerini kaybetmemeleri için kullandıkları araçlar olarak onların yanında yer alır. Sivas'ta yapılan araştırma, halkların siyasi görünürlüğünü sağlayacak örgüt ve kurumların kısıtlanmış olmasından dolayı, öne çıkan direniş ve uygunlaştırma mekânlarının halkların kendilerinin kılmaya çalıştıkları, kendileri ile özdeşleştirdikleri yerler olduğunu göstermiştir. Otoritenin ötekisi olan bu aktörlerin mekânları *heterotopi* kavramı üzerinden ele alınmıştır.

Foucault ve Lefebvre'in heterotopi üzerine incelemelerine bakıldığında bu kavramın temel olarak "öteki mekân" veya "ötekilerin mekânı" anlamında kullanıldığı görülür. Foucault'nun tanımladığı şekliyle heterotopi mekân içindeki uyumsuzlukların giderilmesine yönelik bir süreçtir ve beraber üretilmiş bir gerçekliği veya gerçeklik aldanmasına dayanan bütünlüklü bir yapıyı beraberinde getirir. [8] Aktörlüğe daha fazla yer veren Lefebvre içinse heterotopi kapitalizmin oyunlarıyla başa çıkmak ve mekânı kendilerinin yapmak için aktörlerin otoritenin alanından daha uzakta kurdukları mekânlardır.

Aktörlerin kullandığı ikinci araç ise tarihin karşısında yer alan ve Leyla Neyzi'nin tanımıyla tarihin düz çizgisine meydan okuyan bellektir. [9] Fentress ve Wickham belleğin özelliğini hem nesnel yapısı hem de topluluğun bulunduğu duruma göre

[8] Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," Diacritics 16, no. 1 (1986): 24-27.

[9] Leyla Neyzi, "Remembering Smyrna/Izmir", 124.

şekillenmesi sebebiyle işlevsel ve yoruma açık olarak ele alırlar.[10] Nora ise bellek tanımlanırken önemli olanın, belleğin onu koruyanların içinde bulundukları durumla ilişkisinden ötürü geçmişi değil şimdiki zamanı imlemesi olduğunu söyler. [11] Bu tez içinde bellek mekânla olan ilişkisi ve insanları motive etmekteki önemi ile incelenmiştir. Mülakatlardaki mekân üzerinden hatırlama biçimlerinin işaret ettiği gibi bu kapsamda bellek mekânsal ikizi ile yer alır. Müzeleşmenin yok ettiği veya anlamını kaybettiği mekânlar Sivas'ta bellekteki yerlerini korumakta ve aktörlerin müzeleşme karşıtı pratiklerini eski direniş pratikleriyle birleştirerek motivasyon sağlamaktadırlar. Belleğin mekânsal ikizi denebilecek bu tür mekânlar Walter Benjamin'in *fantazmagori* veya hayalet yapıyı tanımlamasına uymaktadır. Fantazmagori dönemi geçmiş yapıların bugünün yapılarıyla çatışarak yarattığı şok etkisi, başka bir deyişle yarattıkları uyuşmazlıkla bugünün metalarının maskesini özellikle ekonominin gözbağından sıyırarak ifşa etmektir.[12] Bu yaklaşımın devamı hayalet yapıların belleğe benzer şekilde tarihin ve ilerleyişin hegemonik düz çizgisini bozduğunu söyleyen Hetherington'da görülür.[13]

Sivas'a müzeleşme üzerinden bakıldığında bu dönüşümün günlük hayata etkisinin, artan Sünni-Türk-İslam referanslı restorasyon ve renovasyon çalışmalarının kullanımıyla ilgili olduğu ortaya çıkar. Hayata kazandırılan bu mekanların sosyal toplanma mekanları olarak kullanılmasıyla birlikte sokaktaki hayatın muhafazakar kodlarla yeniden tanımlandığını; kadın ve erkeklerin birbirlerinden ayrılarak kullandığı mekanların arttığını; bu mekanlarda yapılan kültürel etkinliklerin çoğunlukla dini referanslı olduğunu; cinsiyetlerin mekânsal olarak birbirinden ayrılmadığı yerlerde hâkim muhafazakar davranış kodlarının uygulandığını görürüz.

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[10]James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

[11] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire," Representations 26.1 (1989.

[12] Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project.

[13] Kevin Hetherington, "The Time of the Entrepreneurial City, Museum, Heritage & Kairos", 276.

Bu sürecin diğer yüzü ise müzeleşmenin beraberinde getirdiği öteki mekânları yok etme politikasıdır. Yerleştirilmek istenen tarih anlayışına uymayan mekânlar yenilenmemekte, başka kimlikleri tanımlayan mekânların ömrü sonlandırılırmakta veya bu alanların simgelediği noktalar değiştirilerek eski kimliğinden koparılmaktadır.

Türkiye'de mekâna müdahale ilişkilerine bakıldığında müzeleşmenin sadece yakın tarihte gerçekleştirilmediği söylenebilir. Buna karşılık tezin cevabı müzeleşme pratikleri içinde gördüğümüz kenti tüketme öğesinin başka zamanlardaki benzer pratiklerden farkıdır. Türkiye tarihine ve Sivas örneğine bakıldığında otoritenin benimsediği tarih anlayışının kentte belirgin kılınmasının cumhuriyet boyunca var olduğunu görürüz. Bugün müzeleşmenin benimsediği ve belli kitlelerin bu tarihsel anlatıdan ve kentte kendi deneyimlerini yansıtacak, temsiliyet, karar mekanizmasına katılma; Sünni-İslam dışı dini ve kültürel pratiklerin rahatlıkla yapılması; protesto hakkı; toplumsal cinsiyet normları dışında davranma gibi pratiklerden dışlanmasına dayanan yöntemlerden bazıları eski yönetimlerin farklı sınıf, etnisite, din, mezhep ve toplumsal cinsiyet grupları arasında gözettiği ayrımdan beslenmektedir. Fakat müzeleşme sadece bir yaşam biçimi veya ideoloji dayatmaya değil aynı zamanda tarihi neo-liberalin olumlu yüzü olarak kullanmaya da dayanır. Müzeleşme bu pratikler üzerinden incelendiğinde Türkiye ve Sivas örneğinin başka coğrafyalardaki neo-liberal dönüşümün getirdiği müzeleşme örneklerinden farkı neo-liberal İslam temelinde örgütlenen yeni kent hayatının yerleştirilmesi için kullanılan müzeleşmenin içeriğindeki ekonomik ve siyasi faktörleri daha görünür şekilde ortaya koyması ve bu kavramın daha ayrıntılı incelenmesine fırsat tanımaktadır.

Sivas'ta bu sürecin nasıl oluştuğu incelendiğinde otoritenin benimsediği iki pratik öne çıkar. Bunlardan ilki şehre dair bir edebiyatın yaratılmasına yerel yönetim tarafından verilen destek ikincisi ise yeniden üretilen mekânların eskilerinin hayatını sonlandırarak kenti bir Sünni-Türk –İslam çizgisinde tektipleştirmesidir.

Sivas'ta 1993 Madımak Katliamı sonrası gelişmelere bakıldığında, yakın tarihteki Katliam dâhil olaylara yer vermeyen fakat genel bir bozulma hikâyesini Sivas'ı "eski muhteşem kent" ve "yeni tuhaf kent" olarak ikiye bölerek anlatan bir kent yazınının ortaya çıktığı ve on sene içinde hızla yaygınlaştığı görülür. Bu yazın içinde otoriteyle ilişkisi bulunan grupların, otoritenin ve bağımsız yazarların oluşturduğu dergi ve kitaplar benzer amaçlarla birleşirler. Temel vurgusu kente dair belleği canlandırma olan ve bir kısmı Belediye ve Valilik tarafından basılan kitaplar ve dergilerin yazarlarına bakıldığında aynı isimlerin tekrar ettiği görülür. Saha araştırmasında dergilerin sorumluları ve yazarların bir kısmı ile yapılan mülakatlarda bu isimlerin tesadüfi olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Kent için bir yazın yaratma çabasının ilk ayağı, kentin eski sakinlerinden insanları kent dergisi vasıtasıyla bir araya getirmek, ardından da bu kişilerin kendi yayınlarını yapmalarını teşvik etmek olmuştur. Yazarlar grubu dergi ve kitapların savunduğu kentliliği, eski kente bağlılığı, yeni kentin bozulmasına dar eleştiriyi kendi hayatlarında da sürdüren kentli, orta sınıf insanlardan oluşmaktadır.

Kentlinin bozulan kentinin hikâyesi bu yayınlarda kimliği kentliye karşı belirsiz, içi doldurulabilir bir yabancı kimliği oluşturur. Eski kentle yeni kent arasındaki fark bu yabancının varlığı, kente girişi üzerinden kurulur. Yabancı kentte bulunan köylü-kentli, Alevi-Sünni, Türk-Kürt ayrımlarının hepsine boy gösterir. Yabancı kimliğinin ortaya çıkışı incelendiğinde yazın ve mülakatlar 1950 civarına, yani büyük Alevi gruplarının endüstriyel kurumlarda çalışmak için kente gelip Ali Baba'ya yerleşmesine kadar gider. Kent-köy ayrımını doğuran bu başlangıçtan sonra yabancı kimliği kente dair her bozulma hikâyesinin merkezindedir. Madımak Katliamı'na dair anlatıların çoğunda yabancı dışarıdan gelip huzur bozan bir gruba dönüşür. Yabancının kullanımının etkisine bakıldığında kente dair iki önemli durumu gösterdiği görülür. Bunlardan ilki yabancı karakterinin kimliğine değil fakat kentte ne yaptığına yönelik sorulara verilen cevapların kentin ekonomisini tehdit etmek olduğudur. Bu durum Sivas'ın kentteki üretim yavaşladıktan sonraki gerileyen ekonomisiyle yakından ilişkilidir. İkinci durum ise yabancı kimliğinin asıl görevinin kentlinin kent üzerindeki sorumluluğunu hafifletmek olmasıdır. Kentli kötüye gidişte

pay sahibi değildir, ekonomik gerilemenin sebebi dahi bu muğlak yabancıdır. Bu örnek, başka örneklerle birlikte, kent sakinlerinin yaşadıkları kente dair sorumluluk hissinden kurtulmalarının müzeleşmenin unutturucu ve uyuşturucu etkisi ile ilişkisini gösterir. Sürekli eski zamana yapılan referans ve bugünün deneyimi ile eski deneyimler arasındaki fark kentliyi sadece sorumluluğundan kurtarmaz aynı zamanda kent hakkını talep etmesini de engeller.

Kent yazını otoritenin kentteki rolünü yani eski kenti getirme vaadini öne çıkarırken yaratılan hayali eski kent, yeni projelerin eski zamanlarda olmayan bir muhafazakâr yapıyı kente yerleştirdiğini gizler. Talep edilemeyen kent hakkı ve kentin sorumluluğunu alamayan fakat kentin sahibi oldukları yazın tarafından kendilerine telkin edilen kitle geçmişe odaklanarak bugün içinde projelerin asıl yöneldiği kitlenin kendileri olmadığını gözden kaçırır. Kent hizmetlerinin otoritenin ihsanına dönüştürerek iletilmesi yani –eski Sivas anlatılarındaki serbestinin tersine− hepsi muhafazakâr biçimde şekillendirilmiş kermesler, ücretsiz kurslar, mesire yerleri, restore edilmiş mekânlardan oluşturulan tesisler aslında düşük gelirli kesimlere bozulan ekonomiden şikâyet etmeme payı verirken, kenti kimliği ile beraber bütün kesimlerin tüketimine açmaktadır. Tarihin işlevselliği pratiğin ekonomisini gizlemektedir.

Müzeleşmenin ikinci ayağına bakıldığında kent mekânı üzerine yazında yaratılan bu hayali kentle bağlantılı olarak getirilen kent düzenlemesidir. 1990'lı yılların kente etkisinin, kentin üretimindeki düşüşün ve neo-liberal İslamcı politikaların etkinliğinin artmasının ardından paralel iki süreç kente hâkim olmuştur. Bunlardan ilki kentin cephesinin değiştirilmesi ve ikincisi ise yeni bir sosyal yaşamın dayatılmasıdır. Her iki süreç de Madımak sonrası Sivas'ın kaybedilen itibarının geri verilmesini ve köklü tarihin, eski kent değerlerinin ortaya çıkarılmasını bir vaat olarak değişimin görünür yüzü olarak kurar. Bu görünümün arkasında ise sokak ve günlük yaşam spontanlığını, doğal ritmini ve kişiselliğini yitirmiş, kentlinin siyasi aktiveleri kısıtlanmış ve Türk-Sünni kimliğini tamamen veya aynı muhafazakârlıkta paylaşmayan grupların kentteki temsiliyeti azalmış, cinsiyet ayrımları artmıştır.

Toplumsal mekânın bu şekilde kısıtlanmasının temel araçları haline gelen müzeleşme pratiklerinin kentte yoğunlaştığı alanlara bakıldığında buraların kültürel etkinliklerin yoğunlaştığı alanları ve kentin ötekisi olarak konumlandırılmış toplulukların yoğunluklu yaşadığı yerleri de içererek kent merkezi olduğu görülür. Merkezdeki yaşama yönelik bu müdahale ise eski mekânlar ile yenileri arasında bir çatışmayı oluşturur ve müzeleşmenin yoğunlaştığı her noktada hayalet bir yapı, insanların belleğindeki yeri ile kurulan hâkimiyetini hafifletir.

Bu noktalardan ilki ve görece en az siyasi referansı olan yer halk arasında yoksullara gölge sağladığı için Cıbıllar Parkı olarak bilinen parkın ağaçlarının kesilmesiyle ortaya çıkar. Yeni adı Selçuk Park olan yerde Selçuklu Külliyesinin –Buruciye Medresesi, Şifaiye Medresesi, Çifte Minareli Medrese− ve Kale Camii daha görünür kılınmış, bunun için Cıbıllar Parkı ortadan kaldırılmıştır. Park tek başına bir siyaset merkezi olmamakla birlikte, siyasi adalara bölünmüş ve bu adalara mensup insanların diğerlerinin mekânına geçmemeye çalıştığı bir günlük hayata sahip Sivas'ın merkezinde önceden planlanmamış karşılaşmaların, farklı kimliklerle bir arada bulunma ihtimalinin, parkın tarihinde nadiren görülse de siyasi bir amaçla birleşen insanların buluşma noktası olma potansiyelinin bulunduğu bir yerden kontrollü bir gezinti alanına ve iktidarın mekânına dönüşmüştür. Parkın yerini alan mesire yerlerine bakıldığında ise, park kentin tam merkezindeyken yeni mekânların merkeze uzak olduğu ve güvenlik tarafından kontrol edilen muhafazakârlaşmış yerler olduğu görülür.

Selçuklu Külliyesinin ve Kale Camii'nin kentteki bugünkü rolü boşaltılarak meydana dönüştürülmüş parktaki rolü otoritenin istediği kültürel etkinliklerin yapılacağı, Kale Camii'nden bu meydana taşan kitlenin namaz vakitlerinde kentin büyük Sünni-Müslüman bedenini sergileneceği ve yerel yönetim tarafından işletilen mekânlarda muhafazakâr davranış kalıpları ve cinsiyet normlarının uygulanacağı yerler olmaktır. Mülakatlarda parktaki ağaçların kesilmesi farklı gruplar tarafından eleştirildiğinde ortaya çıkan memnuniyetsizlik çevrenin tahrip edilmesine, meydanda yapılan değişikliklerin İslami anlayışa uygun olmamasına ve tek bir kültürün görünür

kılınmasına dayanmaktadır. Bu anlamda parkın hayaletinin yarattığı memnuniyetsizlik eski halinden daha siyasidir ve Külliye'nin belli bir hayat tarzı ve kültürü dayatmasına karşı çıkan öğelerden biridir.

Kentin belleğinde kalan ve bugün işlevini yitirmiş veya ortadan kalkmış yerlerden bazıları ise siyasi içerikleriyle motive edicidirler. Sivas 1970'lere kadar sanayinin işlediği bir işçi kenti olmasına ve cumhuriyet kurumlarının işçilere sağladığı eğitim imkânları sayesinde işçi kentin daha yüksek sınıflar kadar saygın bir üyesi sayılmasına rağmen kentte büyük bir kitlenin katıldığı bir işçi hareketi olmamıştır. Sendikal hareketlere bakıldığında kurumlarda etkili olan sendikaların işçi bilinci kazandırma eğiliminde olmayan sendikalar olduğu görülür. Buna rağmen özellikle 1970'li yıllar işçi ve öğrenci hareketiyle beraber anılmakta ve bu hareketin buluşma noktaları bugün var olmasalar veya aynı kapasitede işlemeseler bile insanlar tarafından anılmakta ve eski yerleri yeni gelenlere tanıtılmaktadır. Bu mekânlardan en önemlisi bir Cumhuriyet kurumu olan, 1970'lere kadar 5000 işçiye iş sağlarken bugün tam kapasite işlemeyen Cer Atölyesi iken bellekteki yeri bugünkü sosyalist hareketi en çok harekete geçiren mekan eski Dev-Maden-Sen binasıdır. 1980 askeri darbesinin sert etkisinden sonra bir anlamıyla yenik kabul edilen eski işçi hareketinin ve onun eski mekânlarının rolü bugün eski hareketle yeni hareketler arasında köprü kurmak ve eski direnişin darbe almış olsa da bugüne kaldığına dair kitlelere destek vermektir.

Kentin merkezinde bu anıların en canlı olduğu yerlerden biri bugün Ali Baba, Gökçebostan, Seyrantepe olarak üç mahalleye dağılmış, eski adı Ali Baba mahallesi olan bölgedir. Bölge müzeleşmenin etkilerinin siyasi anlamda en yoğun olduğu, dolayısıyla belleğin ve hayalet yapıların etkisinin en güçlü olduğu yerler arasındadır. Mahalleye girişi mimleyen nokta olan Ali Baba Camii ve karşısındaki karakol, mekân üzerinde otorite ve halk arasında geçen mücadelenin güzel bir örneğidir. Cami içindeki Ali baba türbesi ve yanındaki restore edilmiş Susamışlar Konağı Ali Baba için tartışmalı yerlerdir. Homojen nüfus yapısı göstermese de Alevilerin yoğun yaşadığı ve Alevi Mahallesi olarak bilinen mahalle sakinlerinin inanışına göre türbe mahallenin adını aldığı Ali Baba'ya, Pir Sultan Abdal'ın musahip kardeşine aittir.

Türbe de ise Ali Baba'nın bu kimliğinden bahsedilmez. Türbenin camii sınırlarında olması Alevi halkın türbe ziyaretini kısıtlar. Bunu sebebi 1978 yılında mahalleye saldırılmasıyla sonuçlanan Ali Baba olaylarının Alevilerin camiyi yaktığına dair söylenti üzerine olması ve saldırı sonucunda pek çok kayıp verilmesidir. Camiye yaklaşıldığı zaman benzer söylentilerin doğacağı endişesi halk arasında yaygın olduğundan türbe ziyaret edilmemektedir. Öte yandan Ali Baba'nın dini aidiyetlerinin farklı şekilde gösterildiğine olan inanç üç mahallenin grup içi ilişkilerini otoriteye karşı güçlendirir. Benzer durum Ali Baba'nın ailesine ait olduğu ve vakıflar tarafından sonradan devredilerek Susamış Konağı olarak adlandırıldığına inanılan konak için de geçerlidir. Konak üzerine eski ve yeni sahiplerinin arasındaki dava henüz neticelenmemiştir. Fakat konağın restore edildikten sonra yerel yönetim tarafından işletilen, dini sohbet ve benzer içerikli kültürel etkinliklere sahip, kadın ve erkeklerin beraber kullanamadığı bir mekân haline gelmiş olması yeni mekân düzenlemelerinin mahallenin yaşamı üzerinde yaptığı olumsuz etkiyi örnekler.

Aynı sınırlar içinde cumhuriyetçi ve demokrat kesimlerin benimsediği bir yer olan İnönü Konağı bulunmaktadır. İnönü Konağı uzun süre İnönü Müzesi olarak işlemiş, İsmet İnönü ve ailesinin özel eşyalarının sergilendiği bir yerken önce müze vasfı elinden alınmış ardından restoran olarak işletilmeye başlamıştır. Serginin bugünkü kullanımı restorana gelen müşterilerin ilgisini çekmek olduğundan cumhuriyetçi ve demokrat kitlenin tepkisini çekmektedir.

Müzeleşmeye paralel olarak işleyen ve ötekilere ait mekânların yok edilmesi veya anlamının değişmesini hedefleyen bu sürecin en etkili olduğu yer 1993 Madımak Katliamı sonrası müzeye çevrilme talebi reddedilen ve 2010 senesinde kamulaştırılarak 2011 senesinde çocuklar için bir bilim ve kültür merkezine çevrilen eski Madımak Oteli'dir. Otelin cephesi tamamen değiştirilerek katliamın anısı fiziksel olarak silinmiş, girişinde ise Madımak Katliamı'nda öldürülenleri anmak için bir duvar düzenlenmiştir. Duvar, Pir Sultan Abdal ve Aşık Veysel gibi figürlere yer vermekle birlikte kente dair yazında adı sıklıkla anılan fakat Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Festivali'nde anılan halk şairlerinden olmayan, Alevi kültürüyle bağı bulunmayan ve

daha çok kentin tanıtımı için kullanılan ozanlarla ve hakim politikalar tarafından sıkça kullanılan Yunus Emre gibi figürlerle süslenmiştir. Daha önemlisi Katliam'da öldürülen kişilerle beraber otele saldırıda bulunurken ölen iki kişinin de adının bu duvarda anılmış olmasıdır. Olaya ithafen bulundurulan açıklamada ise olayın niteliğinden bahsedilmemektedir. Cephesi ve kimliği elinden alınan otelin çevresinde Katliam günü olan 2 Temmuz'da yapılan anma etkinliklerine ise bu tezin saha araştırmasının yapıldığı sene olan 2012'de izin verilmemekteydi. Otelin dönüşümü ve anma etkinliklerinin mekânsız bırakılmasının etkisi ise otelin hayaletinin kültür merkezinin simgelediklerinden canlı olmasıyla sonuçlanmış ve otel kentte siyaseten etkin olan halkların yürüttüğü siyasetin merkezine oturmuştur.

Müzeleşme adını verdiğimiz süreç aynı zamanda kültürün yeniden tanımlandığı bir süreçle beraber işler ve daha önce kötüye giden ekonomiyi perdelediğinden bahsedilen, hizmet olarak sunulan kültürel aktiviteler bu tanımlama işinde etkin bir görev alırlar. Yerel yönetim tarafından kamunun ücretsiz hizmetine açılan kültür merkezlerinin yapısıyla daha önce Valilik tarafından işletilen AKM ve Çevre Kültür ve Sanat Evi'nin yapısı karşılaştırıldığında kurs içeriklerinin fazla değişmemekle beraber toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarıyla daha fazla şekillendirildiği fakat asıl değişenin kursların işleyişi olduğu görülür. Zanaatların daha ön plana çıktığı, kadın ve erkeklerin farklı kurslara sevk edildiği genel kurs yapısı bazı kültür merkezlerinde kadın ve erkeklerin mekânsal olarak ayrılması olarak işlemektedir. Daha önceki merkezlerin işlevsizleştirilmesiyle öne çıkan yeni merkezler kurs dışında kültürel etkinlikler de düzenlemekte fakat tiyatro, konser, söyleşi gibi bu etkinliklerin içeriği benimsenen tarih anlayışına ve dini içeriğe uygun düzenlemektedir.

Aktörlerin bu gidişata nasıl direndiğini araştırmak için aşağıdaki gruplarla mülakat yapılmıştır:

- Orta sınıf, kentli erkekler,
- Orta sınıf, kentli kadınlar,
- Muhafazakâr kesimden kadınlar,
- Esnaf ve zanaatkârlar,

- Kent üzerine yayınlarla ve yerel basınla ilgili insanlar,
- Tezin konuları ile ilgili resmi makam ve kurumlarda görev alan kişi (Belediye, Valilik, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Sivas Bilim ve Kültür Merkezi, Sivas Hizmet Vakfı, Seyrantepe Muhtarlığı),
- Ankara'daki Alevi Dernekleri (Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Vakfı, 2 Temmuz Vakfı),
- Sivas'taki Alevi Dernekleri (Alevi Kültür Derneği, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anadolu Kültür Derneği, Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği, CEM Vakfı),
- Sivas'ta kentin mekânsal ve kültürel dönüşümü ile ilgili kurumlarda görev alan veya almış kişiler (Sanayi Odası, Mimarlar Odası, Kent Kültürünü Yayma ve Yaşatma Derneği, Sivas Kültür ve Sanat Derneği, eski Kü Müdürü, mimarlar),
- Sivas Demokrasi Platformu'nda aktif olan kişiler.
- Ali Baba, Gökçebostan, Seyrantepe mahallelerinin sakinleri.

Sivas'ın müzeleşmesinin yoğunlaştığı alanlara bakıldığında buralarda aktörlüğün tepki gösterdiği ve incelenen her alanda bir heterotopinin oluştuğu gözlemlenmiştir. Saha araştırmasında dört heterotopinin etkinliği görülmüştür. Dört heterotopiyi oluşturan aktörler kentin merkezini kentli kimliği ve sınıf üzerinden sahiplenen esnaf ve zanaatkârlar; kursiyer oldukları kültür merkezini sahiplenen ve burayı dönüştüren muhafazakâr kesimden kadınlar; otorite ile ilişkisinden ötürü getto yapısına benzer bir durumda yaşayan Ali Baba, Gökçebostan ve Seyrantepe mahalleleri halkı ve eski Madımak Oteli'nin etrafında şekillenen hareketin katılımcılarından oluşmaktadır.

Kente dair yazında bahsedilen aktörlerin bir kısmının kentin merkezinde çalışan esnaf ve zanaatkârlardan oluşan grup olduğu görülür. Muhteşem eski kent söyleminin üreticisi olan bu grup aynı zamanda bu söylemin ürettiği sınırlarda yaşamaktadır. Temel amacı kentteki ayrıcalıklı konumlarını kaybetmemek ve bozulmanın sebebi olarak gördükleri ötekilere merkezi bırakmamak olan grup, konumundan ötürü kentin yerel iletişim ağının ortasında bulunmakta ve diğerlerine kıyasla otoriteyle yakından ilişki kurmaktadır. Otoritenin mekân düzenlemesinin önemli kollarından bir olan

yazın faaliyetinde etkin olması ve kente dair anlatıyı yaymak için elverişli bir konum sahibi olmasına rağmen merkezin bu grup tarafından örgütlenmesi yine de otoritenin erişimini sınırlayacak şekildedir. Ürettikleri kent anlatısının ve mekânsal dönüşümün perdelediği kentin kültürel ve ekonomik dönüşümü grubun alanını tehdit etmektedir. Kent merkezinin tüketim noktası haline gelmesiyle başka bir deyişle kentin merkeze doğru daralmasıyla beraber hem benimsedikleri kent anlatısına uygun olmayan muhafazakâr bir yaşam biçimi merkeze yerleşip sosyal mekânları kendilerinin yabancı olarak tanımladığı dar gelirli ve çoğunluğu çevreden merkeze göç etmiş gruplara açmış hem de tek işlek nokta olarak dükkân kiralarının yükselmesi fakat kentin yoksullaşması sebebiyle ekonomileri tehlike altına girmiştir. Otoritenin müzeleşmenin tarih anlatısından çıkıp günceli yakaladığı nokta olan neo-liberal kent siyasalarının bir ayağı olan alışveriş merkezlerinin, şimdiye kadar böyle bir merkezi olmamış Sivas'a, kent merkezi dışına getirilecek olması yani yerel esnafın gücünü ve merkezdeki yerini kaybedecek olması otoriteyle ilişkinin sarsıldığı temel noktalardan biridir. Buna rağmen benimsedikleri anlatının pasifleştirici etkisi esnaf ve zanaatkârların eylemliliğini etkilemekte ve heterotopinin özelliğini mekân koruma olarak kurmaktadır.

Benzer şekilde otoritenin alanını fazla sorgulamayan ama mekânı dönüştüren bir başka heterotopi örneği erkeklerin kabul edilmediği, kadın kursiyerlerin çoğunlukla yalnız başına sokağa çıkmadığı ve kontrol altında olan bir kültür merkezinde kursiyer olan muhafazakâr kadınlardır. Ücretsiz hizmet veren kültür merkezinin işlevi otorite tarafından kadınlara bir alan açmak olarak tanımlanırken, kurs içeriği ve kursun dışarıyla bağı kesilmiş bir alan olarak kurulması buranın daha çok ev benzeri bir yapıya dönüştürülmüş ve müzeleşmenin Sivas'ta yarattığı muhafazakâr dönüşümün simgelerinden biri olmuştur. Kursa katılımın yoğunluğunun bir tanesi bu yapının kadınlara sağladığı görünmezliğin yaşam biçimlerindeki görünmezliği ve sokaktan çekilmeyi esas alan tutumla uyumlu olmasıdır. Kadınlar yeni kent siyasalarının tanıtımında önemli bir yer taşırken ve bu tanıtımların çoğu sokağı kadınlar için nezih ve güvenli bir alana dönüştürmüş olmayı ileri sürerken cinsiyet normlarının uygulanması sokağı kadınlara kapatmak üzerinedir. Çoğunun sokakla ilişkisi kısıtlısı

olan kursiyerler için merkez ev ile dışarıdaki hayat arasında asılı kalmış bir yapıdır. Çoğu kadın kurslara başlama sebebini evden çıkmak olarak tanımlamaktadır. Merkezin bu kapalı ve kontrolcü yapısına karşı ise kadınların merkezdeki etkinliği burayı kendi özgür mekânlarına dönüştürmektir. Kendilerine dayatılan görünmezliği işlevselleştiren kadınlar görünmezlik esasına göre içeride kalırken merkezi dışarıya doğru esnetmeyi, sokakla buluşmayı hedef alırlar. Bu hedefin gerçekleştirilmesi için önemli adımlardan bir tanesi internet kullanımıdır. Kadınlar hem kendi aralarında kurudukları sosyal paylaşım grupları için hem de dışarıdan haberdar olmak ve tanıdıklarıyla görüşebilmek için interneti kullanmaktadırlar. Kullanımları kendi aralarında bilinmekte fakat hayatlarında kendilerine yakın olan gruplarla paylaşılmamaktadır. Benzer şekilde kadınlardan bazıları uzaktan eğitim almakta bazıları ise kendilerine küçük bir gelir sağlamak için kendi ürettiği veya hazırdan aldığı malları burada satmaktadır. Kendi istediklerine göre uygunlaştırdıkları merkezde yaşamın dışarıdan bilinmemesi içerideki rahatlıklarını sağlarken kadınlar aralarında merkezde paylaşılanların saklı kalması ve kimsenin çok yakınında olan birisiyle kursa katılmaması üzerinden işleyen bir grup anlaşması yapmışlardır. Kendi başına mekânı dönüştürücü ve yeniden tanımlayıcı olan bu pratikler görünmezliği işlevsel kullandıkları için kente yayılım ve kadınların hayatını daha derinden değiştirmesi bakımından zayıftır fakat aktörün kısıtlı mekândaki gücünü göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

Otoriteyi sorgulama bakımından zayıf fakat mekânı koruma veya dönüştürme açısından bakıldığında önemli olan bu iki heterotopiden farklı olarak Ali Baba-Gökçebostan-Seyrantepe mahalleri aktif bir direniş sergilemektedir. Bu bölgenin kurulmasının kendisi halkın mekânı uygunlaştırılması için kendi başına bir örnektir. Endüstriyel kurumlarda çalışmak üzere Sivas'ın çevresinden gelen Alevi yerleşiminin yoğun olduğu bölge hem işçi bilincine erişme, işçi ve öğrenci mücadelesinde yer alma hem de sürekli merkezden itilmeye çalışılan bir kimlik olan Aleviliği görünür kılma anlamında özellikle 1970'lerden kalma bir mücadele hissine sahiptir. Fakat bellek aynı zamanda hem ilk yerleşmenin etkisini, kentin ötekisi olmayı hem de darbe dönemlerinin ezici etkisini tutmaktadır. Eski adıyla Ali Baba Mahallesi hem otoriteyle

arasındaki keskin sınır ve tarihi boyunca cezalandırılma bakımından hem de insanların tahayyülünde kentin ayrı, çevrilmiş ve direnen bir mekân olarak yer alması bakımından getto yapısına benzerlik gösterir. Bu yapının içinde ilişkiler manevi, kültürel veya dini işlevleri olan topluluk dernekleri üzerinden kurulmaktadır. İçeride tam olarak uyuşmayan dernek ve topluluk yapısı sınırın dışıyla ilişkide hem çoğunlukla aynı zeminde birleşen bir görüntüyü sağlayabilmekte hem de dernekler vasıtasıyla kentte kendini görünür kılmaktadır. Bu görünürlüğü sağlayan ise derneklerin sunduğu temsiliyetin sadece sınır içi meselelerle ilgili olmadan kente dair her sorunda başka kurum ve derneklerle birleşerek kent hakkını talep etmesidir. Üç mahallenin sakinleri yaşadıkları yere hem buranın eskiden beri direnç anlamında değişmez olduğunu varsayarak hem de buranın eksiklikleri ve hayalet yapıları üzerinden güç bularak aidiyet geliştirmişlerdir. Dernekler ise hem farklı işlevleri bölüşerek hem de otoritenin mekân düzenlemesinde ve idarede açtığı boşlukları taktiksel olarak doldurarak sınırı korumada ve sınırın dışında var olmada mahalle sakinlerine destek olur. Bundan ötürü kendini sınır içine çekme ve zamanlama önemli taktikler olarak görülmektedir. Anneler günü gibi içeriği tüketime ve cinsiyet rollerinin pekiştirilmesine dayanan bir günün kutlamasını bütün topluluğa açarak ve içeriğindeki cinsiyetçi kodu emekçi annelere çevirip tüketim tarafını vurgulamadan bu buluşmayı vatandaşlık ve kadın hakları üzerine bilgilendirme çalışmalarına ayırmak zamanlamanın örneklerinden bir tanesidir.

Hem bu grubun hem de Sivas içinden ve dışından başka dernek ve aktörlerin dâhil olduğu son heterotopi ise eski Madımak Oteli'nin etrafında şekillenir. Madımak Oteli'nin müze olması en görünür taleplerinden biri olan hareketin içeriğine bakıldığında Sivas Katliamı ile henüz devlet ve Sivas nezdinde yüzleşilmemesinin hem harekete geçirici hem de yorucu etkisi içerikte bellidir. Madımak'ın utanç müzesi olması talebinin içerdiği müze kavramı bu tezde incelenen müzeleşme eleştirisi üzerinden okunduğunda otoritenin mekânı ile halkların mekânı arasındaki temel farklılıklar ortaya çıkar. Hareket içinden kişilerle yapılan mülakatlar Utanç Müzesi'nin öncelikle devlet tarafından değil mağdur aileler tarafından idare edilmesinin müzenin içeriğinin ve anlamının ileride değiştirilmesini önceleyeceğini

belirtirken, bu müzenin ancak şehir ve ülke Katliam ve insan hakkı ihlalleriyle yüzleştiğinde olabileceğini ifade etmişlerdir. Madımak'ın simgesi olduğu hareket bu sebeple hem kenti hem de ülkeyi dönüştürmeye çalışmaktadır.

Heterotopiler direniş noktaları olduğu kadar grup kimliklerinin keskinleştiği ve farklı yerlerde kimliğini bulan grupların birbirinden uzaklaştığı mekânlardır. Desteklendikleri belleğe benzer bir şekilde zamana ve aktörlere bağımlıdırlar ve bu sebeple kalıcı olmaktan öte belirsiz bir geleceğe sahip, etrafı dönüştürme potansiyeli değişken yapılardır. Bundan dolayı Sivas gibi bölünmüş bir kentin aktörleri aralarında birleşmeden müzeleşme ve diğer mekânsal dönüşümlere direnmek zordur. Yine de müzeleşmenin Sivas gibi kitle örgütlerinin ve halkın hareketinin kısıtlı olduğu bir şehirde nüfuz ettiği birbirinden değişik grupları harekete geçirmiş olması önemlidir. Sivas'ın merkezindeki siyasetin önemli noktalarından bir tanesi, güçlü bir halk hareketine sahip olmamakla beraber, hareketin süreklilik arz etmesi ve kendiliğinden gelişen hareketler az olsa da 1 Mayıs gibi ülke genelinde anılan günlerdeki toplanmaların istikrarlı olmasıdır.

Heterotopiler ve hareketteki düzenlilik otoritenin mekânda tam olarak tahakküm kurmasını ve aktörlerin sokaktan çekilmesini engeller. Heterotopilerin ve benzer çekilme alanlarının sağladığı bölünmüş şehir haritası ise gücün odaklanmasının önünde durur. Bu hareketler içinde şehirde en etkili olanı Madımak Katliamı sonrası gelişen harekettir. Müzeleşme bu anıyı silme çabasında olsa da kente 1993 yılında ne olduğunu unutturmaz ve geri çekilmez. Hareket aynı zamanda kentin farklı noktalarında yaşayan halkların ve grupların bir kısmını içinde birleştirme gücüne sahiptir. Böylece sınırın içine çekilmeyi taktik olarak benimsemiş getto benzeri üç mahalle ile kentin merkezinde daha az sınırlılık içinde yaşayan aktörler ve örgütler buluşabilmektedir.

Yine de incelemede görüldüğü gibi kimlikleri birbirine karşıt kurulmuş mekânlar da mevcuttur ve merkez görünürlük anlamında önemli olduğu için hem otorite ve aktörler arasında hem de aktörlerin kendi aralarında bir mücadele sahasıdır.

Araştırmada incelenen kültür merkezinin katılımcısı olan kadınların sokağa erişme çabası gibi hareketler ise görünürlüğü az olmakla beraber kent için baskısız bir sokağın önemini ve dönüştürücü yapısını gösterir. Kentteki halk hareketinin bir gün bütünleşip bütünleşmeyeceği bu tezin cevap verebileceği sorulardan birisi değil. Fakat tezde incelenen, kentin üzerindeki dönüşüme karşı halkların kendileri için ürettikleri çoğulluk içeren yerlere bakıldığında hedefler ve tutumlar farklı olsa da sorunu yaratan kaynağa farklı ve çoğul cevapların veriliyor olması bu yerlerin üretildiğinin ve daha da üretilebileceğinin bir göstergesi.

Bu tez kültürel miras ve müzeleşme üzerine literatüre halkların deneyimini ekleyerek mekânsal dönüşüm ile halk tepkisinin çalışmasını beraber yapmış ve yapının dönüşümünü toplum ve mekân üzerinden incelemiştir. Belleğin mekân üzerinden incelenmesi belleğin mekân ve toplum arasındaki diyalektik ilişkideki rolünü daha görünür kılmayı hedeflemiştir.

Sivas Türkiye'deki pek çok ilişki ve ayrımın keskinleştiği bir şehir olarak ülkenin güncel durumunu ve yakın tarihini mütevazı bir haritada, net ilişki ağları içinde inceleme imkânı sunar. İncelenen literatür için kentin ve Türkiye örneğinin önemi kentin estetik dönüşümün perdelediği öteki süreçleri, bu süreçlerin daha belirgin hedeflerle işlemesinden ötürü, ayrıştırarak ortaya koymasıdır.

Araştırmam sırasında Sivas üzerine özellikle akademik alandaki kaynaklar çok sınırlıydı. Benzer şekilde Türkiye'de müzeleşen kentler fazla olmakla beraber bu dönüşümü inceleyen fazla çalışma da yoktu. Bu tezle bu konulardaki açığı bir parça kapatmış olduğumu umuyorum.

H: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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