

## SPACES OF THE "OTHERS" IN VAN

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To define the "other" is immanent to the definition of the "self" and it inevitably carries oppression and violence. Identity is related to not only expression of the self and autonomy, but also justification, legalization and power. Identity conflict determines relationships of power and reversely determined by it; power determines both conflict and its results. In other words, identities that are determined in a certain context of power relations are dependent to these relations. Consequently, it can be stated that identity is a process and a relationship that prevents the formation of other identities, while realizing its own conditions of existence. The production of otherness can be defined with a series of actions and it can be started from any of them. In any case, it is started by the ones who are more "reasonable" than the others (1). The others are;

*"selected and separated socially-segregated in space-, places built for them correspond to their accepted quality-different categories and borders are built in language, society and space; control mechanisms are built inside these borders-, the ones who are limited are externalized socially, economically and spatially, their being invaluable-unwantedness-, danger are put forward-they are isolated-, their existence is rejected, ..., and, ... they are destroyed." (Teymur.1996:12)*

Henceforth, in its daily life experience and social and physical spaces modern society is divided into many identities that are defined with sex, language, religion, race (ethnicity), nation, history, country, class, etc. These share the externalization of others, rejection of their existence and execution of them; it is to shed blood in mediums of discourse that is represented by "language as identity and identity as language".

Difference and otherness in space are created by unequal capital investments and geographical distribution of division of labor. However, the otherness here, must be considered together with metaphors, meanings and representations that reproduce space materially. All these are as material as "bricks and mortar". In other words, neither cultural policies and political economic power, nor representation of places or places' becoming representation itself are innocent.

The formation of place, material practices and processes, that determines its experiential properties, must be dialectically and causally related to representation of places and their design (2).

As it will be seen soon, Van has a spatial pattern that clearly visualizes political nature of such identities. In Van, spaces are being built both as the bond between differences in the historical narration to build Turkish identity and today's practices, and as places at where narration related to official politics (of war) and movements can be seen. To build itself while being the "other" of Western, such a place is being formed over the acceptance of otherness of minorities, evictions, exchanges and genocide to build Turkish national identity within the national borders, thus forming the the "other's other" - it could be ironical if these didn't exist. What follow this are, a process, actors of it (state - political power) and people who try to live with the bread aid of municipalities in the camps or in shelters which are ready to collapse any time. Since it exceeds the limits of this study, we will not deal any more with the formation of Turkish national identity. What we want to express is the direct continuity between the formation of others in Van both at discursive and spatial levels, Kemalist interference, consideration of Kurdish, Islamic, Armenian and Greek identities as others. These operate as contrary dualities like "Secular-Islamic, Contemporary-Traditional, Turkish-Kurdish, Turkish-Armenian, Turkish-Greek" (3). And what is represented by the forced migration during the last four years is one of the most cruel forms of such a consideration (4).

Again the formation of spaces in Van, like in other cities of East and Southeast, must not be thought independent from long term economic and political decisions that

make these places "other places" of Turkey. The negligence of the balance between different regions during the industrialization of 1950's, deliberate oversight of land reform and war conditions during the last years brought villagers migration to Van and capital transfer to the cities of west. This is not a simple leave. First by not making investments, later with applications like "paid civilian fighters" (rural guards), by burning and destroying villages, forcing the villagers to migrate, with the oppression of "security forces" and special troops both at city centers and villages, with the unemployment due to migration, with insufficient services Van's rural areas -like in all Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia- are cleared from human beings, plants and animals. City is filled from one side and emptied from the other. "Mehmetçik" (Turkish soldier) waits not to give even one hand-span of these mountains, plateaus and earth where no human, no animal, no forest or no tree is living on.

In Van, migration has become usual in daily life. Van's central population is 153,000 according to the 1990 census. According to State Statistics Institute's calculations of population increase, this amount should have been around 185,000 in 1995. But today's population is already 600,000. 10 % of Van's population is "resident" and 10% is official workers like soldier, police and teacher. Most of the others are villagers who migrated because of the lack of life security due to war, who didn't accept to be appointed as "rural guards" during the first years following 1991 (the date at which this application started in Van) and whose villages were evacuated and burnt, including the villages of rural guards (5).

All of them left their lands and animals that were their main source of livelihood or they sold them either to the "Meat and Fish Institution" or similar buyers with very cheap prices. However it must be stated that most of them have already lost their animals before the forced migration, because of the applications like "prohibition of plateaus" and requirement of showing "document of origin" for the animals they own (6). The employment possibilities of the city, to which they came with big economic problems, are limited with public sector and partly the building sector. They can be pedlars, use three wheel porter-carts and if they can find such a job, they can be construction workers. Municipality's officials can not "clear" the avenues and streets of the city center from the 15-20 years old pedlars of around 20,000 and nearly 5000 three wheel porter-carts. Many people cannot even try these since such jobs require money to buy the necessary tools or vehicles. They wait for "the jobs which will never come" at the small coffee-houses of the city. Most of them, like the ones at Beyüzümü, National Park, University Campus and Castle (7), try to live on food aids from the governor's office, municipality or helpful locals of Van. These "new city-dwellers" affect the city center without having a productive contact with it.

The ones who migrated before 1991, who have had deputies in governing political parties; and the ones who migrated after 1991, who migrated or were forced to migrate because they rejected to be "rural guards", who accepted this but were forced to migrate because of lack of security (that couldn't be achieved by the state) or because of a reason that "they are on the side of the state (army) during daytime, but on the side of PKK at night, using the weapons of the state" are settled at different districts in Van.

DYP (The Right Way Party) deputy Nadir Kartal's tribe Burikan, which is known as dispersing because it has many educated people who settled in villages close to the city before 12 September 1980, has settled in Akköprü, and Istasyon districts in which only people who wished and decided to migrate. At Gölbaşı and backside of YSE is tribe Helan, which still has some of their villagers working as "rural guards" at Nördüz, Şahmandız and Çatak. The chief of this tribe is still the head of his rural guards and his house is protected by 30-40 guards. The members of Giravi tribe, who were rural guards but had to leave their villages, are settled in Gölbaşı, Abdurrahmangazi and Pembeci Mirza (8). The chief of this tribe was called from Iskenderun in 1990, for the purpose of "rural guards" application. A small part of Milan tribe, which migrated to Van along a period of time and without being forced, is settled in Akköprü. Other members of this tribe are dispersed to different districts. The villagers of Uzundere in Hakkari's Çukurca district, who were forced to migrate in 1995, were settled in Beyüzümü, which is apart from the city center and other districts. Today men from nine villages, who were rural guards but who are forced to leave their villages until 3 June 1996, are trying to find the most appropriate solution in Van, for their families.

Living in Karşıyaka and Xaçort districts are members of tribe Gevdan who rejected to fight against PKK and abandoned members of "guard" tribes like Jirki, Izdıran and Manhuran. In Van it is stated that the canons of the army are always directed to Xaçort. Plain-clothes officers always go around in the streets and avenues of this district and entrances to the district are controlled by the police after 7.00 pm.

A man from Xaçort describes "possibilities of employment" in Van: "*There are many beggars here. Both the ones who have somebody to work and the ones who don't, beg. There are no jobs.*"

It would be true to state that, rural guards, members of tribes and other members who rejected being so settled or were settled at different districts that are apart from each other. However, because of the increase of evacuation of villages and forced

migration during the last years, migrants started to settle on any empty place they could find, like flood areas, and different groups started to be mixed. In this situation, different types of borders occurred among them, because of cooperation with the police and informers.

The political power that surrounds Xaçort with police barricades, that tries to empty tent camps today and does not care for dangerous settlements at flood areas, continues to form enforcing barriers on the existence and identity of villagers it forced to migrate. Yet, migration was defined as a social space inside which new cultural practices and identities that are different from both the ones at the starting point and at the end, could be formed (9).

When districts are examined for the building safety and strength, it is seen that the cement brick masonry buildings of the villagers, who migrated after 1991, are unsafe and unhealthy. Such buildings are constructed with non-load-bearing low quality structural materials. It can easily be understood that the buildings were built by their users who employed materials they do not know. The security in traditional building and responsible craftsmanship get lost. The houses of the ones who migrated earlier are either similar cement brick masonry buildings or the type called semi-skeletal that are built by master-builders. These, too, are as unsafe as the others. But even in the buildings at the planned parts of the city which were designed by architects and engineers, important mistakes of construction are done like in all parts of Turkey. Apartment-buildings, semi-skeletal and cement brick masonry buildings have won the property of expressing the economic power of their users. In Xaçort district, which still take migration, two types of buildings can be found side by side. When Xaçort, which is known as "vote stock of HADEP (Peoples' Democracy Party), or the Bekaa Valley" in Van, is compared with other districts that took migration before 1991, it can be seen that it is the worst district in terms of technical infrastructure and construction techniques. Despite these problems; it can be seen that the alterations made on the 1974 urban reconstruction plan are about transformation of green areas of the city center to commercial use or increase of number of stores in the housing areas. These are considered more important than the migrants' urgent problems. Such applications are contrary to the reconstruction law and none of them are related to social or technical infrastructure, and even they are made for political benefits and "speculative" rents (10). Moreover, with the OHAL (emergency government) law, alterations on city reconstruction plans and municipality services are urged to be approved by the OHAL governorship.

On the other side, the number of unplanned and illegal buildings has reached tens

of thousands following the increase of city population to 600.000 in 1995. Although the required amount of dwellings is 80.000, there are only 15.000 dwellings that can be accepted as appropriate according to their technical properties. There are 35.000 urban public components like roads, park areas, green areas, and construction prohibited areas like flood and agricultural areas are occupied with illegal buildings of migrants (11), there is a need for 30.000 more dwellings. This means, there are many homeless families or like in Beyüzümü and Xaçort houses are being used by more than one family. Just before the elections, Van's earlier governor, now a deputy from DYP, became tempered when a member of a civil organization said that Van's population was about 600.000 and argued that this number was 175.000. Further, the amount of resources transferred to the Van municipality by the central government is determined according to the population written on the sign at city entrance (153.000). This means, refusal of existence of nearly 400.000 people.

Such a policy depending on the refusal of existence, can be thought parallel with the disciplines of city and regional planning, architecture and civil engineering. If the acceptance of spatial segregation, not to decide "about the others' houses", not to design and plan can also be thought as a preference; and, if "every preference implies power", then it can be recognized that how the others' houses and districts are built (12) as areas of exclusion, rejection and violence (13). Architecture made its preference long ago and imprisoned itself into "spatial segregation". Both architecture, city planning and urban design define only a few buildings as "architecture" and accept "gecekondu"s (squatter housing) and many apartments as "non-architecture" in their discourse, knowledge and organization. All their professional, educational and organizational practices have the tendency of exclusion from their knowledge, interest and application areas (Teymur,1996).

What usually are seen and thought about migration, are, how the city is being changed, what kind of problems it contains and will contain. While these are being discussed, the "city-dweller" catches a disease. The main symptom of this disease, "spatial xenophobia", that is to feel uncomfortable from the existence and closeness of others as a result of a mental situation which includes anxiety, fear and hate directed to the others "houses (districts)". This can be seen in Van as complaints about "transformation of the city to a big village", objections on pedlars and unemployed immigrants who go around the city center "making the city unlivable" and judgements like "their districts were not to be entered". Identities, urban-spatial media are built and reproduced on this disease. Everybody take their share from the "modern - enlightened" thought, knowledge and application, which produce this disease and which are produced by it.

The others' spaces in Van are illegitimate, because their existence is refused. They were not produced according to the defined procedures, laws and regulations. Consequently, they can be "exempted" from services like design, control and infrastructure. Since the others do not demand service, they can easily be excluded without any question and as one likes it.

All expressed properties of the others' settlements can be traced in "the village with 50 houses in the city" at Beyüzümü, which is surrounded with young poplar trees. These houses don't have windows facing outside of the settlement, except head-man's house. They are from the Hertoşi tribe, members of which are settled in the north of Iraq, in Iran and Turkey. After being paid as rural guards for two years, in September 1995, they were ordered to leave their village in 24 hours. They were sheltered at the nearest brigade and were moved to Van with army vehicles.

*"Because of the war, most of Hertoşi villagers passed the national border and joined PKK. Their children are more comfortable now. We fought for the state for two years. If the state would wish we could continue fighting."*

*"Somebody were laying mines in front of the doors in the village during nights. We don't know who they were. Because of mines, we have many disabled here."*

With the mediation of a villager who had migrated earlier, they have bought their land in Beyüzümü, easily at a cheaper price - we were told that this land was granted them by the governorship. They have built their houses using cement bricks, wood and metal roof coverings, some of which were given to them by the governorship. They did not neglect of making the traditional earth roof under the metal roofs.

*"The earth here is not like in the village. It can not hold rain and snow. We have covered it with these "irons" they gave."*

In front of these houses there are porches of which the columns at their corners are made of cement bricks. The houses having a hall and 4-5 rooms, accommodate more than one family like it was in the village. The position of the houses in respect to each other is also the same as it was in the village. There are several rows of houses, each row contains 3-4 houses and they all face the same side (the road). Relative families live on the same row. Women co-operate in their daily house-works and they take care of children together. In summer women work at spaces between two houses, which are separated from the other rows with walls. The migrants could not

yet build the large meeting rooms that are found in the houses of important men of the village where men get and consult together.

We asked the women:  
---What do you do in day time?  
---Nothing. We wait.

They do not have animals to feed and land to cultivate. *"Nothing can grow on Beyüzümü's arid earth, except onion."* Men go to coffee-houses and wait for jobs everyday. *"We go to the coffee-house everyday, hoping we can find a construction work. But we cannot. It costs fifty thousand Turkish liras every time. If we stayed at home we wouldn't spend that money. Our children stay hungry at home. We had meat, milk, wheat, everything in the village. If there was nothing, we could feed ourselves with bread and plants growing on the mountains. There is nothing here. Women can find nothing to cook."*

We again asked the women:  
---Do these houses resemble the ones at the village?  
---Yes, the same.  
---Is there any difference?  
---YES!  
---What is it?  
---.....

It is difficult to explain; only their appearances are similar. These people who can not have a relation touch with the city, face the same disconnection at their own houses. These buildings are copies of their houses in the village, but this time away from every productive touch. It is also impossible to consider these houses as shelters; they are unsafe, unhealthy and meaningless. They only form a "roof" to live underneath.

#### AS A LAST WORD

Heidegger states that: *"The place is the dwelling of the truth of Being"* (15); to dwell is to have a spiritual togetherness with human beings and things; "we can build only if we can settle". To be on the world is to settle, is to continue the fourfold of earth, sky, mortals and immortals. To be on the world shows itself as being at somewhere in a manner that is defined with care and it is to make something, to produce something, to reach something, to take care of it, to use something, to give up something,

to leave, to take over, to think, to consider at length, to discuss, to determine. To settle is the form of mortals being on the world. To settle, to reside also represents the spatiality of being on the world. To dwell and to make, including everything made by men's and women's hands, contain each other. To set up, to build, which includes to look after, to be careful, to take care, are contained by the dwelling as refined form of building (Heidegger, 1962: 83; 1971: 215-18). Then, how can others in Van dwell or build, how can they form a spiritual togetherness with things? This is such a situation of emptiness, truthlessness and rootlessness, that it "destroys" their world in their villages, "nullifies them", makes them worldless in the city, does not allow them to dwell, to build. Makes them to face rootlessness, meaninglessness uncanniness of "being here" and impossibility of returning to the place they can dwell on this world.

*"State abandoned the security-station. They said that they were going and therefore we had to leave our village. Before we left, our houses were burnt with everything inside, in order not to leave them to the brigands. We saw it. The remaining stone walls should have collapsed now."*

They cannot build because they cannot dwell; they cannot dwell because they cannot build. They are exterminated, they are rooted out. All the things they made, built and cared for were destroyed. However, if it is permitted and if they have life security, they still want to return to the places where they have been rooted to, to take root, to dwell, to build.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. According to German critical thinkers, cause of this is the instrumentalization of reason by a totalizing synthesis. Adorno and Horkheimer state that the identity-thinking that is formed with epistemological "object-subject-concept" trio that has started with Enlightenment, represents the oppression formed in the conceptual field. This thought is elevated on the basis of real oppression in modern capitalist society. There is a structural relationship between power, oppression and identity-thinking. Enlightenment is a project of freedom as much as it promises to get rid of the undefinables that lie in innumerable mysteries of nature, and of their existence. For Enlightenment, nothing can be excluded from definition, because even only the thought of being outside (undefinable) may be a source of fear. What is vital for the natural sciences, logic of oppositions, positivism and technology of Enlightenment is, causing the object, "singular", "the undefinable" to be dependent on the general, the laws of identity, and each phenomenon to meaning, so that they can be defined and then included or excluded. In other words, with the help of numerical or conceptual abstraction, a wall is built between the subject (who represents and names) and object (the represented and the named). Existence of the subject depends on this wall and the oppressed are excluded on the other side of it with the help of representation. Subject can build and save its existence only in this way. In short, in Adorno and Horkheimer's terms, "Enlightenment behaves to things like a dictator

*behaves to people*". This dictator is the political incarnation of mathematical, instrumental rationality (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1990).

When the identity-thinking that is expressed by Adorno and Horkheimer is considered to the position of one society according to the others, it reaches the form of oppression and violence by following the relationship between "the self" and the other. Enlightenment in its "modern barbarism" components at the level of collective identity. The result is the victory that is gained with the help with experience, monotheism against pantheism, intentional against instantaneous, literary against ritualized, communication between human beings against communication with nature, in short the other", Todorov shows the massacre of the local people after the discovery of America as the most and destroyed. Again this example represents the radicalization of myth (and in it the subject, narration) (Varon, 1993).

2. Harvey proposes the "Lefebvrian matrix" to explain how places are built, produced and experienced as material practices, how they are represented in discourse and how they are used as representations and symbolic forms in today's culture. In Lefebvre's theory experience, representation and imagination do not stand as separate areas, and all activity forms and their outlook are recorded in social practices of daily life (Harvey, 1993: 17, 23). But it must be stated that, different from Lefebvre, Harvey, by quoting Bourdieu, discusses the limits of the power of imagination on the experimental and by using the concept of "habitus", he especially considers imagination (Harvey, 1990).

3. As it is known, Turkish national identity is not a natural, a given or valid fact for all historical times; it is built with a fiction, a myth and a "preference". The occurrence of the thought of "being Turkish" was a cultural "defense" against "the other" of the West, but later by finding "the other's other", it is transformed to a political practice. This defense, contains the proof of Turks not being culturally "second class" on the one hand, and on the other hand the prevention of the Ottoman dissolution. Later it is transformed to an attack by finding "the other's other" in its own national borders. Against "secular, western, modern, Turkish" state, they are all blustering "accidental, exceptional" enemies. Yeğen states that building of a national identity as being Turkish becomes possible with the exclusion of other ethnic groups, and consequently, the Turkish national identity means "the indispensable rejection of Kurdish identity" (Yeğen, 1994: 212). Kurdish identity is rejected and explained at two levels within Turkish national identity. The first of these is the level of traditional discourse in which the tribes and feudal bonds that resist to the state of the Turkish Republic are explained as "old foggy Islamic riots"; the second is the discourse of "being regionally undeveloped" and the "enemy". In short, the Turkish national identity could only be realized in a social medium that rejects Kurdish identity (Mesut, 1993: 31-2; Yeğen, 1994). This process is defined with all its dimensions in the studies of Ahmet Mesut and Mesut Yeğen, which are included within the references, and in the studies of Taner Akçam, Tanil Bora, Şuavi Aydın and Rıdvan Akar that were published in the special issue of "Birikim", which is about ethnic identity and minorities (v. 71-72).

4. 2-3 million people had to leave the places they live in Ağrı, Bingöl, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Kars, Malatya, Muş, Sivas, Tunceli and Van as a result of politics of "stamping out small and dispersed

settlements" (the 1994 report of Human Rights Foundation). Again according to official explanations dated 1995 (the explanation of Nalut Menteşe the Minister of Internal Affairs in Hürriyet newspaper dated 26.3.1995) in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia 467 villages and 919 field settlements have been abandoned, and agricultural areas, forests and villages were burnt. (According to a research made by Association of Agriculturists 70 % of agricultural areas were burnt, 60 % of the forests in Diyarbakir were stamped out and the amount of animals has been decreased by 50 %).

5. As a result of "abandoning, burning villages and forced migration", thousands of people came from the outer districts and villages of Van, Kars, Ağrı, Bingöl, Mus, Hakkari, Siirt, Mardin and Diyarbakir to Van. During August 1995 Van's Gürpınar district's 14 villages and during October and November 1995 again Gürpınar's 23 villages were evacuated (monthly reports of Human Rights Foundation, from January 1994 to November 1995). Again according to UCEAT Chamber of Architects Van Branch's 1996 report, 110 settlements were evacuated within Van provincial boundaries.

6. The obligation of showing "document of origin" was found to eliminate animal smuggling in villages near Iranian border. But, during giving and controlling these documents, villagers were "laid under tribute", their documents which were given by gendarmery security-stations and governor's offices were arbitrarily accepted as invalid and many animals which did not have these documents were dead. Again, according to UCEAT (Union of Chambers of Engineers and Architects of Turkey) Chamber of Architects, Van Studies Group's 1996 report, in Van, the number of cattle was decreased from 142 430 to 95 786, the number of sheep was decreased from 2 246 920 to 1 636 300 and the number of goats from 170 636 to 96 890 between 1990 and 1994.

7. In September 1995, 171 families (nearly 1000 people) from Hakkari's Çukurca district's Uzundere village, a village of 400 houses with a population of 5000 people, migrated by renting 12 trucks on their own expense and by taking only kitchen tools like gas tubes, gas burners, saucepans and dishes, furniture like mattresses, quilts and kilims, and food like flour, boiled wheat, chickpea and lentil that they could carry with them. This group, at first, lived together in Edremit Highway Resort Establishment for a certain time. Later 53 families (294 people) were settled to Edremit Highway camp, 88 families (435 people) to the prefabricated student dormitory buildings of the university campus, to have one family in each room; and 30 families (185 people) to tents in the National Park on the road to the Castle Road. The ones at Castle Road were settled by the office of the governor, although there were oppositions by the municipality. When winter came, they left only food and some belongings in these tents and moved to the National Park personnel offices that have ten rooms; three families to each room. Again, 50 families who migrated before May 1995 "with the help of the state", first settled in tents and then built their own houses on the land reserved for them by the office of the governor, and partly by using the materials again given by the office of the governor.

8. The condition of this tribe is an example of restructuring of the dispersed tribes -even partially- by the state -at least in the meaning of devotion to tribe chief and tribe hierarchy-, together with the application of "rural guards" system. The chief of the Giravi tribe rejected the tribal system, sold out his land and migrated to Iskenderun from Gürpınar, Norduz many years ago. When his villagers were forced to be "rural guards", "they couldn't decide what to do. Villagers forced the chief to return, to advise; and state forced him to be the head of his fighters" He returned to Norduz in 1990,

"armed and started to lead his tribe".

9. As it is known, the demographic transformations of localities, their cultural production, traditional forms that are cultivated in places of social spaces and identities are changing due to migration. The positions of "the subject (identity)", which are much more complicated with the rooted structural changes in the "modern world system", have started to be discussed in "global conditions". Production that exceeds regional limits, restructuring of labor processes, laying out of national working classes, mass communication that is gaining speed, the end of cold war, restructuring of global geo-politics, international migration, restructuring of localities as ethnicity; affects labor, shelter and social relations at local level deeply in urban time-space by penetrating into all living cells of daily life. In other words, the internal relationship between global and local in city life is being a directing power which build both local daily life and cultural practices and identities.

10. Davis observed this process in Los Angeles with all its dimensions. Depending on the vote ratios of different districts, resources for public services were increased or decreased. Not surprisingly, this negatively affects the places where migrants are concentrated. Also, any economy-politics that accepts locality and free capital accumulation together, leads to concentration of investments in certain cities, regions and spaces. In cities, places where low-income groups live, are affected directly from this condition in terms of both space and employment possibilities. While city center is getting poorer, suburbs rise. Competition increases between ethnic groups who cannot find jobs. Together with this struggle which also affects spaces the tendency of capital to go away increases (Davis, 1993). Harvey discusses the competition between city spaces to attract capital, the risky medium it creates and demand for symbolic capital that are all related with mobility of capital. Space reflects the dominating order, and, the community formation of low-income groups in their own spaces is different. While their community formation is according to use-values, this is according to change-values for affluent (ruling) groups. Everybody who has money can enter affluent (ruling) communities. At the spaces of low-income groups there are spatal borders. They are squeezed in space. There are no such limits at the spaces of affluents. Again according to Harvey, spatial processes participate directly to capital accumulation and reproduction of class relationships. Directing production of space needs power. And this power is used to reproduce itself (Harvey 1990, 1993).

11. These numbers were quoted from the 1996 report of UCEAT Chamber of Architects, Van Studies Group.

12. Hundreds of houses that had collapsed in Izmir recently due to flood causing the death of 52 people, were all migrants' illegal, unlicensed, unplanned houses that were built at flood areas. We think that stating nearly all the dead people were Kurdish is not an exaggeration. Especially if the statements of the mayor like "we *anyayay* don't want them in Izmir, we want them to go back to the places where they came from" are thought together with this event.

13. Foucault states that, the producer of knowledge and the determinant of the possible forms of knowledge, is not the knowledge-subject but the power-knowledge pair. At each historical moment, certain forms of knowledge are joined to certain forms of power. According to him, there is no field of knowledge free from power relationships; all forms of knowledge and the realities they build must be thought together with space (Foucault, 1984). Identity and power cannot be separated, because the problem of identity selection to include within public discourse that gives its shape to power with "disciplinary techniques", forms politics and affect power, is important (Calhoun, 1994;

Foucault 1992). On the other side discursive practices always come into being in social power relationships that prevent certain forms and determine representations of some of them. However, discourse is not a mirror of the world, but its builder. Because of this, discourse as the space of society that produces itself; builds social spaces in which the network of power relationships is formed, reshaped and transformed; and it is built in those spaces.

14. Necdet Teymur states that this "disease" includes social, architectural and urban xenophobia in the "Housing Problems of the Others" (in references).

15. We changed Heidegger's statement: "*The place is the locale of the truth of Being*" quoted by Harvey (Harvey 1993:9).

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