

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE**

MASTER OF ARTS IN CIVILIZATION STUDIES

**CALLS TO PRAYER AND SOUNDS OF BIRDS:
THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE AND PLACE-MAKING
PRACTICES IN ERENKÖY-KONYA**

MELİKE SILA ACAR

SUPERVISOR: ASST. PROF. NURSEM KESKİN AKSAY

ISTANBUL, 2021

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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

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

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ABSTRACT

CALLS TO PRAYER AND SOUNDS OF BIRDS: THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE AND PLACE-MAKING PRACTICES IN ERENKÖY-KONYA

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MA in Civilization Studies

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“There shall be heard only calls to prayer and sounds of birds.” This is how Tahir Büyükkörükçü, one of its founders, describes Erenköy. This phrase tells the story of the Erenköy neighbourhood of Konya in a very meaningful way. Erenköy was built in 1969 when a group of people came together with the idea of living Islam better under the leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükçü. Single-storey houses designed by their users, lush and wide gardens, garden walls exceeding two meters, numerous entrances, cedar pines along the street and several things belonging to the neighbourhood bear traces of fifty years ago. This thesis sets out by examining the social solidarity and process that brought the residents of Erenköy together and questions their basic motivation to build a living space. It examines architectural structures, interior designs, gardens and objects as the embodied forms of this motivation. In addition, it focuses on those who built them, the feelings, dreams, disappointments, conflicts, discourses and practices. It draws attention to the founding role of feelings *e.g.* love, responsibility, voluntariness, negotiation and comfort. By opposing the argument that space consists only of physical structures, it deciphers the indirect but powerful relationship of space with faith. Therefore, in addition to space theories, it appeals to affect theory, new ontology, Islamic sciences and Sufism. While examining the whole process, it does not remove Erenköy context from current discussions, also analyzes strategies and tactics, current life practices, the role of capital, spatial transformation, and the latest trends. In sum, this thesis tells the process of a grape field in 1969 becoming one of the most elegant districts of Konya today. Although it was established years ago, it argues that the production and the construction of space in Erenköy continues.

Keywords: Housing architecture, Islamic architecture, Social anthropology, Social space, Socio-spatial relationship, Urban space

ÖZ

EZAN VE KUŞ SESLERİ: KONYA-ERENKÖY’DE MEKANIN ÜRETİMİ VE YER YAPIM PRATİKLERİ

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“Burada yalnızca ezan ve kuş sesleri duyulur.” Kurucularından biri olan Tahir Büyükkörükçü Erenköy’ü böyle tasvir ediyor. Onun bu sözü, Konya Erenköy Mahallesi’nin hikayesini oldukça manidar bir biçimde anlatıyor. Erenköy, 1969 yılında bir grup insanın İslam’ı daha iyi yaşama ideali ile Tahir Büyükkörükçü liderliğinde bir araya gelmesiyle inşa ediliyor. Her biri kullanıcıları tarafından tasarlanan tek katlı evler, yeşil ve geniş bahçeler, 2 metreyi aşan bahçe duvarları, sayıları iki ya da üçü bulan giriş kapıları, sokak boyu sıralanan sedir çamplar ve mahalleye ait pek çok şey elli yıl öncesinden izler taşıyor. Bu tez, onları bir araya getiren bağı ve süreci irdelleyerek yola çıkıyor ve bir yaşam alanı inşa etmek için taşıdıkları temel motivasyonunu sorguluyor. Bu motivasyonun vücut bulmuş formu olarak mimari yapıları, iç tasarımları, bahçeleri ve objeleri inceliyor. Yanı sıra, onları inşa edenlere, inşa edenlerin taşıdıkları hislere, hayallere, hayal kırıklıklarına, çatışmalara, söylem ve pratiklere odaklanıyor. Sevgi, sorumluluk, gönüllülük, uzlaş ve konfor hislerinin kurucu rolüne dikkat çekiyor. Mekanın yalnızca fiziksel yapılardan ibaret olduğu görüşüne karşı çıkararak mekanın inanç ile dolaylı fakat kuvvetli ilişkisini deşifre ediyor. Bu bağlamda mekan teorilerine ek olarak duygulanım teorisine, yeni ontolojiye, İslami ilimlere ve tasavvufa başvuruyor. Tüm süreci irdelerken Erenköy bağlamını güncel tartışmalarının odağından çıkarmıyor; strateji ve taktikleri, güncel yaşam pratiklerini, sermayenin rolünü, mekansal dönüşümü ve son trendleri de analiz ediyor. Kısacası bu tez, 1969 yılında üzüm bahçesi olarak faaliyet gösteren bir mekanın bugün Konya’daki en mutena semtlerden biri haline gelmesi sürecini anlatıyor. Yıllar önce kurulmuş olsa da Erenköy’de mekanın üretiminin ve sosyal inşasının halen devam ettiğini savunuyor.

Keywords: İslam mimarisi, Kentsel mekan, Konut mimarisi, Sosyal antropoloji, Sosyal mekan, Sosyo-mekansal ilişkiler

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Melike Sıla Acar

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BCE:	Before Common Era
c:	Circa
CE:	Common Era
d:	Death
DİA:	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (Encyclopedia of Islam)
GIS:	Geographical Information System
K.C:	Konya Cement
MEVKA:	Mevlana Kalkınma Ajansı (Mevlana Development Agency)
PBUH:	Peace be Upon Him
Trans:	Translation
TDV:	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (Turkish Religious Foundation)
TBMM:	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Turkey)

TRANSCRIPTION ALPHABET¹

Short vowels: a; i; u	ض d
ء	ط t
ل ā	ظ z
ب b	ع
ت t	غ gh
ث th	ف f
ج j	ق q
ح ḥ	ك k
خ kh	ل l
د d	م m
ذ dh	ن n
ر r	ه h
ز z	ة a; -at in iḍāfa
س s	و ū; -uww-; word final ū
ش sh	ى \ ي ī; -iyy-; word final ī
ص ṣ	

¹ See: (Encyclopaedia of Islam Three 2007, 8)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Just before the call to prayer. The scent of pine trees is around us. People and cars are rare on the streets. More than two meters high walls circulate *Kuba street*. My mother beside me does not speak at first, by looking up, then she whispers “I have not been before in such a place in Konya.” I am asking myself: What makes us feel different here? Cedar pines, silence, or its unfamed story?

I love to ask questions, even though I know that I will not be able to answer. It was my university years in architecture when I first asked “how does religion reflect to space.” It is because religion and space have become not only academic curiosity that I pursue but also existential issues. As a person who defines herself as religious, I would not isolate myself both from religion and space for my entire life. That is, they were both the elements whose effects are always felt on. I asked questions, but architecture, as a form of art, did not seem to offer many tangible answers. Amid several contradictions, I came across a new place where I could understand the relationship of space with architecture and religion, moreover, right next to me: Erenköy.

I have never dwelled in Erenköy. Nevertheless, as a resident of Konya, I was quite familiar with the neighbourhood from my childhood on. My oldest memory about Erenköy was dating back to me at thirteen years old. At that time, I was settled in a vicinal area near Erenköy, and weekly going to a training center. I was taking various busses to go and sometimes taking the bus number 63 *Erenköy* which operates from the Erenköy neighbourhood to the city center stopping by my place. By going back and forth, I realized that people carry out Islamic procedures meticulously. Men sit next to men, women sit next to women. People wear clothing in accord with veiling codes in Islam. For the first time, there I got a feeling of “Erenköy should have been a religious place.” I used to remember the land from my high school days, albeit I was not aware of the story behind it.

The name of the thesis unfolds its story more or less: *Calls to Prayer and Sounds of*

Birds. Erenköy's unfamed story dates back to 1969, the time when a group of Muslims in the leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükçü –a beloved preacher; opinion leader and former deputy of Konya– gathered in a *sohbet* meeting and took the decision of establishing a settlement to live Islam better and to live a more secure, safe and comfortable life. Its story is initiated first through purchasing the land, then designing and building houses and settling in a year. Tahir Büyükkörükçü defines the neighbourhood by saying that “there shall be heard only calls to prayer and sounds of birds” (Büyükkörükçü 2011). Erenköy, which was a vinicultural land with no roads or trees, is turned into one of the influential neighbourhoods of the city, today.

This thesis consists of the various questions I asked Erenköy and the answers I got to these questions. This research, therefore, is an attempt both to *decipher* and *interpret* space and place in Erenköy's past and present. It focuses on housing, dwelling and place-making and scrutinizes those concepts' relation to faith. By doing so, this thesis verifies that Islam and urban space are interrelated since Islam shapes one's interaction with one's environment, through feelings, intentions and actions. Further, the thesis argues that the city, urban life and Islam do not contradict, they harmonize. In terms of the social production of space, by examining historical Erenköy after its establishment, this research mostly recontextualizes Lefebvrian *lived space* alongside its *conceived, perceived spaces*. In terms of the social construction of space, in addition, it focuses on residents' everyday practises, experiences, feelings and discourses.

Erenköy is both the community-building and the space-production. To illustrate Erenköy's community building, the thesis employs the concept of *'aşabîyah* by recontextualizing it through a powerful feeling: Love. There, it expounds the first settlers and founders as *muhibban* -the lovers- by referring to the people who love each other, who sympathize with Tahir Hoca as a religious leader, and who love God as a creator and sustainer of the world. Likewise, to simplify the production and construction of space this thesis recontextualizes the feel of *responsibility and voluntariness* by following the pre-and early days. There, it shows how Erenköy is also morally constructed. Alongside the responsibility and voluntariness, this research highlights the role of *negotiation and comfort* for the spatial organizations of the houses of Erenköy. The thesis examines *sohbet* events as Erenköy's most featured

public events, sohbet rooms as the striving of the public space, and unital house designs as a negotiation between the public and the private. The thesis highlights a graded sense of publicity in Erenköy houses. Additionally, it declares that publicity and privacy are experienced differently for males and females.

Cansever (2010, 91) states that “a work of art is the reflection of the envisionment of being and universe” (translated by the author). Likewise, Erenköy is where spirituality and spatiality are intertwined. Moreover, the intertwinement is not independent of class relationships, economic concerns, and ongoing trends. Since space exists and changes through actions; Erenköy as well did not remain as it was dreamed of. Starting with 16 householders, it has reached 13 thousand inhabitants at the present day. While it was growing from 1969 on, the understanding of space has also changed. This change, for some people, was a development, for the majority a degeneracy, for me a natural process.

In this thesis, I argue that the conditions that create Erenköy cannot be considered independent of the city and its social structure. I assert that Konya played an important role in the establishment of Erenköy as the ground that brought Tahir *Hodja* and *muhibban* together. Likewise, the change of the neighbourhood was not free from the change of the city and its people. Erenköy streets visibly reflect the changing mechanisms.

Today’s Erenköy and its ever-changing face can be read through *Kuba Street*, its recent informal name of *Street of Lovers*, declarations of loves and names therein. In addition, it can be observed by the comers, increasing cases of burglary, equipped security systems and brand-new ultra-lux villas. Even though it was established fifty years ago, Erenköy’s construction and production are still ongoing by the people who live, know, speak, feel Erenköy more or less. I consider this research as an occasion for telling Erenköy’s story, its embedded story, for better or worse, has been written by its residents and outsiders for the last fifty years.

1.1. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

Erenköy is an urban piece of land in Konya city, Turkey. It was established by a group of Muslims in the leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükçü with the aspiration of living according to Islam, and of a more secure safe and comfortable environment. It was set

up by transforming a vinicultural land, re-imagining a brand-new space and embodying those imaginations with the structures. It was expanded and developed over time however, its story generally stayed embedded.

Focusing on the case of Erenköy, this research scrutinizes the subject of community building, place-making, the production of space and examines the role of belief and affect. It asks *how do the people of Erenköy produce their spaces, and how do they practice placemaking?* As the former part of the question refers to the social production and the latter, the social construction of space, this research partially appeals to both two canonical approaches. So that, it *deciphers* space and *interprets* place –experiences, ongoing contestations, symbols *in situ*– by sharing both mechanisms. This thesis, besides, utilizes the concept of space and place both to develop an extended look at the field. It accepts them as two separate but connected entities.

Space and place have been discussed in the history of thought, understood and schematized differently from one author to another. While some authors accepted space and place as divided constructs with no coincidence, others conceptualized either space as a comprising element (Soja 1989; Lefebvre 1991; Algra 1995) or place as a comprising element (De Certeau 1984). Even though it seems as if there exists a conceptual confusion, Low observes an occasional distinction that “phenomenological theories and epistemologies [...] use of place as the predominant construct. Marxism, neo-Marxism, mathematics, geometry and historical materialism, on the other hand [...] use space as the all-encompassing construct” (2017, 12). The general perspective, therefore, understands place as a distinct and internalized form of space. Norberg-Schulz states that “a place is a space which has a distinct character” (Norberg-Schulz 1979, 5); Elden states “on the basis place is ‘in here’ and space ‘out there’ (Elden 2009, 263). Low states that “the spatial location of subjectivities, intersubjectivities and identities that transform space into places” (Low 2017, 32).

Similar to the former distinction, I define space as more abstract, physical and social entity produced by people or groups alongside political and historical actors and, I define place as more personal, internalized and subjective form. However, I urge that space and place are both coexisting simultaneously. They are two distinct but necessarily adherent concepts, presenting not dualist, but a merely united entity. Space,

therefore “is fully saturated with place” (Henderson 2009, 540). By Henderson’s term “place is not derived from something else (as place from space); it is, rather, an always-already ongoing assemblage of geographically associated, ontologically co-constitutive elements and relationships” (ibid. 540).

My interpretation of space in Erenköy presents neither an immobile, dead and fixed nor dualist; neither fully objective nor fully subjective, neither fully profane nor fully afterworldly, neither fully abstract nor completely material. That is, space in Erenköy has a variable nature, dependent on the body, actions, human perception, affect, experience, practises and material realities. In Erenköy, this is not easy to separate neither spaces nor places from each other. It is because the production of space is closely germane to the place-making processes.

This research investigates both the community as a social structure and the neighbourhood as physical. First, it strives to understand the social solidarity between the residents of Erenköy, their dominant motivation of founding, moving and living there. Second, it scrutinizes the main orientation of designing physical structures and keeping or transforming them through time. It analyzes the oldest Erenköy –Kuba, Mina and Vefa streets and the houses therein– people’s actions, designs, experiences, emotions, and discourses. It emphasizes the role of *love* connecting the community and the role of *responsibility* and *voluntariness* shaping the landscape and place. *Negotiation and comfort* as the main orientation of designing indoors. Besides, it conceptualizes those notions encompassingly relating the actions and intentions. Nevertheless, it does not underestimate the spatial change, interventions, contestations and circulation of capital.

Neither a morphological analysis nor a purely historical and theoretical work, this research is strife for understanding space and place through the lived-in experiences, testimonies, practises and designs. To make sense of spatial experiences, it appeals to urban ethnography and adjacent branches such as anthropology, architecture, urbanism, history and philosophy.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is considerably challenging to conduct a literature review for the case of Erenköy. This is because the case necessarily requires a review of the texts that have been written on Konya, Islam, Sufism on the one hand and, sociology, city and architecture on the

other. Among all these texts, it is tough to obtain a consistent sequence. Here, I will not discuss the hundreds of studies focusing on the relation between Islam and space, or Konya and Islam. Instead, I compile a few indirectly relevant studies that may contribute to placing the thesis in the existing literature.

If Erenköy is admitted to be a place established by Islamic motives, it can easily be intersected by similar projects in Turkey and the world. Ian Dallas's (later Abdalqader as-Sufi) imagination of neighbourhood in Norwich/England²; *Adil Düzen*'s leader of Süleyman Karagülle's Akevler in Izmir/Turkey³; Ebu'l Ala al Mawdudi's Darul'Islam in Pathankot/Pakistan⁴; Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké's Touba city in Senegal⁵ and several other examples can be counted among them. Abdalqader as-Sufi failed to build a new neighbourhood. Mawdudi had moved from Darul Islam shortly after founding it, and Akevler's vision faded out soon after depending on the bond between its people. According to Ross' research on Touba, we know that Touba was an authentic project through its mystical, religious and semiological background. Although it kept this connection for a while, it later embraced a modern look.

Erenköy has similarities and differences with these projects. It is similar since it is a living space established by a group of people with the intention of living the religion better. But there is something that makes Erenköy different from these other projects: The togetherness of design, space, and feelings. According to his son Abdurrahman Büyükkörükçü, his father Tahir Büyükkörükçü had not slept for 3 nights while he drew his own house plan by his own hands. It is these designs, the emotions behind them, and the most fundamental belief that makes Erenköy different from all other venues.

Except for a few newspaper articles, there does not exist written literature on Erenköy. However, it is still possible to conduct a literature review on the Erenköy neighbourhood in several ways by looking at the studies dealing with Konya, mysticism, religiosity, design and space. As a researcher who followed such a method,

² See: Peerbux, Ahmed, dir. 2016. Blessed Are The Strangers (Documentary). Alchamiya.

³ See: Erboğa, Mücahit. 2013. "“Medineleşmeyi” Yaşatma Çabasıdır Akevler.” <https://www.dunyabizim.com/>. 2013. <https://www.dunyabizim.com/gezi-mekan/medinelesmeyi-yasatma-cabasidir-akevler-h15539.html>.

⁴ See: (Partially mentioned in) Mevdudi, Hümeýra. 2019. Babam Mevdudi, Validi: El Eşcaru'l Varife. Translated by Hülya Afacan. 11th ed. İstanbul: Mana yayınları.

⁵ See: Ross, Eric. 2006. Sufi City : Urban Design and Archetypes in Touba. Rochester (N.Y.): University Of Rochester Press.

after all, I looked at Konya as a ground for living Islam, categorized the studies on Sufism, religiosity, space, design and political economy.

The first group of these studies related to Konya and Sufism is significant in terms of comprehending the connection of religious life in Konya with Rumi, and Tasawwuf. Abrahimi (2019) in his thesis, investigates the influences of Rumi on the two cities: Konya and Balkh. He researches both cities in the frame of culture, civilization, and urban setting. He highlights the brotherhood that was established by the occasion of Sufism and Rumi. Kaygusuz (2019) focuses on a similar topic: The Mevlevis. In the study of *Mevlevis as a Religious Group: A sociological Research, Konya*, he qualitatively researches the Mevlevi path in multi-sided fieldwork. By summarizing the relationship between the Mevlevis and the city of Konya he draws attention to the social change. Likewise, Çağrı (2020) focuses on the social change in her qualitative sociological study on Konya and Bursa Mevlevi circles.

Focusing on Konya, religiosity and conservatism, it is confirmed that the role of institutions such as social environment, culture and family cannot be underestimated for religiosity. Akın, Aydemir and Nacak (2013) relate conservatism and religiosity in their article. In this context, they identify the importance of family, religion and tradition. Doruk (2019) in *Religious Attitudes According to Demographic Variables: Konya Example* quantitatively researches the religiosity in Konya depending on gender, age, income, status, educational level and several variables. Eventually, he argues that there is a higher rate of religious attitudes among the people of Konya who are older than age 18. He draws attention to the role of the social environment in Konya driving the high rate. Likewise, Türkyılmaz in his *Religious Life in Konya* (2016) focuses on religiosity. Here, he investigates several religious groups that operate in the city. He mentions *Erenköy Circle* by describing them as a civil society-oriented Islamic movement that made good use of the areas that emerged with the new economic opportunities in the 1990s and expanded in this way” (Türkyılmaz 2016, 256).

There are very few studies that can intersect with Islam, Konya and space. The existing studies touch the subject from the edge. Kurt (2021) in his recent anthropological study focuses on spaces, cities, houses and their interior designs in different cases. Even though he researches the case of Konya, Meram district he does not present a fully-

fledged analysis. Coşkun (2017) in *Study of Mutual Developing Influence of Spiritual Production and Space: The Case of the City of Konya* establishes the link between spirituality, space, design and culture. By examining Konya as the medieval Seljuk City through historical sources, she mentions that spirituality has a critical importance for space and place. However, since she mostly draws conclusions from history, the study does not constitute a significant base for this thesis.

In addition, Konya was researched in the frame of religion and political economy. Although such studies are a few, they articulate the destructive effect of capital critically. Demirpolat (2008) focuses on religion, capital and transformation in the case of Konya. Keyman and Koyuncu-Lorasdağı (2020) in *Sekiz Şehrin Hikayesi* verify the role of religion and economic rise for the case of Konya. Durak examines the role of religion in the relationship between the employee and employer by focusing on the political economy. His study is based on the qualitative research carried out in Konya. Işık in her multi-sided work including Konya *"Just Like Prophet Mohammad Preached": Labor, Piety, and Charity in Contemporary Turkey*, explores the role of religious practices, working conditions, socioeconomic conditions and gender concerning Islam and space.

Although Konya was qualitatively researched in the context of conservatism, religiosity, design, space, Sufism, religion and political economy; none of the studies focuses on the Erenköy neighbourhood. Therefore it seems so an ignored medium that requires research. Among all these other studies, where one should position this thesis in the existing literature is at the discretion of the reader.

1.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

Does faith affect the way of building? This research, based on a sort of personal curiosity, was reinforced through scholarly inquiries and a set of qualitative research methods consisting of six phases. Those steps, however, do not follow a subsequent chronological order, they indeed, demonstrate a dynamic process through reciprocations and reconsiderations.

In the preliminary phase, I formulated the aforementioned question by considering my academic inquires and personal background. In this part, I pondered on a convenient milieu to embody further insights. Through a rapid yet comprehensive search, I decided on a fitting field -Erenköy neighbourhood- to pursue on and conducted a quick

tour to understand the space and determine its limits. At that time, I formulated my research question by asking *how do the people of Erenköy produce their spaces, and how do they practise place-making?*

Table 1. 1. Design of the Research Method

1. Preliminary Phase Knowing the Field, Formulation of Research Question
2. Determination of the Method <i>Urban Ethnography</i>
3. Preparation for Collecting Data
4. Fieldwork Participant Observation, House visits, In-depth Interviews, Self Reflexivity
5. Theorizing Data
6. Structuring the Thesis

In the second phase, I determined the technique as *urban ethnography* for making sense of experiences and spatial practises *in situ*. The aim of deciding ethnography was due to the two reasons, first because, to provide a perspective for new understanding, by not skipping on the existing reality and second to create a holistic look at the field both through theoretical and empirical data. According to Barker “ethnography is an empirical and theoretical approach inherited from anthropology whose central purpose is to generate detailed holistic description and analysis of cultures based on intensive fieldwork” (2004, 64). According to Hesse-Biber “ethnographic research aims to get a holistic understanding of how individuals in different cultures and subcultures make sense of their lived reality” (2017, 179).

Urban ethnography on the other hand “designates a methodological practice that focuses on the spatial dimensions of developing society, thus opening an interdisciplinary dialogue in which anthropology, geography, architecture, sociology, and other disciplines participate” (Imilan and Marquez 2019, 3). Therefore urban ethnography, I argue, is an appropriate and useful research method for understanding and evaluating Erenköy. Urban ethnography, however, becomes more indefinite insofar as the ambivalence between the rural to the urban increases. Urban

ethnography, in my research design, does not work in the rigid dichotomy of rural and urban, it rather analyzes them both but concentrates more on the urban features.

In the following phase, the third phase, I was prepared for collecting data. I scanned general information, gathered maps, news articles and photos. I received general plans 1/1000 scale (implementary development plan) and 1/5000 scale (master development plan) from Selçuklu Municipality Directorate of Construction Affairs and base map 1/1000 scale from Konya Metropolitan Municipality. I used an online City-Info System (*Kent Bilgi Sistemi*) operated by Konya Metropolitan Municipality for accessing historical maps and orthographical photos. Even though the process took a few months, it formed my gaze, provided a base for understanding space, provided further contacts, and made me realize the scarcity of writings on Erenköy.

In the fourth phase, forming the main part of the research, I went to do fieldwork for data-collecting, participant observation, house visits and in-depth interviews. In this process, I strived to be free from hypotheses and presuppositions since having them might undermine the existing concepts *in situ* and damage the possibilities of new understandings. As Hart says “instead of comparing preexisting objects, events, places or identities” the focus in ethnography is “on *how* they are constituted in relation to one another through power-laden practises in the multiple, interconnected arenas of everyday life” (2009, 219). Therefore ethnography clarifies “these connections and mutual processes of constitution –as well as slippages openings and contradictions– help to generate new understandings of the possibilities for social change” (ibid).

I conducted in-depth interviews with 36 people and a family not through the standard structured questions, rather through recontextualized questions (Appendix: List of Interlocutors). Of my interlocutors, 34 people are either full-time or seasonal residents of Erenköy and the interviews have been conducted sometimes in houses, sometimes on a phone call, or in public spaces like parks, mosques and libraries. Besides in some cases, interviews are conducted separately for women and men, to understand gender experiences and sometimes, different generations to grasp generational experiences.

Although I do not present an archival transcription of the interviews due to privacy concerns, I employed oral history methods for understanding urban experiences of the past and the present. Oral history “collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews” (Ritchie 2003, 19). Besides, it

generally requires an interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording. Similarly, I followed the methodic steps of oral history and mostly shared the full names and backgrounds of interlocutors to provide data. My presentation of the spatial history of Erenköy is mostly based on the interlocations I have conducted. Besides, I used some verification methods to support claims and gathered concrete pieces of evidence. Throughout the research process, I tried to use visuals effectively. I have accessed and attached some photos from the past. In addition, I schematized the urban pattern of Erenköy and its change over time using various tools (personal visits, GIS data, photographs, etc.). I carried out scheduled or un-scheduled house visits and I drew schematic free-hand sketches.

Being an architect eased the process for data collecting. To create schematic house plans, I have taken advantage of my architectural background to understand and evaluate house plans. Also, I used architectural tools to schematize and visualize them. I sketched 11 schematic house plans drawn in an unmeasured way. Of my sketches, I got one original plan and one schematic plan which were shared by householders. In the process of their visualization, I called names of spaces in houses following how they are described by their owners. By doing so, I desired the drawings to be not only visual objects but also a medium of knowledge regarding the owners' ontological and social situation. As Mason (2002, 107) says:

[...] related to your ontological position, if you are using visual or documentary methods, you will have an epistemological position which suggests that texts, documents, written records, visual documents, visual records, objects, artefacts and phenomena, or visualization (as a process more than a thing) can provide or count as evidence of these ontological properties.

Epistemologically, I do not accept the cultural reality as fully achievable through the positivist empirical methods, therefore I approach cultural phenomena not as structuralist but interpretive. It is because, I do believe as Barker says that “cultures is grasped through the interpretation of signs and signifying practices but does not depend on a structure or universal system of signification” (2004, 73). The role of the ethnographer is then to provide a *thick description* as a way of interpretation of social actions in their social and cultural contexts. *Thick description* inevitably goes with contextual subjective explanations and meanings (Ryle 1968; Geertz 1973). Geertz similarly says that “ethnography is interpretive; what is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse” (Geertz, 1973, 318).

So, there are three characteristics of ethnographic description: it is interpretive; what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse, and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the “said” of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms. But there is, in addition, a fourth characteristics of such description, at least as I practice it: it is microscopic (Geertz 1973, 318).

In the process of interpretation, reflexivity plays a critical role. Reflexivity is defined by Hesse-Biber as “a process whereby researchers engage in self-critical action that allows them to explore and critically evaluate how their own values, attitudes, and biases may enter into the research process” (2017, 60). She adds that “it is awareness and tending to this type of researcher bias that serves to make the research project more objective” (ibid). Mann and Kelly denote the importance of reflexivity by saying that “all knowledge is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced; it is grounded in both the social location and social biography of the observer and the observed” (1997, 392). Similarly, my research process and my presentation of reality are not independent of my social position and epistemological stance.

My social position stands at the intersection of being both insider and outsider at the same time. As a researcher, I was partially an outsider since I was neither a person of Erenköy Circle nor have any previous connection to any local of the neighbourhood and hold no familiarity with the Sufi practises. On the other hand, I was partially an insider since I was a local settler of Konya and I was familiar with the local culture. Here, the concept of cultural privacy should also be brought up. *Cultural intimacy* as a reaction for “an intrusion into the collective space” creates an unhidden barrier for an outsider (Herzfeld [1997] 2016, 2). As a semi-outsider, I have experienced *cultural intimacy*, especially in explaining grounded religious-oriented adherence. On the other hand, as a semi-insider I shared the *intimacy* somewhat of practising Islam, being a local settler of the city. I argue that this enabled me to meet people on a common ground thus enabled some residents to express themselves less hesitantly. Also being a woman, facilitated my speaking to women of Erenköy up close and personal.

In the fifth phase, I analytically reconsidered the data collected in the previous phases. The embodied structures, narration of politics, history and social life led me to look at Lefebvrian understanding which presents a very useful lens of space as a dynamic and dialectic process that “involves, among other things, a rapprochement between physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space), and social space (the space of human interaction)” (Merrifield 2006, 104). Henri Lefebvre's social

production of space and his spatial triad –perceived, conceived and lived spaces– are useful to detect actors, users, and social change. As Low says “it is a powerful method for linking macro and micro-social processes, generating empirical evidence of how the social and political goals of one group” (2017, 66). Lefebvrian triad enabled me to *decipher* space.

Table 1. 2. Lefebvre’s Spatial Triad (Lefebvre 2014, 68)

a. Spatial Practises (l’espace perçu)	Perceived space
b. Representations of Space (l’espace conçu)	Conceived Space
c. Spaces of Representations (l’espace vécu)	Lived Space

Lefebvre emphasizes the tripartite nature of space in his schematization of *spatial practises, representations of space and spaces of representations*. Spatial practices comprise material space produced and used, nourished by physical forms and perceived by the senses. The representations of space are the abstraction of space that can be grasped through knowledge, logic and analysis *i.e* designs prepared by architects and urban planners. Spaces of representation are the lived space built through experiences (Elden 2007, 110).

In addition to the social production, Erenköy reality gave me data constructed through personal and group experiences which require to be *interpreted*. Eventually, to avoid shortcomings of social production such as giving meanings, feelings and experiences, I employed the social construction as a “perspective that explains how meaning is inscribed in the landscape and built environment, as well as the politics, unstable meanings and culture play in place-making” (Low 2017, 72).

Methodologically, the social production of space offers to *decipher* space through a spatial triad, social construction of space offers to *interpret* contestations, conflicts, place attachment, gender, class and so on. In this research, I combined them both, in addition, I appealed to Islamic and Sufi terminology to configure the link between Islam and space. One way or another, I do accept the harshness of *deciphering* or *interpreting*, briefly *reading* space as Lefebvre clearly elucidates.

Does it make sense to speak of a reading of space? Yes and no. Yes, inasmuch as it is possible to envisage a reader who deciphers or decodes and a speaker who translating his progression into a discourse. But no, in that social space can in no way to be compared to a blank page upon which a specific message

has been inscribed (Lefebvre 1991, 142).

Lastly, I reconsidered all empirical data collected in the field, transcriptions of the interviews, photographs, field notes, drawings all together to shape a meaningful whole. I structured the thesis by considering chronology, integrity, and readability.

1.4. FIELD OF STUDY

The field of this study is Erenköy neighbourhood of Konya, Turkey. Konya (also known as Konieh, formerly Iconium or Eikonion) is a city situated in central, southern Anatolia that is populated by 2.250.020⁶ inhabitants. Having 31 districts, the city is Turkey's biggest city in terms of surface area. Konya is rich in regards to culture including traces of civilizations in several heritage sites. "Konya a cradle of many civilizations, became a center of culture and politics during the period of Seljuks. During the 12th and 13th centuries the city acted as the capital of Seljuks." Seljuks "created a unique artistic world with cultural links reaching out from the Anatolian heartland to central Asia, the Middle East and the shores of the Mediterranean" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2021). Konya reflects a local culture of its own, inextricably links the culture, Sufism, urbanism, civilizations and history. As a former capital of the Anatolian Seljuks, Konya owes its spectacular buildings, intellectual culture and ongoing Sufi tradition to this period. Konya "was the capital of the Anatolian Seljuks now famous as the home of the whirling Dervishes" (Peterson 1996, 154).

Erenköy, on situated north-western side of the city, 5-6 kilometres away from the centre, is a neighbourhood in Konya. It is a neighbourhood full of detached and gardened, one to two-storey houses. Based on my fieldwork experiences I would say that people's definition of Erenköy nearly follows the same concepts: Quiet, calm, nice-airy, concord, peaceful. Some add "elite and rich" to this definition. While it does not hold much of quality except being a vinicultural field for fifty years ago, now is a very favourable district in the city. Starting with 16 people, today's Erenköy is inhabited by 13.114 people and became one of the most influential places in the city over the last fifty years.

⁶ According to TUIK's 2020 data See <https://cip.tuik.gov.tr/>

Table 1. 3. General Data in Erenköy (Kent Bilgi Sistemi)

Population	13.114	Number of Seasonal Houses	183
Number of Streets	227	Number of Offices	139
Number of Dwellings	4721	Number of Private Offices	128
Number of Buildings	2579	Temporary Settlements	2



Figure 1. 1. Konya Town in Turkey (Personal Archive)

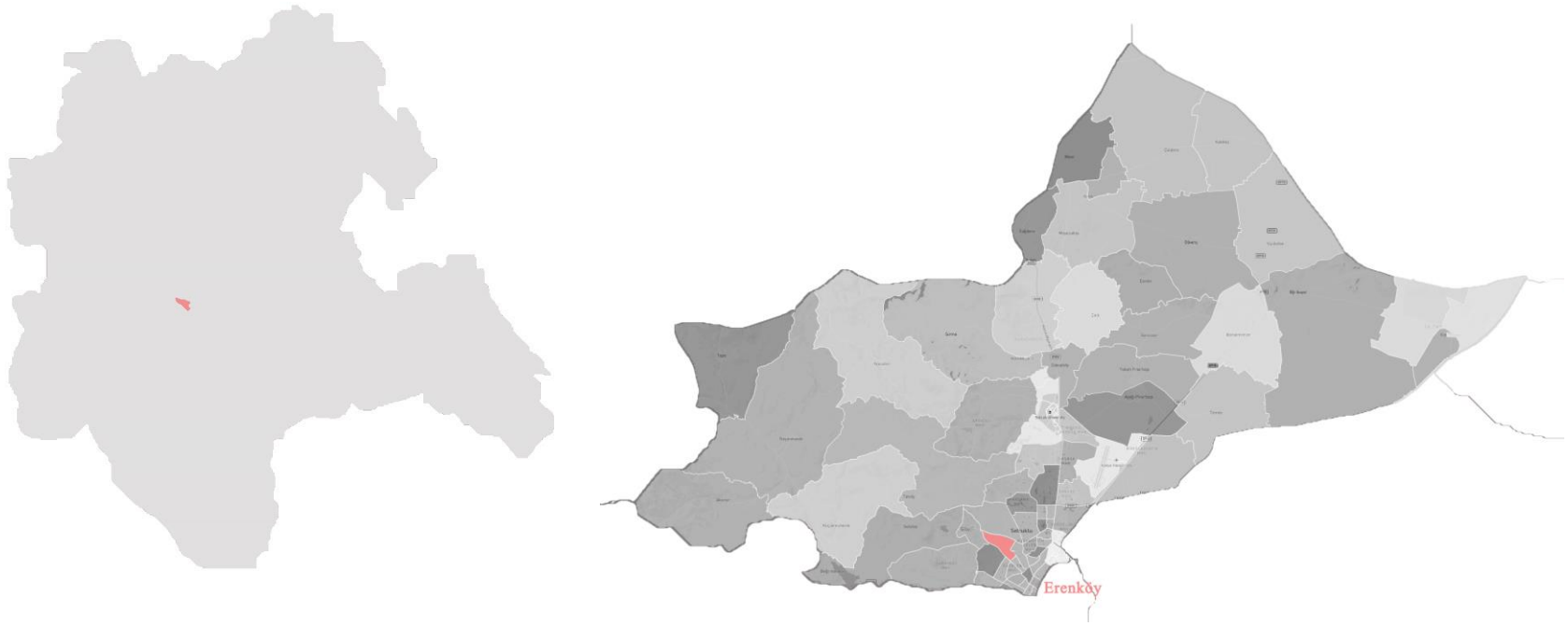


Figure 1. 2. Erenköy in Konya (left) in Selçuklu (right) (Personal Archive)

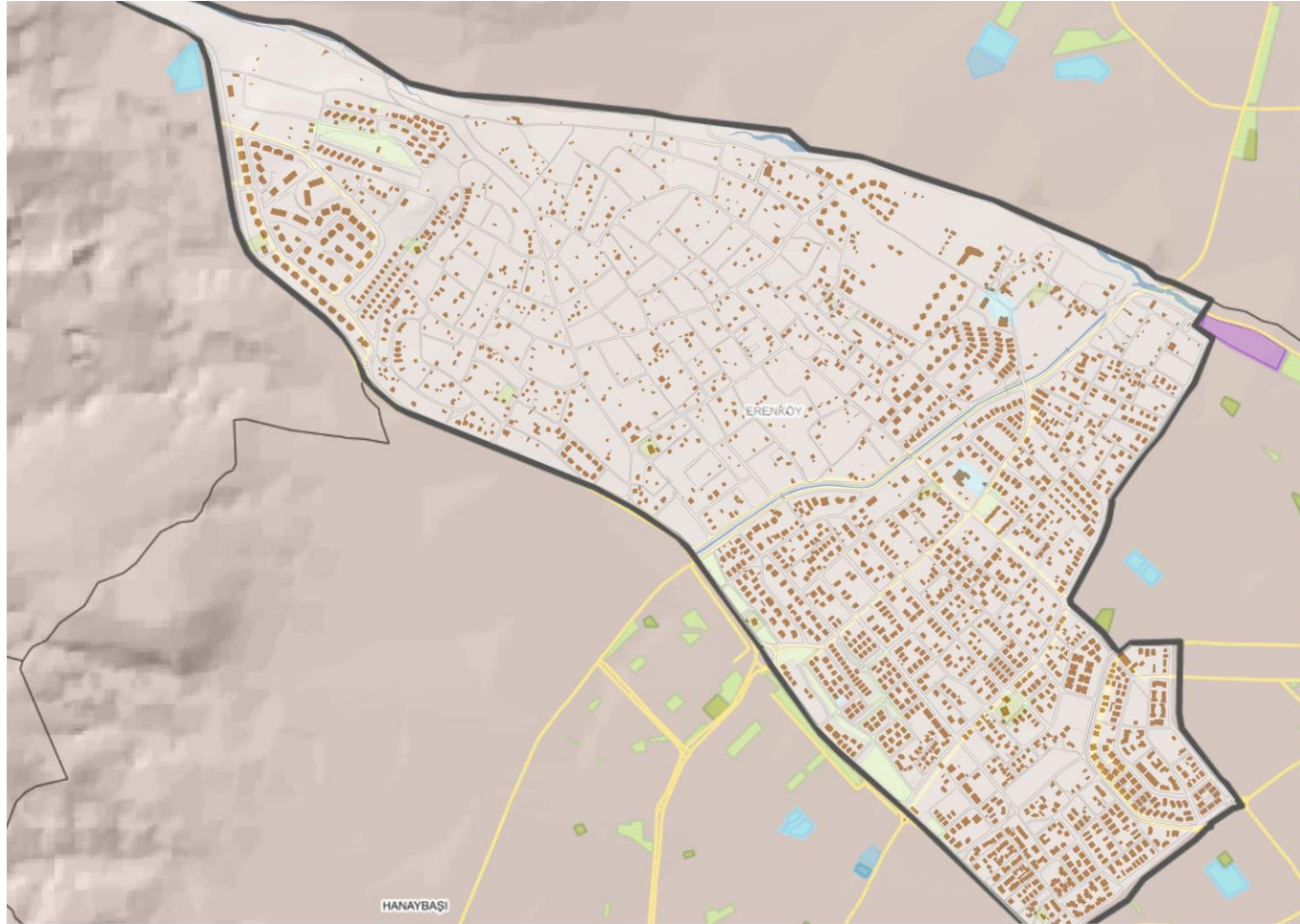


Figure 1. 3. Erenköy's Urban Pattern (Personal Archive)

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

I structure the thesis under one introductory, one concluding and four main chapters. In the introductory chapter, I mostly preface the background of the thesis and detail the research question and objectives. I specify the methodological and epistemological stance by elaborating the method's phases in research design. Then I explicate the field of study and the structure of the thesis.

In the second chapter, I focus on *conceived* space of Erenköy and mostly try to configure the link between faith, urban space and human organizations. First I show that the establishment of Erenköy was not independent of the general characteristics of the town and its dominant local culture. There, I elaborate its inextricable links to geography, politics, culture, religion and Sufism. Second, I identify Tahir Büyükkörükçü, his life and works, as a “spiritual architect” of Erenköy. Third, I examine the first founder's relationship with each other by reconsidering the concept of *aşabîyah* and conceptualizing *muhibban*. By following my inquiries, fourth, I assert that city and Islam do not contradict as it is supposed but they harmonize. Besides, I argue that Erenköy can be seen as a practised utopia in its urban context. Fifth I emphasize the role of *voluntariness* for the production of space and placemaking by tracking the actions in pre-and early days. I argue that, in sum, Erenköy's existence can be seen as a sum of two things: first is the establishment of community through reciprocal love and second is the production and the construction of space through *responsibility and voluntariness*.

I separate the third and fourth chapters as “in front of the walls” and “behind the walls” to reflect the division between streets and houses. In the third chapter, I focus on *perceived and lived space* in terms of Erenköy's public space. I share insights from my urban ethnography through lived-in experiences in certain urban formations. First, I strive to figure out Erenköy's peculiarity by asking its residents “what makes Erenköy different?” Second, I ask “where is the center of Erenköy?” and follow the social construction of space. At last, by bringing up the concept of “the right of the city” I ask “who owns Erenköy?” There, I explicate that possession in Erenköy's public space is highly intermingled to religion. I emphasize, at last, the necessary bond between the faith of Islam and urban space, by presenting Erenköy as an up-to-date example to observe this relationship.

In the fourth chapter, I strive to elaborate more on *lived and perceived spaces* of Lefebvre in terms of the *private space* i.e. gardens, houses and indoors of Erenköy. I focus on the design characteristics, spatial organizations and design elements alongside resident's everyday practises experiences, feelings and discourses. I concentrate on *sohbet* as Erenköy's most featured public events, sohbet rooms as strife of the public space, and unital house designs as a negotiation among the public to the private. I highlight a graded sense of publicity in Erenköy houses and talk about how its owners reconciling between the public and the private by their designs. Additionally, I argue that publicity and privacy are experienced differently for male and female bodies. I appeal to the architectural approach of Turgut Cansever and his associated philosophy of Nicholai Hartmann alongside affect theory and assert that designs and material embodiments are at first, related to the bio-social needs, then to the psychological situations, and eventually to the metaphysical space that is beliefs. I claim that the bio-social needs can be a need for a shelter, a necessity sustaining for privacy and security and a need for a locus of social relations. I present *sohbet* events and coming guests that sparking off the bio-social needs. These needs and materialities are related to the psychological situation, which I argue is a feeling of *negotiation and comfort*. Subsequently, I explicate that bio-social needs and the feeling of comfort converge at the upper sphere of metaphysics and *beliefs*. By doing so I assert that space in Erenköy is not something that is "out there" in a way, it is rather something that has the potential to allow us to exist at the same time. It also exists and changes too, through our actions.

In the fifth chapter, I follow the spatial and social change in Erenköy by observing spaces, discourses and changing *'aşabîyah*. I provide insights into present-day Erenköy from several perspectives. First, I follow the spatial expansion, increase of population, social change and rise of market value of land in Erenköy. Second, I investigate ongoing discussions on a controversial field, Konya Cement Anatolian Fine Arts High School. I decipher ongoing contestations among the residents and students, that is insiders *versus* outsiders. Third I focus on Erenköy's others and outsiders by following the tension among the established and the rest. Eventually, I urge that the change in Erenköy can be seen as a natural disintegration, which stems from the decrease of the recognition of residents *inter se*, in sum, the decrease of *'aşabîyah*..

In the last chapter, I express the peculiarities of Erenköy at several points. I comprehensively re-evaluate and summarize the aforementioned issues. I underline the role of Islam as the element which does not directly relate to space but indirectly affects it through feelings, intentions and practices. I emphasize that Erenköy's relationship with Islam is an existential one. Because at the very outset, Islam exists as a unifying element, as a common point, as the reason that directs the production and construction of space and place in Erenköy.

CHAPTER II

IMAGINING ERENKÖY

Once in his sermons, Tahir *Hodja* addresses the congregation by reminding them of a hadith from the Prophet: “Love is the principle of my religion, the *mind* is essential.”⁷ He interprets the hadith through an example: “Civil engineers first cast of (concrete) footing, then pour a (concrete) foundation, then enwall columns with bricks on them” (Büyükkörükçü 2019, 239). He adds that “the equivalent of the footing is *love (sevgi)*, and the counterpart of the concrete slab with steel and iron is *mind (akıl)*, since it (the mind) is the secret of responsibility (*sorumluluk*). [...] Love each other! Love your teacher, family, brother, children, neighbour, nation and homeland” (ibid). By saying so apparently, he imagines a construction built on the *mind* and *love*. His imagination of Erenköy likewise, was structured on the two: Mind leading the *responsibility*, *love* leading the attachment and they together form the *voluntariness*.

I focus on Erenköy’s *conceived space* herein. First I show that the establishment of Erenköy was not independent of the general social structure and the local culture of Konya by unravelling its links to geography, politics, culture, religion and Sufism. Second, I identify Tahir Büyükkörükçü, his life and works. Third, I investigate the founding community of Erenköy by revising the notion of *aşabîyah* and conceptualizing *muhibban*. Fourth, I highlight the developing role of Islam on urban life. Fifth, I point out the importance of *responsibility* and *voluntariness* for the production of space and placemaking in Erenköy by following the pre-and early days. There, I show how Erenköy is also morally constructed.

2.1. STANDING IN KONYA UNDERSTANDING OF ERENKÖY

My most favourite building in Konya is a madrasah. *Ince Minareli Madrasah*, although its minarets have not survived and although it does not operate as a madrasah anymore. Nevertheless, it still welcomes its visitors through a unique portal. If you see it from a far you may not pay attention since it seems just like an ordinary stone gate. However,

⁷ The original statement is “Sevgi dinimin esasıdır, akıl aslıdır.” (Translated by the author)

if you dare to approach and take a closer look, you may feel how magnificent it is: Just like a fine embroidery. If I would expound Konya in two words, I probably call it “a secret beauty.”

Standing in Konya is the prerequisite for understanding Erenköy. Because its history, culture and the way of urbanism are inextricably linked to where it resides and just because its founders are among the locals of the city. Konya by showing characteristics of steppe climate and moorland geography directly reflects its features to the local people and culture. Konya and Erenköy hold a secret beauty beyond what can be seen at the first glance just as the people therein. Famous intellectual and poet A. H. Tanpınar states in his book that “Konya is a true child of the steppe with which it shares a mysterious secret beauty” (2018, 57). By saying so, he denotes an obvious resemblance between the people of Konya and its geography. “Hidden from the outside world, Konya jealously guards its secrets within. Happy to live robust in spirit and independent, it resembles an inhabitant of central Anatolia rich in inner qualities but with no external show” (ibid). Even today, it is possible to confirm the statement of Tanpınar regarding Konya. Although the city does not have a distinguishing feature except of steppe soil encompassing the horizon, it still holds beauty for a willful glance. Tanpınar says “to track it down, you must know the right time and season.” He adds that Konya “either seizes you like a fever, carrying you off to its own world, or you remain immune to it, a stranger always” (2018, 57). Tanpınar is not the only person who noticed the interesting and mysterious beauty of Konya.

W. H. Ramsay touches upon a similar issue in his visit of Asia Minor and said that “the ruinous state of modern Konia partly hides its beautiful surroundings from the hasty traveller; a drive or walk to Meram is the shortest way to learn what might be the case everywhere in the neighbourhood” ([1890] 1962, 86). The city’s hidden beauty allures travellers for centuries such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī in 14th century, Arab traveller al-Gazzī in the 16th century (Berk, 1955). Ottoman travellers Evliya Chelebi and Katib Chelebi in the 17th century; Laborde in the 19th century, Clement Huart and Regis Delbeuf in the 20th century. One of the earliest sketches of Konya drawn by Laborde even gives a hint about the unique characteristics of the city through its outstanding minarets. Konya shows a beauty, a

secret beauty.

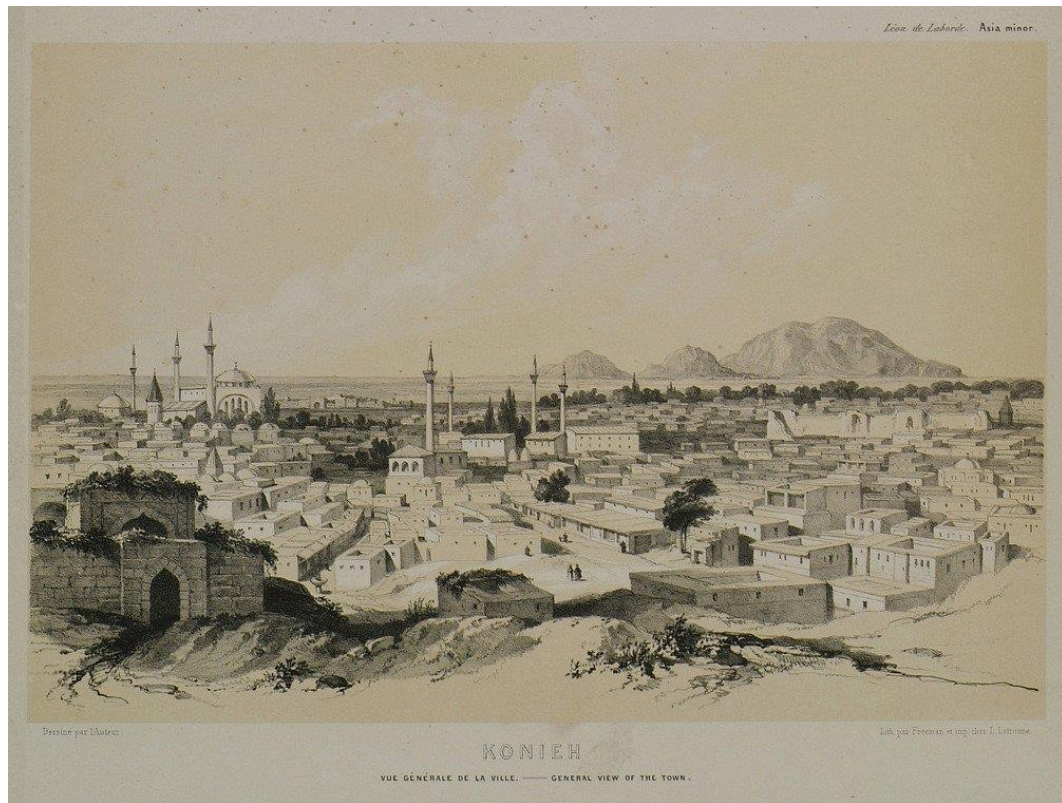


Figure 2. 1. Illustration of Konya (Laborde 1838)

Konya owed its beauty to the civilizations that flourished in the land for centuries dating back to the 8th century BCE. As a locus, it has hosted communities throughout history, from the Neolithic age to today. The town and its peculiar culture were enriched by societies for centuries such as Hittites, Phrygian and Cimmerians, Lydians, Persians, Saljuqids, Karamanids and Ottomans. Konya welcomed them all. As Orak (2014, 6) stated “being located on the transition point of east and west in the past” Konya served “as meeting point of many cultures.” Even though it was a central settlement in every period of history, Konya attained its identity and wealth thanks to the Saljuqids and ingrained Sufism at its time. Conquered by the Sulayman ibn Qutalmish, Konya was made the capital of Anatolian Saljuqids in Middle Ages. In this period, it became a fruitful ground for scholars, philosophers, poets, Sufis, and artists *i.e.* Şadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, Shahāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī, ‘Ibn ‘Arabī, Baha'-ud-din Walad and Maulana Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Konya Kültür).

Rūmī (d.1273) was a well-known Sufi who migrated with his father Bahā' al-dīn Walad (d.1230) from Balkh (situated in today's Afghanistan) to Konya in the 13th century

due to the upcoming Mongol invasion. He established a Sufi lodge right at the heart of the city, and in this way, he initiated the link between the city and Sufism that would last for centuries. Rumi went a long way toward making contribution in Sufi literature; *Divân-ı Kebir* (the Great Divan), *Fîh-i mâ Fîh* (in it is what is in it), *Mektûbât* (The Letters) *Mecâlis-i Seb 'a* (Seven Courts) and the most popular *Mathnawi* in which short stories are told in a unique poetic way (Öngören 2004, 441-48). Rumi's name, his books and tenets affected visitors, and have been identified with the town for centuries. Abdullah Cevdet (1925) in the 20th century came to Konya and stated that “the people of Konya, indeed, have distinctive features that distinguish themselves, in favour of themselves, from the people of other cities of Anatolia. It seems to me that *Mathnawi* had a great influence on this mood” (translated by the author). Still today, when Konya is mentioned, Maulana Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī is the first thing coming to mind⁸ (Mevlana Kalkınma Ajansı, 662).

Just as people have characteristics giving them a peculiarity, cities and spaces too have some characteristics making them more peculiar than others (Tekeli 1991, 81; Kurt 2021, 27). Alongside its hidden beauty, I assert that Konya holds an apparent peculiarity that unfolds itself for an intended look. A quick tour at the heart of the city, on the ancient route between Alaaddin Hill to Mevlana Museum, might give a hint: The veiling fashion furnishes display windows, dresses of people walking on the road, three mosques close to each other, people's hasty attitudes when a call to prayer was recited, and the products sold out in shops such as prayer breads, musks and coifs. Carrying its religious ideals, Konya has a religious outlook that visibly can be seen in public spaces, activities, talks and practices. Despite the rise of housing blocks and the trendy lifestyle in recent years, minarets and religious everyday life still dominate the look of the city. Tahir Büyükkörükçü (2019, 187) explains the city's peculiarity by saying that: “Konya is the city of love, the city of faith, the city of the Quran, the city of *ilm* (knowledge) the city of Mevlana. This land is the land of prophets, the castle of martyrs” (translated by the author). In the ancient texts Konya is mentioned as the secure city (*belde-i emin*) sacred city (*kutsal belde*) and pivotal city (*kutub şehir*) (Küçükbezirci [1997] 2006, 19). That is to say, alongside the hidden beauty flourished by cultures and civilizations, the peculiarity of the city can be seen in its strong

⁸ According to the research conducted by MEVKA, 76% of the interviewees stated that Maulana comes to mind when Konya is mentioned. See: (Mevlana Kalkınma Ajansı, 662)

connection to the religion of Islam. It is possible to describe the identity and characteristics of Konya through its religiousness. Konya's peculiarity for Koyuncu is "the past shaped in the spiritual tradition and the daily life practice that carries this past to the present" (Koyuncu 2013, 173; translated by the author).

Konya's connection to religiosity unravels itself not only in the social and everyday sphere but also in language practises, consumption practises and political stance. Shops not selling alcoholic products or opening the masjid to meet the needs of people, organizations of religious conversations, prioritization of interest-free banking still give us information about Konya and religiosity (ibid, 172). Koyuncu draws attention to the "encounters starting with the greetings of Allah, ended by being entrusted to Allah, performed thanks by referring his approval, works starting with basmala, referring to his permission at every opportunity" alongside the "comments and analyses in which religion and tradition are taken as a reference" (ibid; translated by the author).

Religiosity in Konya can be observed in consumption practices as well. Islamic teaching institutions, parks, gardens, enterprises, TV and radio channels, garment industries" paved the way for Muslim life and produced an alternative lifestyle against ongoing trends of the century (Durak [2013] 2018, 20). "Until the '90s" as Durak (2010, 96) says "Konya was known as a city that resisted Kemalist projects and always produced religious alternatives for it" (translated by the author). Some authors find it as a model in which "modernity and desires for tradition converge paradoxically" (Subaşı 2013, 70)⁹ or an interesting example of a modern-religious hybrid (Ayata 2013, 84). From the 1990s till the beginning of the Millenium, Konya set a different example in terms of its municipal activities by a temporary gender division of public transportation, moving alcoholic restaurants to the peripheries, amplifying Islamic discourses in public speeches, giving the names of Muslim pioneers to the public streets and so on (Durak 2010, 97).

Moreover, Konya tells its tale through its political stance which was turned to political Islam in 1969 through the election of Necmeddin Erbakan as an independent deputy

⁹ See: "Konya bears the quality of being an interesting city in that it has confronted and gradually reconciled the rules of modern life with its religious orientations which have constantly been given fresh impetus since al-Rumi, and which have given priority to expertise and genuine knowledge over heretic views" (Subaşı 2013, 84).

of Konya for National Assembly-XVI. legislative session (TBMM Albümü 2010, 979). Established through his election, the relationship between this political movement namely “National Vision Movement” (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*) and the city of Konya accretively continued for years. The movement was supported by the religious groups especially by the *Naqshi* circles¹⁰, reached crowds, and expanded to the national scale in a very short time. It was “a political movement that unites the representatives of Islamist politics, which were previously under the roof of different parties, on the basis of a unique political identity” (İnce 2017, 146). This movement was later canonized under the title of “National Order Party” (*Milli Nizam Partisi*) repeating the motto of “spiritual reawaking combined with technical development programs” (Oxford Dictionary of Islam 2003b, 75). It was credited in Konya more by the election of three deputies for the XVII legislative session.¹¹ Nevertheless, the quest could only be able to go further in different namings, parties and coalitions since the *National Order* was closed for being opposed to secular interests.

National Vision continued as “National Salvation Party” (*Milli Selamet Partisi*) between 1972 to 1980. It enabled the election of three names as deputy of Konya for XVIII legislation period between 1977- 80: Necmeddin Erbakan, Şener Battal and Tahir Büyükkörükçü (TBMM Albümü 2010, 1067). They were all familiar names for the town: Battal and Erbakan for politics, Büyükkörükçü for civil, educational and religious activities. Tahir Büyükkörükçü, even before his political career, was a renowned and respected person in Konya and one of the opinion leaders of the city. However, his political career could not last long, ended by the 1980’s coup.

Necmeddin Erbakan continued his political career despite the turbulent ambience in Turkish politics shaped by fluctuations and crises in the following years. He led the movement through Refah Party in 1983-1988; Fazilet Party in 1997-2001; Saadet Party in 2001. Şener Battal left politics after the 1980’s coup. Tahir Büyükkörükçü as well left politics but continued civil and religious activities till the end of his life. His Friday sermons and preachings in the central mosque, later in Erenköy mosque,

¹⁰ See: “The Milli Gorus Movement is a political formation that emerged in the socio-cultural zone where the Naqshi culture is decisive. This characteristic of the movement is one of the main factors determining the relation with religious groups. However, the political, legal and conjunctural conditions of Turkey have been important factors in the historical course of this relationship. In addition to these, the social structure of Turkey, the process of socio-cultural and economic change, have been the factors affecting the relationship between the Milli Gorus Movement and the Naqshis.” (İnce 2017, 146)

¹¹ Necmeddin Erbakan, Reşat Aksoy, Şener Battal: See: (TBMM Albümü 2010, 1002-3)

continued. Still, he has been accepted as one of the influential people of the city, even the spiritual leader. He was also one of the founders of Erenköy, for some people, he was even its “spiritual architect.”

2.2. “A SPIRITUAL ARCHITECT”

Tahir Büyükkörükçü is –also called as Tahir *Hodja*¹²– a Muslim preacher, scholar, clergyman and opinion leader. He was born in Konya in 1925, studied Islamic sciences by the classical method and was educated by renowned scholars of his time. He completed the educational programme in 1946 and was appointed to central-preaching (*merkez vaizlik*) of the city. He was then sent to Burdur central-preaching after the 1960 coup in Turkey. He turned back to his city Konya in 1965, becoming the central-müfti. He retired in 1973 (Büyükkörükçü 2016).



Figure 2. 2. Tahir Büyükkörükçü (DİA)

He was credited as the founder of Erenköy neighbourhood of Konya. He led the setting up process in the 1970s and voluntarily worked in the Erenköy Mosque for four years as a preacher (1971-1975). He became the deputy of Konya from the “National

¹² Hodja means the religious guide and teacher. In the context of Erenköy, leaders of religious conversations (*sohbet*) are also frequently called as hodja be it men or women. I will frequently use the word of hodja to indicate Tahir Büyükkörükçü since people mostly call him in this way.

Salvation Party” (*Millî Selâmet Partisi*) in the 1977 parliamentary elections. He was arrested after the military coup of September 12, 1980, and released after eleven months of the detention period (ibid). However, he was banned from politics for ten years. After this period, he has never actively turned back to politics but continued Friday sermons and periodic preachers till the end of his life. He was called as *sultânü'l-vâizîn* (the leaders of preachers) with the discretion of the people of Konya. He was in high demand for his sermons which were recorded into the cassette tapes for the ones who couldn't come, later started to be launched as live broadcast in local channels.

In his sermons, he was citing and referencing words from *Rumi*, *Iqbal*, *Sheikh Galib* and other Muslim scholars around the world. Having a very large library in his house and knowing Arabic and Persian languages at an excellent level, Hodja was known as one of the intellectuals of his time. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1968) a Turkish author says for him that he “is a young and vigorous, deep and true Muslim in spirit and matter; he is one of the exceptional examples among the clergy whose number does not exceed a few in terms of ecstasy, sincerity, wisdom and understanding” (translated by the author). “Beyond telling about Islam” as Mustafa Koruyucu says, “Tahir Hodja lived and showed it.” He got acquainted with some of the clergy of his time: Musa Topbaş, Mahmut Ustaosmanoğlu, Ali Ulvi Kurucu, Mehmet Zahit Kotku, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and Muhammed Harrani. In his sermons, he constantly talked about civilization, love of God and Prophet and brotherhood in Islam. Amidst all fractions of society, he was appreciated by the people through his embraced manners and discourses.

Tahir Büyükkörükçü passed away on March 5, 2011, and he was buried in the *Üçler Cemetery of Konya*. Thousands of people participated in his funeral prayer. Due to the confluence, his coffin was carried in the hands of the congregation and it could be brought to the cemetery in 2.5 hours from a kilometre away (Memleket 2011). He has written five books: “Mevlana and Mathnawî in its True Aspect” (*Hakikî Vechesiyle Mevlâna ve Mesnevi*, Konya 1959); “Blessed Ramadan and Fasting” (*Mübârek Ramazan ve Oruç*, Konya 1961); “The Prophet through the Eyes of Mevlana and Mathnawî” (*Mevlânâ ve Mesnevî Gözüyle Peygamber Efendimiz*, İstanbul 1963); “Courtesy in Islam” (*İslâmda Edeb*, İstanbul 1963); “Muslim, You Should Know Your Prophet” (*Müslüman Peygamberini Tanımalısın*, İstanbul 1963) (Büyükkörükçü,

2016). Besides the books, and more than a hundred episode sermons, the everliving “heritage from Tahir Hodja” is a neighbourhood, it is Erenköy (Öge 2011).



Figure 2. 3. Funeral of Tahir Büyükkörükçü in Konya (Merhaba Haber 2011)

As a public figure and Muslim pioneer, Tahir Büyükkörükçü was a renowned member of a Sufi group *Naqshibandiyya*, and strong follower of Mahmut Sami Ramazanoğlu (1892-1984) who was *Naqshbandi-Khalidi* sheikh succeeding the previous sheikh *Esad Erbili*. (1847-1930)



Figure 2. 4. From Left to Right: Esad Erbili, Mahmud Sami Ramazanoğlu, Tahir Büyükkörükçü (DİA)

Originally coming from Adana-Turkey, Ramazanoğlu settled in Istanbul’s historical neighbourhood of Erenköy for a short time in his life (Tosun 2007). The namesake is not a basic coincidence, it is a hint showing the spiritual and social proximity of two neighbourhoods. The history of Istanbul’s Erenköy dates centuries back (Hür 1994, 178). But its connection to Konya’s Erenköy dates much later to 1951, the year when Mahmut Sami Ramazanoğlu settled to Istanbul’s Erenköy as a preacher in Erenköy Zihnipaşa Mosque (Gök 2016, 540). His settlement of Erenköy led his followers to be commemorated as the *Erenköy Circle* (Midilli 2018, 35). Among these visitors were Tahir Büyükkörükçü and some residents of Konya Erenköy.

There are some opinions on the naming of the new neighbourhood in Konya. According to the first opinion, the name of Erenköy was given by *Celal Çelikkol*, one of the friends of Tahir Büyükkörükçü who offered to name new space by referencing Istanbul's Erenköy, the place of the sheikh *Mahmut Sami Ramazanoğlu*. According to the second opinion, Mahmut Sami Ramazanoğlu himself named in return for Tahir Büyükkörükçü's request. He forwarded a letter to Tahir Büyükkörükçü in which he states "Greetings from Istanbul's Erenköy to Konya's Erenköy." According to the third opinion, it was a random name but it is meaningful and clearly expounds who resides.¹³ The last opinion says that Tahir Hodja was inspired by his visits to Istanbul's Erenköy so that he named the area to show the homage and the love towards his leader Mahmut Sami Ramazanoğlu. One way or another, the spiritual connection between Istanbul's Erenköy to Konya's Erenköy is clear. Ramazanoğlu's visits to Konya's Erenköy demonstrate that this love was reciprocal. I argue that it was love that shapes Erenköy's destiny.

2.3. "LET US BE LOVERS AND LOVED ONES"¹⁴: CONCEPTUALIZING MUHIBBAN

Erenköy's case necessarily leads one to think about one's interaction with its community. It is because "man is by nature a political animal" (Aristotle, 1253a). That is to say, he is not able to live without a social organization. A human, therefore, necessarily obliges to a community, through certain bonds *i.e.* kinship, citizenship or workship. Erenköy as well is a communal formation albeit the bond between its founders is ambivalent; neither fellow-townsmanship, fellowmen-workship nor kinship,¹⁵ and it is more complex than a Sufi brotherhood. In this part of the research, I investigate the relationship between its founders by bringing up the concept of '*aşabîyah*'. Even though there seems no apparent connection between, I denote a much stronger form of solidarity sustained through *love*.

'*Aşabîyah*' is an originally Arabic concept derives from the root of *asab* meaning "to bind" or "to bind the individuals into a group" (Baali 1988, 43). *Isabe*, *isab*, *usbe*, from

¹³ Erenköy is a compound name. Eren is a term in Sufism meaning "the virtuous, devoted and generous people who have attained the friendship of God, who is able to guide people." (Uludağ 1995, 294) Köy means village.

¹⁴ "Sevelim, Sevillelim." A famous verse from the poem of Turkish poet Yunus Emre <http://www.turkishculture.org/philosophers/yunus-emre/selected-poems-ii-431.htm>.

¹⁵ Except one father built four houses for himself and his four sons.

the same root, mean a group of people whose number is between ten to forty and *asabe* means kins from the paternal side (Uludağ [1982] 2007, 94). The concept was interpreted in the meaning of social bond or solidarity between people or groups of people by the 14th-century scholar Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 CE) in his opus *al-Muqaddimah* which was written as prolegomena of *Kitab al-Iber*. In translation, '*aṣabîyah* corresponds to social solidarity, group feeling, groupdom and so on¹⁶ (Baali 1988, 43). It is defined by Baali as "a driving force in the development and growth of human society" and "an index of the strength, stability, and cohesiveness of society" (ibid., 107). It is defined by Adamec (2009a) as "voluntary social solidarity and unconditional loyalty and devotion to one's clan or tribe; tribal "nationalism"; also fanaticism". Its role is elucidated in *Lisan al-Arab* as the desire of a person to help his group for acting together against a hostile group (Muhammad Ibn Mukarram Ibn Manzūr 1997, 202).

Ibn Khaldun highlights the importance of kinship for sustaining '*aṣabîyah*, however, he implicates that "something else corresponding to the blood relationship" may keep people united (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 2:8). The first form, '*aṣabîyah* of lineage, is very much seen in uncivilized communities, while its diverse versions prevail in civilized societies by keeping people together in the cities free from kinship (ibid., 4:21). He emphasizes the *hulf* (friendship, solidarity, cooperation) and *rikk* (manumissio) as a form of '*aṣabîyah* proximately corresponding concept to '*aṣabîyah* of lineage (Uludağ [1982] 2007, 100).

It is clear that it is in the nature of human beings to enter into close contact and to associate (with each other), even though they may not have a common descent [...] Many inhabitants of cities come into close contact through intermarriage. This draws them together and, eventually, they constitute individual related groups. The same friendship or hostility that is found among tribes and families, is found among them, and they split into parties and groups (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 4:21).

Al-Fārūqī relates the '*aṣabîyah* and the notion of *ummah* (Muslim nation) by saying that '*aṣabîyah* "requires more than the consensus of vision. It expresses itself in a decision to identify with the movement, to throw one's lot, as it were, into the ship of *ummah*, and then to respond with, i.e., to say and do a positive "yes" to call and all that

¹⁶ Rosenthal, group feeling; De Slanc, esprit de corps; Vincent, esprit de clan; Von Kremer, gemeinsinn and nationali tatsidee, H. Ritter, feeling of solidarity; M. Halpern, group solidarity; E. Gellner social cohesion and martial spirit; Erwing Rosenthal, solidarity and striking power; M. Mehdi, social solidarity (Uludağ [1982] 2007, 95).

the call requires” ([1982] 2000,145). He sees *ummah* as a formation and a reflection of the Islamic ‘*aşabîyah* which unravels itself in circumambulation of the kaaba by saying ‘Labbayk allahumme labbayk’¹⁷. Islamic asabiyah is that by definition “a commitment to, an engagement in, the destiny of the *ummah* in clear light of *al tawhid*, in full light of *al tawhid*’s complete range of meanings” (ibid, 146). According to Uludağ, congregations and Sufi groups as well, can be evaluated in the second form of ‘*aşabîyah* constructed by the proximate worldview and lifestyle. He states that the “spirit of unity, solidarity and sacrifice in Sufi sects such as *Naqshibandiyya*, *Mawlawiyya*, *Bektashiyya*, *Alevism*, *Ahi-community* and *Futuwwah* can be explained with the existence of ‘*aşabîyah*. But this ‘*aşabîyah* is not ‘*aşabîyah* of lineage, but ‘*aşabîyah* of reason” (Uludağ [1982] 2007, 99; translated by the author).

Erenköy’s communal formation is embedded in the experience of the rise of civility. Erenköy’s social formation necessarily has traces of a Sufi brotherhood. So that it shows the features of a civil and kin-independent social organization. Armando Salvatore emphasizes the role of Sufi brotherhoods (*turuq*) in terms of the rise of Islamic civility. He even sees it as “institutional generator of the social nexus” of Islamic ecumene (2016, 81). According to him, brotherhoods created an authentic model of civility due to their features of being consensual, weakly institutionalized, open to interaction (ibid, 99). He sees the brotherhood as “a key intermediate mold facilitating the passage from the primordial (kin-based) to the civil (kin-independent) level of social organization” (ibid. 89).

Likewise, Erenköy’s civil organization shows the reflexes of the brotherhoods through its consensual, weakly institutionalized structure and its openness to the interaction. It substitutes kinship in some cases. Mehmet Emin Karataş, a seasonal resident, for instance, says that his father moved to Erenköy despite the discontent of his relatives and family members. Nevertheless, I urge that Erenköy’s social formation is more complex than just being a Sufi brotherhood. Calling it a congregation, circle or brotherhood, would not be even appropriate, since some people among them, hold no connection but of love towards Tahir Hodja. Affect and love, as I argue, are prime elements empowering ‘*aşabîyah* in Erenköy,

¹⁷ At your call, O Lord. Here we come! At your call !

Love visibly connects people in Erenköy. Abdullah Pekyatırmacı features its role when I ask the common bond between first settlers: “They all loved each other for the sake of Allah.” I ask “What means to love someone for God?” He replies “to love and help without anticipating any benefit from each other.” Do we ever have time to stop and reflect on love? How do we love a place or a person?

Sufis see love as a prime element, reason, connection, and achievement. For them, love is prime, effective and powerful. As it is stated in Rumi’s *Mathnawi*, it “makes the ocean boil like a pot” or “grinds mountains down to sand” (Jalalu’ddin Rumi 1933, V:2735). Love is the reason, in Sufism that “God’s mercy and love give rise to the world.” But mercy differs from love since “mercy flows in one direction, from God to the world, but love moves in both directions.” So that “people can love God, but they cannot have mercy upon Him, only upon other creatures.” Love is reciprocal and it “makes itself known in sincerity of devotion to the One God” (Chittick 2000, 13-4). Tahir Büyükkörükçü once says that “man may love many things in the world. In the first place, a man may love his child, family, parents, wealth, job, and garden. These kinds of love belong to the material and temporary realm.” He adds “there is also another sort of love belonging to the spiritual realm, which will pass on to eternal life alongside. Love of God comes first” (Büyükkörükçü 2019, 13; translated by the author). Ney performer and a resident of Erenköy Yusuf Dönmez says “I used to love Tahir Hodja, he was always speaking on love.”

In Islamic thought, love, as a faculty or force of the human spirit is defined as the counterpart of hostility and violence in the dictionary (Coşkun 2010, 189). Love reminds, leads, explains, empowers and also, connects. It may connect God to the believer as it is stated in Quran: “He loves them, and they love Him” (Quran 5:54). Love may connect person to person, as it is stated in 13th-century Turkish Sufi and poet Yunus Emre: “Come, let us all be friends for once/ Let us make life easy on us/ Let us be lovers and loved ones/ The earth shall be left to no one”(Yunus Emre)¹⁸ and stated in the hadith “everyone will be with those whom he loves (al-Bukhari 846a). Kindi, likewise, states that love is “the reason for the unification of beings” and “the desire of souls (Coşkun 2009, 192). Farabi states that “the thing that connects social

¹⁸ *Gelin tanış olalım, işi kolay kılalım, Sevelim sevilelim, Dünya kimseye kalmaz* See: Yunus Emre Selected Poems II. n.d. “Turkish Cultural Foundation.” [www.turkishculture.org](http://www.turkishculture.org/philosophers/yunus-emre/selected-poems-ii-431.htm). Accessed April 8, 2021. <http://www.turkishculture.org/philosophers/yunus-emre/selected-poems-ii-431.htm>.

segments is love, the protector of social integrity is justice” (ibid). El-Amiri articulates that love is a social necessity since it makes friendship and solidarity possible. Ibn Miskeveyh states that if social relations base on love, there would be no conflict between individuals due to their ultimate love aiming at reaching God. Tusi sees love as the thing that makes possible the solidarity necessary for human perfection and coexistence (ibid). Tahir Büyükkörükçü implicates the same point by referencing a verse from Quran: “O humanity! Indeed, We created you from a male and a female, and made you into peoples and tribes so that you may get to know one another [...]” (Quran 49:13). He interprets the verse by saying that humanity was made into the people and tribes in order to be lovers and loved ones and to establish the unity of Islam (Büyükkörükçü 2019, 294). I argue that love and affect shape the destiny of Erenköy “circulate between bodies” and “they stick as well as move” in space (Ahmed [2004] 2014, 4).

Şahnur Yağdıran is over her 60 ages, came to Erenköy due to her husband’s love of Tahir Hodja. She says that “he (Şahnur’s husband) adored him very much while listening to his sermons. He said that I will be at the place where my hodja is. [...] He came and built a house 55 years ago.” The affect towards Tahir Büyükkörükçü appears once in the story of Mehmet Kıymet. He says that “the reason we built our own houses was my father's love of Tahir Hodja, who was the Konya Mufti at that time. We used to follow his sermons in Kapu Mosque. They decided to build a house outside the city. We sold the house in the city and came here.” Hayriye and Hüseyin Turgut moved in 1980, the reason for coming to Erenköy is the same: “We came here on the occasion of Tahir Hodja. We came with his love, his preaching, his speeches, and settled next to him.” Tevfik Küçükşenel says: “In my high school times, I used to go to Tahir Hodja's sermons. I used to love him very much. I used to invoke there: ‘Oh my Lord give half of my life to him.’” He says that his prayer was accepted, this is how he moved to Erenköy.

Lovers of Tahir hodja were not confined to the people of Konya. Some people from Denizli, Isparta, Muğla and İzmir came to live in Erenköy, for a certain amount of time. Some stayed for years. Mustafa Aktaş was—known as *Denizlili Mustafa Abi*—one of them moving to Erenköy from his hometown. His biggest desire was to be buried next to Tahir Hodja. It was accepted. He was buried in the same field today in *Üçler Cemetery*. Mehmet Dolular who works as an architect in the city, says that he

and his friends were always going to the Erenköy for *sohbet* events. He says that “there (Tahir) *hodja* would preach between iftar and Taraweeh, we would rush to catch up with him. Those around him were always his friends.” All those statements verify Abdullah Pekyatırmacı’s word: “The purpose of Erenköy was to be together with friends. Erenköy has been established as a result of the desire of people who love each other for the sake of God and live according to Islam.”

Similarly, I highlight “love” as a preponderant emotion sticking and moving in space also a key concept for empowering ‘*aşabîyah*. Therefore, I call the first settlers and founders *Muhibban*, the lovers. It refers to the people who love each other, who sympathize with Tahir Hoca as a leader, and who love God as a creator and sustainer of the world. What I refer to as *muhibban* is the conceptualized and embodied form of ‘*aşabîyah* in Erenköy.



Figure 2. 5. Tahir Hodja and *Muhibban*, 1986 Konya Airport (Pekyatırmacı Archive)¹⁹

¹⁹ From left to right: Hanifi Karataş (sitting), Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı (standing), Hilmi Atçeken, Tevfik Küçükşenel, Harun Varış, Saadettin Şenyıl, Tahir Büyükörükçü, Mukadder Meram, Fevzi Kaymakzade [(Sitting person in front-left: unidentified, front-right: Rahmi Atçeken)] Ömer Alaybeyi, Muharrem Gülbahçe (back), Celaleddin Kaymakzade (front), unidentified(back), unidentified(back), Sabri Alptekin (front), unidentified(back), İsmail Hakkı Atçeken (looking down), Mustafa Aktaş (looking down).

Table 2. 1. Founders of Erenköy

Numbers	Householders	Numbers	Householder
Kuba St. 1	Remzi Bediz	Mina St. 1	Asım Sözbir
Kuba St. 2	İbrahim Baş	Mina St. 2	Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı
Kuba St. 3	Tahir Büyükkörükçü	Mina St. 3	İsmail Şafak
Kuba St. 4	Feyzi Kaymakzade	Mina St. 4	Hasan Pekyatırmacı
Kuba St. 5	Muharrem Gülbahçe	Mina St. 5	Mustafa Meramlı
Kuba St. 6	Mustafa Kıymet	Mina St. 6	Necati Pekyatırmacı
Kuba St. 7	Hanefi Karataş	Mina St. 8	Mustafa Pekyatırmacı
Kuba St. 8	Mehmet Kolat	Mina St. 10	Süleyman Çelik

Tahir Hodja empowered ‘*aşabîyah* through a critical role, *riyasah* (the leadership). Ibn Khaldun highlights the necessity of leadership in ‘*aşabîyah* by saying that “people in any social organization must have someone who exercises a restraining influence and rules them and to whom recourse may be had” (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 3:50). Baali specifies its role: “Mutual respect between, and reciprocal adjustment of, leaders and followers constitute an important aspect of ‘*aşabîyah*” (Baali 1988, 55). The rule of leader over people is “sometimes based upon a divinely revealed religious law” and people “are obliged to submit to it in view of their belief in reward and punishment in the other world” (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 3:50). However, sometimes leadership may be based upon “rational politics.” In this case “people are obliged to submit to it in view of the reward they expect from the ruler after he has become acquainted with what is good for them” (ibid., 3:50). I argue that the charismatic leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükçü can be evaluated through the rational context but the rational itself is related to the religion.

(People) in any social organization must have someone who exercises a restraining influence and rules them and to whom recourse may be had. His rule over them is sometimes based upon a divinely revealed religious law.

They are obliged to submit to it in view of their belief in reward and punishment in the other world, (things that were indicated) by the person who brought them (their religious law). Sometimes, (his rule is based) upon rational politics. People are obliged to submit to it in view of the reward they expect from the ruler after he has become acquainted with what is good for them (ibid,3:50).

I argue that *‘aşabîyah* creates a collective consciousness and directs people to act together. As a matter of fact, Kayapınar (2006, 97) emphasizes a similar point and says: “First of all, *‘aşabîyah* is a political feature. If it is present, it prompts the group members to take collective political action” (translated by the author). Therefore, *‘aşabîyah* also affects and reflects the production of space. Space, in Khaldunian thought, I argue, can be understood as a social and material reality produced by communities depending on their complexity, wealth and lifestyle. In parallel, more complex societies tend to produce more complex spaces (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 4:1). Hence, production of space is very much related to the way of *‘aşabîyah*, either sustained through lineage as in *badâwah* (uncivilized communities) or sustained through the corresponding concept as in *ḥadârah* (civilized communities).²⁰ Towns according to Ibn Khaldun “are dwelling places that nations use when they have reached the desired goal of luxury and of the things that go with it. Then, they prefer tranquillity and quiet and turn to using houses to dwell in. The purpose of (building towns) is to have places for dwelling and shelter” (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 4:5).

‘Aşabîyah demonstrates the strength and resistance of the society as it was stated by Baali. “The stronger the *‘aşabîyah*, the more likely that society is to persist” (Baali 1988, 33). The power of *‘aşabîyah* however, may change, increase or decrease according to the society, generations and social characteristics. *‘Aşabîyah*, according to Ibn Khaldun decreases by the correlation of the urbanism and it is changed and reshaped alongside the moral, spatial and urban features. According to him, in the urban “immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery, for the purposes of making a living in a proper or an improper manner, increase” (Ibn Khaldūn 2015, 4:18). However, Baali criticizes Khaldunian looking at the urban by saying that “asabiya is not confined to tribal life of nomadic people. It is normally weak, but not absent, in the urban setting. It may take the form of coordination between people and their

²⁰ The separation of *badawah* and *hadarah* can be exemplified through several insights in social theory. Tönnies's *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; Redfield's folk-urban; Sorokin's familistic and contractual; Durkheim's mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity; Maine's status and contract. See: (Baali 1988, 108)

activities and institutions in the city [...]” (Baali 1988, 90). Ibn Khaldun is not always right in denigrating the city, says Baali and adds “The well-known and the most venerated mosques were, and still are, located in major cities: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem” (ibid). And he asks: “Why would such large and significant mosques be built in urban areas?” (ibid). How *‘aşabîyah*, Islam and space co-exist in cities then? City and Islam, is it really a contradiction?

2.4. CITY AND ISLAM, IS IT A CONTRADICTION?

How does urban space and religion interact with each other? What makes somewhere religious, or Islamic? How Islam reflects itself into the urban space? I am aware that the first opinion about religion, in general, is not urban. As if religion promises afterworldly life and therefore has no place in the cities. However, in this part of the thesis, I argue that is not the case for the religion of Islam, even in Sufism and in Erenköy. I think that urbanization, urban life and built environment in fact, do not contrast to Islam, but intertwine.

By doing so, I accepted Erenköy as an urban land by encoding everyday life, the founder’s background and the way of setting. I am aware that Erenköy has a village-like outlook insofar as it is quiet, away from crowdedness. However, despite its village-like outlook, I urge that Erenköy can not be seen as rural land. It was designed as an urban piece of land. Its founders were all, urbanites. They were living and working in the city even before constructing Erenköy. Typologies of houses have very few rural traces in design. Erenköy houses generally do not possess rural activities except a few gardening or poultry and husbandry activities. Even though I have encountered one house dealing with animal husbandry, I do realize that the householder’s main income is not dependent on agricultural activities. The occupational pattern of Erenköy generally consists of small retailers, sellers, business owners and handicraftsmen.

Far from being an opposing action, the production of space is rather an associated practice to Islam (Gruenbaum 1958, 110; Cansever 2016, 97). It is a prophetic tradition by taking its first premises from *hijra*, the time when the Prophet and his Companions emigrated from Mecca and created the first Islamic environment thereby transforming Yasrib into Madina. For Sufis as well, counterintuitively, the built environment is considered as a place where they have alternated. Ross states that “far

from turning their backs on city life, Sufis have set out to tame it” (Ross 2006, 1). The great Sufi leaders and their connection to certain urban lands demonstrate that they played a crucial role either in the foundation or institutionalization period of those cities.

The great figures who founded or institutionalized Sufism as a social phenomenon were most often urbanites who focused their activities in cities: Hasan al-Basrî (d. 728) and Râbi‘ah al-‘Adawiyyah (d. 801), both from Basra; Husayn b. Mansûr al-Hallâj (d. 922) and ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî (d. 1166) in Baghdad; Abû Bakr Muhammad Muhyî al-Dîn ibn ‘Arabî (d. 1240) in Seville, Ceuta, and then Damascus; Abû-l-Hasan al-Shâdhilî (d. 1258) in Tunis and Cairo; Abû al-‘Abbâs Ahmad al-Tijânî (d. 1815) in Fez, and so forth (Ross 2006, 1).

Based upon the example of Erenköy, I argue that religion, belief and faith play a critical role in one’s interaction with its urban environment. Its role is as critical as social class, culture and geography. Lily Kong shares a similar opinion by saying that “religion deserves to be acknowledged fully and in like manner alongside race, class and gender in geographical analysis” (Kong 2001, 212). She adds that “especially so in urban contexts where the sacred and secular and, indeed, varieties of the sacred, frequently exist cheek by jowl” (ibid). This relationship between Islam, urbanism, space and place is examined for several years which may go back even over millennia, including manuscripts, diplomatic reports and travel writings.²¹ For the last two centuries, however, the acquis of lived experiences and personal or group testimonies has been augmented in the academic milieu especially in the context of urban anthropology and ethnography more than ever.

The first motives coincide with the oriental inquires at the end of the 19th century to mids of the 20th century through the contributions of orientalist travellers and researchers (Abu Lughod 1987, 155; Raymond 2010, 449). The approaches and findings however differ from one another. While some researchers describe ‘Islamic’ cities as chaotic or irrational (Hurghronje [1888], 1970; Weber [1921], 1958) some others emphasize Islam’s role of improvement in urban life (Marçais 1928; Marçais 1940; Gruenbaum 1958). Some authors strive to theorize an archetypical ‘Islamic’ settlement by the Friday mosque, adjacent market and public path by focusing their role in everyday life some others focused more on the underlying juridical reasons of spatial organizations (Marçais 1928; 1940; Sauvaget 1934; Brunschvig 1947; Le

²¹ Belazurî’s *Fütûhu ’l-Büldân*; Yakubî’s *Kitâbü’l-Büldân*; Taberî’s *Târîhu ’l-Ümem Ve ’l-Mülûk*; Ibn ‘Asakir of Damascus; al-Maqrizi’s *Suluk li-Ma’rifat Duwal al-Muluk* can be counted among them.

Tourneau 1949). Some authors, on the other hand, avoid schematizations of urban spaces, by emphasizing that Islam do not provide an archetype ²² (Gruenbaum 1958, Eickelman 1974; Abu Lughod 1987; Akbar 1988; Raymond 1994). Turgut Cansever a Turkish architect, draws attention to the developing role of Islam. He denies the schematizations but he illustrates two important features of ‘Islamic cities’: First is the deficiency of dominant will (*hakim irade*) and the second is the existence of a spontaneous beauty (Cansever 2016, 113). They are all, one way or another showing the strife of encoding the link between Islam and urban space, either through archetypes, comparisons, schematizations, or critics. İsmā’il Rājī Al-Fārūqī, in this context, provides a different perspective which can be summarized as ‘what makes space Islamic is to live Islam therein’. He says that “the individual Muslim may live anywhere on earth, and may give loyalty to the laws of the land as long as they do not contradict the *shar’iah* in the areas which affect his own life.” And he adds that “when the laws of the residential territory affect his life in a manner adverse to Islam, he has the option of emigrating to an Islamic territory or to bear the adverse effect on his own life in hope of achieving ulterior objectives, whether Islamic or otherwise” (Al-Fārūqī [1982] 2000, 142).

By benefitting from this literature, especially al-Faruqi’s and Cansever’s contribution, I find Erenköy neighbourhood a very up-to-date example to observe first, the developing role of Islam on urban life, second its reflection to the urban through *responsibility* and *voluntariness*, and third its existence as a result of emigration for ulterior objectives. Urban space, housing, beauty and Islam do not contradict, they harmonize in Erenköy. A beautiful house in the mind of its residents, do not contradict the religion, on the contrary, it allows its residents to live their religion and it becomes an occasion of being thankful to God as an outcome of responsibility; an act of beautification and emigration to ulterior objectives.

Tahir Büyükkörükçü (2019, 171) once in his preachings shares a hadith from the Prophet: “When our Prophet talks about the fortune in this world, he says that a

²² In *The Muslim Town* (1958) Gruenbaum still emphasizes the role of mosques and marketplace but avoids schematizations by saying “the Islamic town did not represent a uniform type of civilized life as had the Greek or Roman town [...] neither Mecca nor Baghdad could be assigned the place of an archetype in a comparable sense.” (Gruenbaum 1955, 113) Abu-Lughod criticizes them by saying that “the fact is that most studies still focus on a single case and try to generalize, rather than start with the more fundamental question: Why would one expect Islamic cities to be similar and in what ways?” (Abu Lughod 1987, 160)

righteous wife, a useful house and a good neighbour are the signs for the fortune” (translated by the author). Ahmed Koçak a resident of Erenköy, remembers the same hadith by saying “a person is peaceful if he has, a large house, a righteous wife, a good neighbour, a good friend, and a good ride.” Apparently, the production of space and place-making in Erenköy harmonise Islam.

2.5. A UTOPIA?

In pursuit of a ulterior life, it was encountered in the course of history that either people migrated or they generated alternative living environments. If these are not possible they created utopias. Utopias emerged as the most common outcomes of them, as imaginary places or no-places. Nonetheless, since utopias usually represent the ideal that is aimed to be achieved, they also carry fragments from social realities. The works in literature such as Campanella's (2001) *City of the Sun*, Bacon's (2000) *New Atlantis*, Moore's (2000) *Utopia* show how the social issues shape the ideal to be achieved. As Bauman (1999) notes in *Urban Space Wars: On Destructive Order and Creative Chaos*, some of those utopias also described urban life and the ideal physical environment. He illustrates the issue by following Baczkowski's (1989) Sevarambes, Le Corbusier's La Ville Radieuse, Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia, and several other projects.

Indeed, it has been seen that utopia has come to life from time to time. Wakemann (2016) illustrates many of these practiced utopias and embodied ideals in his book *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*. Based on the New Town Movement she shows how motivated states, people, and social organizations to follow their imaginations for practicing their utopias.

Religions generally strengthened the concept of the ideal society and paved the way for utopias. Islamic utopianism, as it was called by Bahrawi, arose as the most consequence of this vision. Bahrawi (2017, 86) classifies Islamic Utopianism in three strands: Mystical, Eschatological, and Reformist: According to him "the mystical strand is based on the promise of individual perfectibility, the eschatological strand is fuelled by millennialism and the reformist strand embraces social progress". He sees that the first and mystical part supported by Ibn al-Arabi and his mystical reflection of the perfect man, Al-Insān al-Kāmil. The second, eschatological strand follows millennialism and the belief in the Messiah. The last version, reformist utopianism is

predicated on social progress. Fârâbî's *The Virtuous City* (Al-Madinah al-Fadilah) was too a part of the third stand.

Fârâbî's utopia is detailed in his seminal work *The Virtuous City* in which he inscribes virtue, ethics, and happiness to space. The virtuous city is "the city in which people cooperate to attain happiness" (2018, 186; translated by the author). According to Fârâbî, naturally human is a social being and he can not reach happiness alone but within a virtuous society and in a virtuous city. The virtuous city gives man three things: basic needs, happiness in this world, and happiness in the afterlife; God itself is both the cause and the source of happiness. The virtuous city (2018, 208) has four antecedents: Perverted, Mistaken City, The Changing City, and the Ignorant City. An Ignorant city is a city whose inhabitants do not know true happiness; and the rest of them hold the corrupted ideas and actions.

In terms of my fieldwork, according to the statements asserting that Erenköy was established by the imagination of "the better" for both the life here and the hereinafter, I affirm that Erenköy can similarly be called a practised utopia. Following Bahrawi's concept, also Erenköy can be seen as a reformist utopia predicated on social progress. Following fieldwork, it would be possible to say that Erenköy was inspired by a model. Tahir Hodja's son of Abdurrahman Büyükkörükçü, confirms that inspiration was based on the religion itself through Quranic verses and Prophetic traditions.

2.6. WHO HEATS THE MOSQUE, WHO FEEDS THE CATS? RESPONSIBILITY AND VOLUNTARINESS IN ERENKÖY

Kamil Dede is a well-known figure for Erenköy residents. Coming to Sille-Tatköy village, he settles in Erenköy in 1980. Just a few years later, with the construction of the second mosque of Erenköy, he quits his work and 'devouts' himself to the mosque, starts to go to the mosque every day before the morning prayer. He presses the doorbells on his way and makes people wake up for the upcoming prayer. Then he goes to the mosque in haste, heats and prepares the space for the prayer. This is the usual day of *Kamil Dede* if he sleeps in his house, albeit he mostly does not sleep there. He rather stays in the mosque and sleeps on his mattress on the basement floor. He does not accept money or food given by the community and generally provides for himself.

Kamil Dede passed away, several years ago. However, the congregation still remembers him as missing. Nowadays, his house was destroyed and a three-storey apartment was built where his son, son's wife and grandchildren currently live. I talk to them to understand *Kamil Dede* by asking myself 'what makes someone do those things'. I would not discover the reason, up until realizing street cats in a dark evening during my future visits.

It was a night when I intended to see the night-time of Erenköy by taking a walk in the streets with my father. We set out and walked a bit. I was still feeling tranquil except a few cars pulled over on Kuba Street, listening to loud music, and a few others were driving around. We continued walking a little further and saw a familiar face. Although we had not carried out an interview yet, we knew each other. It was Abdullah Pekyatırmacı feeding a herd of cats whose numbers were exceeding twenty. However, I was not expecting to see him on the pavement in the darkness at this time.

We greeted each other and I conveyed our condolences for the recent loss of his father. He thanked us, by showing the cats then he said that he strives to keep his father's memory alive. His father, Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı, used to feed cats there at the same place, every evening. His son, just after his passing, took the responsibility of feeding those cats. As a matter of fact, his father as well had taken this task from Tahir Hodja after his passing ten years ago, when the cats of Hodja became strays. The cats of Tahir Hodja whose numbers are four to five multiplied in time by reaching nearly twenties. There I ask, what motivates the self to go out of his/her comfort zone, what motivates a person to feed the cats in the darkness, what motivates someone to heat the mosque? I argue that it is the *responsibility* and its harmonized form of love the *voluntariness*.

Amos Rapoport associates the human production of spaces with its relationship with nature. He says that "the attitude toward nature and site would be an important aspect of the creation of house form, or its modification by the site, and that the relation of man to landscape" (1969, 75). He examines that relationship under two approaches as "I-Thou and I-It relation, which historically takes three forms" (ibid., 75).

Table 2. 2. Types of Human and Nature Interaction (Rapoport 1969, 75)²³

I and Thou	Religious and cosmological	<i>The environment is regarded as dominant and man is less than nature.</i>
	Symbiotic	<i>Here man and nature are in a state of balance, and man regards himself as responsible to God for nature and the earth and as a steward and custodian of nature.</i>
I and It	Exploitative	<i>Man is the completer and modifier of nature, then creator, and finally destroyer of the environment.</i>

He separates *I and Thou* and *I and It* approaches by saying that “the first two forms nature and the landscape are *Thou*, the relation is personal, and nature is to be worked with, while in the third nature is an *It* to be worked on, exploited, and used” (ibid). Through the help of Rapoport’s conceptualization, I argue that the production of space in Erenköy is supported by the *I and Thou* approach which proposes to see nature either more than the human or its equivalent. In parallel, I even assert that it is more affected by the *symbiotic* relationship where “man and nature are in a state of balance and man regards himself as responsible to God for nature and the earth” (ibid).

İsmail Raji al-Faruqi sees responsibility as one of the natural outcomes of *tawhid* in Islam alongside “no particularism” and its role of making “everything is relevant.” Responsibility, for his understanding, works against the degeneration (Al-Fārūqī [1982] 2000, 100). He expresses that “every man, Islam tells us is *mukallaf* (charged) with the realization of the divine will. This *taklif* is based on his natural endowment which constitutes his *sensus communis* which he shares with humanity [...] he recognizes his Creator and perceives His will as the ought-to-be of his life” (ibid., 100-1). Faruqi says that responsibility stems from the human’s capacity of free will. He says that God fashioned people “with the freedom to realize or violate the divine will and thus enabling him to responsible for his deeds.” (ibid, 101). This responsibility according to Faruqi “is of the essence of morality” (ibid).

Muhammed Iqbal associates responsibility, consciousness and goodness. By relating it to The Fall, he states that “it is man’s transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness [...] Man’s first act of disobedience was also his first

²³ Reschematized through the Rapoport’s own statements. See (Rapoport 1969, 75)

act of free choice (Iqbal [1930] 2009, 85). Besides he adds that “a being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus a condition of goodness” (ibid, 86).

Cansever similarly states that a human being is the only responsible creature in the world, but its responsibility is to beautify the world through his actions. He reminds the story of Adam and Eve to demonstrate the role of responsibility for one’s interaction with its environment. “Falling from heaven” as he says “human beings are turned into the caliph of God in the world, being only living creatures who ‘notice’ the environment, who takes responsibility for the environment, and who has the opportunity to reshape and protect the environment” (Cansever 2010, 97; translated by the author). Yorgancıoğlu states that “the act of beautification is also a contribution to the formation of collective social space in the world. For Cansever all these are among the responsibilities of the architect” (Yorgancıoğlu 2012, 9). Yaslıçimen (2018) summarizes the approach of Cansever by saying:

The feeling of responsibility is what turns human creatures into human beings. It is the realization of being the pearl of creation that lays the burden of thoughtfulness on various strata of existence and of the duty of beautifying the world. The higher the level of consciousness, the greater the realization of responsibility.

Architecture, according to Cansever, is the discipline that arranges the relationship between the human and the Being materially, organic, spiritually, and mentally for all existential fields and layers (Cansever 2016, 93). Responsibility, in parallel, is embodied in the principles of Cansever’s pilot town. He suggests a pilot town where he underlines the responsibility of its residents in terms of the participation of the formation of their houses with its environment, then the management of the neighbourhood and the production of social facilities such as mosques and schools. In order to create awareness for neighbourliness and environment, for him, a site plan should be developed based on the 10-50 (horizontal) house ownership providing the elasticity of individual setting to the parcels. He gives residents responsibility for maintaining the public spaces such as cleaning of the streets, collection of garbage, guard, mukhtar services, repair, operation costs and infrastructures. In addition, he suggests that the people should solve their own problems themselves and an architect should be appointed as the neighbourhood’s advisor for architectural problems. Lastly; he says that to make the social equipment facilities of the houses to inherit to future

generations economic, beautiful and healthy, the opinions of the locals should be taken and their participation should be ensured (Cansever 1995, 15-16).

Cansever in those principals draws attention to the responsibility of people in the production of space. He partially employs those principles in his Aga-Khan awarded project of Demir Holiday Village.²⁴ By including those principles partially, Erenköy as well can be compatible with Cansever's imagination. Erenköy's production, construction and maintenance is sustained through the high participation of its founders. Erenköy is a public and community action, rather than being an imposed project.

2.7. IMAGINING ERENKÖY

Before being built, Erenköy was imagined. Its imagined form, as an idea, was proposed, discussed and decided in 1969 in a regular religious meeting (*sohbet*) organized once a week with the participation of several people. It was one of the gatherings which were being held on certain days of the week, in certain houses, with the intense participation of people. Faith, one way or another, affected the process. There were many other emotions that accompanied belief, but to sum up the process in two words, it is again *responsibility and voluntariness*.

To grasp the space and responsibility relationship, I follow the pre and early days of Erenköy. I argue that this relationship opens up itself at the very outset just as a resident states that "Tahir Hodja, my uncle-in-law, founded this place so that we may live according to Islam." Mustafa Koruyucu says;

Tahir Hodja was a man who in those days explains Islam as a lifestyle, a worldview. He constantly was saying how Islam can be lived [...] What is the biggest Islamic narrative? It is an exemplary life, the sample, living by showing in one place. With many motives, Hodja sets principles with people whom he regards as faithful, who intends to live in a Muslim way [...] (Hodja said) Let's create a place that aims to live in such a Muslim way, that represents our world view, albeit a small one, create the memory of this place accordingly.

These testimonies show that Erenköy has a complex relationship with Islam. It even may be seen as a responsibility of living Islam, making people live Islam and representing Islam, as a voluntary act. Remzi Bediz, who was participating in the

²⁴ See: Demir Holiday Village Drawings. 1992. "Courtesy of Architect (Submitted to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture)."

sohbet events even before Erenköy's establishment, took the responsibility of leading the process. He says that Tahir Hodja and their group came to a field — 33.000 square meter land of viniculture — in the autumn of 1969, on a rainy Saturday in the place they would later call Erenköy. They bought the land as one unified parcel from its owner *Üzümcü Ahmed Ağa* in return for 100.000 Turkish liras. They allocated land either through the lottery or through the apportionment of Tahir Hodja in return for 15.000 Turkish liras paid by each contributor. They gave respite to the land's former owner to collect his harvest by waiting for the winter to pass to settle. In spring of 1970 when they gradually initiated the building and migration process to Erenköy, they first made water channels to canalize water to other parts of the space, for everyday use, construction activities, cleaning and drinking. They multiplied fountains into one to three; subsequently, they sacrificed an animal on the way of God (*kurban*) to ask for plentifulness.

A democratic process worked in the process of Erenköy's *conceived space*. Even though Tahir Hodja's opinion prevail over others, the discussion mechanism was eagerly utilized. At first, Erenköy's setting and way of dwelling were decided as a result of the democratic process. Bediz says that Erenköy at first was not contemplated in its current physical setting, it was originally designed to build ten floors, forty flat-apartments, then voluntarily was switched through his suggestion of a gardened-house²⁵ due to both comfort and privacy concerns. Second, *muhibban* were agreed in between upon some constructional opinions in the process of establishment, not as a written but as discussed, decided and voluntary commitments (Table 2.3).

Table 2. 3. Erenköy's Founding Commitments

1. One can come to Erenköy who is immediately going to start constructing a house within 1-2 months of buying the land.
2. One can buy only one parcel.
3. Houses should be detached and gardened all.

²⁵ Remzi Bediz tells the process in following way: "We gathered with friends, said, "Let's make 40 flats." There will be 2 elevators, one for women and one for men, also will be our mosque. On the ground floor, there will be the butcher, the grocer etc. 40 flats and 10 floors. This idea prevailed, it was about to be done. At that time, I was talking to Tahir Hodja frequently. While they were talking, I said to him that I don't like the apartment. "Why" he said [...] I said "It will be a house with a garden. Tomorrow you will be retired, you will be dealing with the garden, with roses and properties" My thesis prevailed and (accepted) After that, we looked for a land" (Bediz 2020).

4. Houses should have a single story and be limited to 80 centimetres height from its ground level.
5. One is free to design one's house plan as one will.
6. One should build a house through one's own means, subsidize its expenses ²⁶ through one's own capital.

Based on the knowledge from fieldwork experiences, the commitments can be summarized by six aspects. Erenköy's founding commitments reflect the imagined and proposed lifestyle for its inhabitants. The first commitment, for instance, articulates that only a person can come to Erenköy who is immediately going to start constructing a house within 1-2 months of buying the land. Mehmet Kıymet says that his father was confined by this consent at the beginning and had to delete his name. Here, he was able to come later in place of someone else from Izmir who bought the land but could not move later due to personal reasons.

The second commitment articulates that it is allowed for only one person to buy one parcel of land. Possibly, this commitment reflects an effort of diminishing *land speculation* which is known as waiting to sell the land for a much higher amount of money or using the land not for inhabitation but for profit. Therefore, it can be said that Erenköy was designed to be lived in, out of those concerns. However, the proceeding days of the neighbourhood and its contemporary change until today show that this commitment could not be kept as it was imagined, on the contrary, it was strongly affected by capital circulation.

According to the third commitment, it was decided to make all houses detached. This commitment reflects the imagined form of family alongside the neighbourliness. I find Cansever's remark on detached housing meaningful as he argues that it can be seen as a result of two kinds of power and attitude: The first is fear leading to the need for cooperation and social solidarity, and the second is security, privacy and individuality (Cansever 2010, 20). Similarly, these two attitudes can be visibly observed in Erenköy's landscape.

The fourth commitment articulates that houses should have a single story and be limited to 80 centimetres by its ground level. It was designed in this way for privacy

²⁶ Remzi Bediz says that his construction cost around 135.000 Turkish liras for its time.

concerns. In addition, Cansever considers one-to-three-storey garden houses as a way for humans to communicate nature and collectivity directly. There, for his suggestion, children of various age groups may find enough play grounds and social contact points; elderly may complete their lives without being isolated from society and their families (Cansever 2010, 95). Bachelard points out the symbolic meaning of the houses in *Poetics of Space* by praising horizontal settlements. Criticizing high-rise Paris apartments due to their rootlessness that is, the deficiency of vertical connection — between basement, floor and roof— he considers these buildings as something less than a house ([1958] 1994, 27). He says:

- 1) A house is imagined as a vertical being. It rises upward. It differentiates itself in terms of its verticality. It is one of the appeals to our consciousness of verticality.
- 2) A house is imagined as a concentrated being. It appeals to our consciousness of centrality (ibid, 17).



Figure 2. 6. The House of Tahir *Hodja* in 1971 (Büyükkörükçü Archive)

That is, Erenköy houses allow residents to communicate with nature and the collectivity directly and they present of being vertical beings. The people of Erenköy are aware of the value of living in a house with a garden and they have no intention of selling their houses, even if the houses are obsolete. They repeatedly express what a blessing it is to have a garden.

These commitments were decided when the houses were being built. However, some of the residents insisted to add a terrasse to the loft. A group suggested a terrasse to limit daily use of gardens and to diminish confrontation of neighbours and genders. Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı did not support the idea due to his privacy concerns. Abdullah Pekyatırmacı, his son, shares his father's memory:

One day, Tahir Hodja and some of my father's friends say that let us have a terrace built. When my father hears this, he arrives at Tahir Hodja, saying it would not be appropriate. Hodja says "Hüseyin, we discussed that issue, the terrace will be built." My father is all discouraged. Upon this, my father comes to the place where our houses are being built, sits down towards the city, and cannot say anything to the Tahir Hodja because of his respect. He begins to cry loudly. He prays "Oh my Lord, we were coming here with the intention of living (according to) your religion. When the terrace issue comes out, the intention is over. I will quit the construction, I will not continue." He starts crying on his own. The direction he faces is towards the city center and at the same time the qibla.

(Then, immediately) my father hears a voice. Tahir Hodja starts calling the neighbours' names by shouting. "The terrace issue is over!" My father runs to hodja. When he sees my father, Hodja says: "The terrace will not be built, that is over."

How did Tahir Hodja give up the terrasse? Is there any relationship between Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı's invocation and Tahir Hodja's last decision? Can a mystical meaning be deduced from this or did Tahir Hodja change his mind since he cared about the sensitivities of others? It is impossible to know and those questions are still open for interpretation. One way or another, it shows the seriousness of the intention. The terrace issue was over. Nevertheless, Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı used an upstanding beam slab in the construction to prevent the addition of upper floors in following years by the next generation. Houses of Pekyatırmacı's are today irrevocably one-floor houses. But some were not so sensitive about it. The terrace rule was breached once when a householder from Mina Street wished to add an extra story a few years later despite dispute and protestations. Even though he added a second floor, eventually he had to

enclose its balcony with a higher paravan wall due to the discontent of neighbours. The discontent was due to privacy concerns based on Islamic beliefs. Because Islam introduces a definition of privacy extending to the speech, dressing and behaviour of genders. Therefore, the people of Erenköy who practice Islam were trying to protect their privacy in parallel with their religious beliefs.

According to the fifth commitment, one is free to design one's house plan as one will. This I argue, led to the houses present individuality, rather than typology. Despite the similarities, there was no typology of houses²⁷ in Erenköy. This is also very much related to the sixth commitment articulating that each contributor should build his house through his own means, subsidize its expenses²⁸ through its own capital. Due to this commitment, people designed their houses themselves according to their budgets independently. Some people, for instance, sold their previous houses, some used their savings to afford the construction. The ones who couldn't afford it could not move.

I consider those commitments as a reflection of voluntary and democratic participation for both space and community-building processes. Besides, I think that they reflect a high degree of consciousness of its founders in terms of their shared responsibilities abiding by the commitments. Despite a few disagreements in the process, it should be said that they were resolved in democratic ways by argumentation such as Bediz's idea of gardened housing, Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı's insist on not adding a terrasse loft, the second floor of a house in Mina Street which has to be closed.

Erenköy's political structure was nourished by the concepts: Democracy, participation, and assembly. The concept of assembly as it was detailed in the latest book of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2017) may be fundamental to think on. The authors tackle several questions but most obviously they interrogate how social movements succeed without centralized leadership. By summarizing the protests and uprisings operated all over the world from the 2010s on, they try to redefine democracy and provide an expanded vision on social production, strategies, tactics, and entrepreneurship. Just as entrepreneurs take the responsibility left from the political actors, social movements may reclaim democracy through enterprising. "Neoliberal capitalism forces people to become entrepreneurs as a necessity of survival [...] Instead, social movements could

²⁷ Except four houses built by one father for himself and his three sons are in the same plan.

²⁸ Remzi Bediz says that his construction cost around 135.000 Turkish liras for its time.

pursue entrepreneurship as novel practices of creating popular democracy” (Urban Democracy Lab 2017). For its embodiment, the democratic involvement of the multitude poses importance. Leadership in this process, must not be strategic but tactical, reflexive, and quick (2017, 19).

Focusing on Erenköy, it may be said that assembly operated. It displayed numerous examples of enterprises through house designs, urban responsibilities, and civil duties. Municipal services such as stabilizing roads, bringing electricity, establishing a proper drainage system are needed to be fulfilled by residents themselves. They needed to be led and act together. Bediz says that municipalities ease the process yet they did not provide financial help. Erenköy's founders paid for all municipal services even the roads and electricity poles.

Remzi Bediz: We paid 46 thousand liras for the poles. They (municipality) erected 33 poles.

Melike Sıla Acar: Did the municipality have any (financial) support?

Remzi Bediz: Nothing, we've paid for them all ourselves, the stabilizing machine, or the stabilized sand. [...] I never forget the 46 thousand liras to lay electricity, 6 thousand liras was the transformer, I signed them all to the municipality on behalf of the village. We paid the amount in 10 instalments. We also brought electricity like that. I would turn on the electric lamps. I would come out in the evening and the morning. When we leave the morning prayer, we turn off the lamps and use the street lamps economical.



Figure 2. 7. Kuba Street in the 1970s (Büyükkörükçü Archive)

While walking on a street, we generally do not wonder who built these structures why and how did s/he build them? Who planted these cedar pines, who fed these cats, who cleared this street, who named these streets, who came here and why? However as Lefebvre says that “space is never empty, it always embodies a meaning” (1991, 154). What was the meaning behind all the actions described in the story of Erenköy so far? What must be the common feeling or orientation among all the people, what makes Hüseyin Pekyatırmacı cry, what makes Remzi Bediz turn off the street lamps every morning, what makes them look for land to establish a neighbourhood on a rainy day, what makes them sell their workplaces to move Erenköy? I suggest this was both the responsibility and the *voluntariness*. Erenköy was *conceived* by these predominant feelings.

CHAPTER III

IN FRONT OF THE WALLS: PUBLIC SPACE IN ERENKÖY

Production of space affects society, practices, and the way of the being-in-the world. As Lefebvre states: “Change life! Change society! These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space” (1991, 59). In this chapter, I recontextualize Lefebvrian perceived and lived spaces in terms of Erenköy’s public space. I share insights from my urban ethnography through my lived-in experiences in certain urban formations. First, I strive to figure out Erenköy’s peculiarity by asking its residents “what makes Erenköy different?” Second, I ask “where is the center of Erenköy?” and follow the social construction of space alongside ongoing tactics and strategies. At last, by bringing up the concept of “the right of the city” I ask “who owns Erenköy?” There, I explicate that possession in Erenköy’s public space is highly intermingled to religion.

3.1. WHAT MAKES ERENKÖY DIFFERENT?

I remember the first day in Erenköy. It was just before the call to prayer. There, the scent of pine trees was around us. People and cars were rare on the streets. More than two meters high walls were circulating *Kuba street*. It made us feel different. My mother beside me did not speak at first, by looking up, then she whispered “I have not been before in such a place in Konya.” I was asking myself “What makes us feel different here?” Still not knowing the reason, but I ask its residents: What makes Erenköy different?

“*Gedavet Breeze*”, Ahmet Bey deems it as a distinction, a kind of breeze which is supposed that particular to Erenköy. It is a kind of local cool wind blowing in summer from Meram district towards the center of Konya (Meram Belediyesi 2021). He praises it inasmuch as it brings fresh air, creates a pleasing ambience and does not bother anyone. By the virtue of the breeze, Nevzat Gediz a resident, says that his wife was recovered from her illness of the lungs just after moving to

Erenköy. Gedavet breeze moulds the perception of Erenköy as a “nice-airy space.” Abdülhamit Alparslan working as an imam in Erenköy says “I have always heard that Erenköy has a decent environment and a nice atmosphere. I had not resided in this neighbourhood before, but I chose this mosque because of the beauties of that neighbourhood.” He adds “Is it gedavet breeze? You know, the sweet air that blows through and does not tire or bother you. It is said that the air of Erenköy neighbourhood is very clean thanks to that breeze.” What makes Erenköy different is very obvious for Nesib Parlak:

Erenköy neighbourhood is a grace from God Almighty. It is a quiet, calm, preserved, cultured, civilized neighbourhood with fresh air. The streets smell a flower in the spring. In May, lilies bloom, acacias bloom, then after a few months elaeagnus smell. There are myriad oleander trees here that last for a month, and then linden smell, here we have a linden tree planted by Tahir Hodja. After all, roses smell.



Figure 3. 1. Roses of Erenköy Mosque (Personal Archive)

If we add the smell of cedar pines, it approximately embellishes Erenköy’s atmosphere. Resul Böge emphasizes: “Indeed, there is a distinct smell of pine trees. It has (special) air, let it be material, and spiritual.” Abdullah Pekyatırmacı defines historical Erenköy through the cedar pines by saying that “streets by cedar pine are Erenköy, except those are ‘Erenköy neighbourhood’ not Erenköy.” For Emine Eseroğlu, Erenköy’s difference is because of its cleanness, silence and peace. Tahir Büyükkörükçü’s definition of Erenköy is very meaningful in these circumstances:

“There shall be heard only calls to prayer and sounds of birds” (Büyükkörükçü 2011).



Figure 3. 2. Cedar Pines of Erenköy (Personal Archive)

Some people assume that Tahir Hodja consciously resided in the land. They think that there is wisdom to be on this land. The narration of Küçükşenel verifies the statement. He says that just after deciding the way of dwelling, its founders went to look for an appropriate plot in the peripheries. They visited the first, *Çaybaşı* settlement of Konya. Küçükşenel, a resident of Erenköy, tells the story as he hears from Tahir Büyükkörükçü.

While searching for land in those years, there was a district called *Çaybaşı*. They looked somewhere in *Çaybaşı* and discussed among themselves whether to buy that place or not. After a while, Hacı Ahmet Ağa from Ladik...²⁹ Tahir Hodja had a very good relationship with him. He would go and visit him, consult with him [...] Tahir Hodja went to Hacı Ahmet Ağa to talk about the land by saying that they intended to buy. Tahir Hodja asked what he thinks. He (Hacı Ahmet Ağa) says “let's consult with my master.” He (Hacı Ahmet Ağa) calls Khidr³⁰ as my master. Time passes, one day while they are sitting, Ahmed Ağa says to Tahir Hodja “Khidr said salam to you, he said that the place that they think to buy is not good”

²⁹ Ladikli Hacı Ahmet Ağa: Also known as Ahmet Elma or Ahmet Hüdâî (1888-1969) was born in Ladik town of Konya. According to the common belief, he received the spiritual guidance of Khidr. (See: <https://www.ladikliahmethudai.com>)

³⁰ Khidr: The person who lived in the period of Moses, who was taught divine knowledge and wisdom. It is believed by some that he is still alive (Çelebi 1998).

[...] He said “tell them the story of Imam Yusuf’s pistachio halva” [...] “Tell that, Tahir Hodja knows what it is.”³¹

According to Küçükşenel, the message comes from *Khidr* through *Hacı Ahmed Ağa*, to Tahir Büyükkörükçü explicates how they give up the buying of plot from *Çaybaşı*. According to him, “Khidr says to Tahir Hodja, give up, there will be a better one.” ‘The better one’ comes in the autumn of 1969 on a rainy Saturday, when they come to the field where they later call Erenköy. Many people today, think that the beauty of the weather and the calm peaceful atmosphere of this place is not a coincidence.

3.2. WHERE IS THE CENTER OF ERENKÖY?

Where is the center? Lefebvre states that “every group of places and objects has a centre, and this is, therefore, true of the house, the city or the whole world” (Lefebvre 1991, 154). He associates centrality through mobility and vision by saying that the center “may be perceived from every side and reached from every angle of approach; thus to occupy any vantage point is to perceive and is cover everything occurs” (ibid). Center in ancient city-states is perceived as *agora* later *forum* where enables the civic participation of residents to urban life (Mumford 1961, 148). Although *agora* became a purely marketplace in the economy of the 5th century “its oldest and most persistent function was that of a communal meeting place” (ibid). As always, the market arose out of consumers coming together for other reasons than trading (ibid, 149). In the Hellenic city “the core of the city, the center of its most valued activities, the essence of its total existence, was the acropolis; for the acropolis was above all the home of the city’s gods, and here were all the holy offices derived from nature and history” (ibid, 160). It continues to the cathedral for the Middle-Age’s city (ibid, 306). The orientalist approach emphasizes the role of centers in “Islamic” cities where people gather such as

³¹ Küçükşenel continues to tell about the story. “Imam Yusuf’s the story of pistachio halwa is as follows: While Imam-Azam was educating his students, one of these students was Abu Yusuf. One day, Imam Abu Yusuf’s mother comes to Imam-ı Azam and says “I have just one son, you took him with you, he was the mainstay of my house, he should have work and support me and so on.” She says unpleasant things. Imam-i Azam responds, “One day, your son will eat pistachio halwa at the sultan’s table.” Imam- Azam also takes on Abu Yusuf’s expenses. Years pass, one day, when Imam-i Abu Yusuf was sitting at the table of the sultan, pistachio halwa comes to the table. When he sees it, he smiles and tells about what he has been through.”

mosques, public bathrooms, intellectual and commercial venues (Abu Lughod 1987, 157).

While walking on the streets, I gaze for a center. However, it is difficult to define a center for present-day Erenköy. Notwithstanding, today's Erenköy does not have any hammam or commercial center except a few shops. Besides its small size, the neighbourhood mosque does not appear as marking a physical centrality. Erenköy has no avenues, squares and agoras. Where is the center of Erenköy then?



Figure 3. 3. My Route of Erenköy (Google Earth)

A group of residents defines the center as *Ramazanoğlu Mosque* and its circle insofar as it includes economic facilities and several markets around. Abdülhamit Alparslan says “the reason why it is a center is that there is a mini shopping area: butcher, barber, tailor, mechanic etc. There is a place where one can find many needs for someone who comes from distant streets in Erenköy.” Therefore this understanding of center is obviously related to the exchange of goods, production and consumption practices. On the other hand, the second group of people defines the center as *Kardelen Shopping Center* and its around. *Kardelen Shop* is not a big-size shop, however, the busses and minibuses going towards the city-center go just in front of it. Therefore, the center of Erenköy may be seen associated with the city-

center and mobility practices. In addition, a few people define the center as Erenköy Mosque since it connects people five times a day due to religious practices. The majority of people says that “the center of Erenköy is around Tahir Hodja’s house.” A comment from Furkan Atılğan approves the statement: “We haven't met him at all, but the first thing that is asked about Erenköy is whether you live near Tahir Hodja or not. Whenever Erenköy is mentioned, he is the first person that comes to mind.”



Figure 3. 4. Erenköy’s Landscape and Its Centers (Google Earth)

A random visitor who does not know the story of Erenköy, most probably, would not define Tahir Hodja’s house and surroundings as a center. Because his house, is just like one of the other houses, and nearly undefinable to an outer gaze inasmuch as it does not have any apparent or differentiated feature or sign. However, for old residents, Tahir Hodja’s house corresponds to daily practises, greetings, conversations and affect. Knowing those practices without asking is nearly impossible for a person looking from the outside, *qua talis* defining it as a center. De Certeau (1984) while defining placemaking was highlighting a series of experiences, practises and operations in space. It proves that the understanding of the center is not a social production of space but a construction coded through

practices. One way or another, the center for all are linked to embedded practices and beliefs.



Figure 3. 5. The House of Tahir Büyükkörükçü (Personal Archive)

What makes a center a center? It seems possible to define the center through some physical features, through intersecting routes, or the marketplace. However, I urge that Erenköy's centrality does not correspond to a physical space. It demonstrates that the center has less to do with physical boundaries and very much to do with mental and social construction *i.e.* the daily practises and inscribed importance in the spaces. Hilda Kuper highlights this by saying that "a particular piece of social space, a place socially and ideologically demarcated and separated from other places" (Kuper 1972, 420).

The social construction is to take a more human-centric approach which can also be called place-making (Low 2017, 73). That is, people stand at and create centers rather than a spatial element. Yi-Fu Tuan emphasizes the importance of personal meaning into the space by saying that "place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people. Place is [...] a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning" (Tuan 1979, 387). Nesib Parlak, a resident, reminds me of a seminal Arabic idiom: *Sherefu'l mekân bi'l*

mekân, meaning “space owes its dignity to who resides therein.” For him, Erenköy owes its dignity to the people who reside in it.

Social construction appears again on the streets of Erenköy. *Kuba Street* is one of the oldest streets and today it is mostly known as *Çamlı Sokak* (Pine Street) or *Aşıklar Sokağı* (Street of Lovers). Love as a concept becomes again the issue; yet here it has nothing to do with the love of God, on the contrary, it implicates flirting and romanticism. Nesib Parlak shares his wit: “Sometimes I encounter people asking me where the street of lovers is, I reply them ‘I know a street but it leads the spiritual love, not the material one.’” By saying this, he both shows the direction to the street and reminds people of its spiritual background.

Those meaningful names of “Kuba, Mina Vefa or Huzur” are not a basic coincidence. They are named by Tahir Büyükkörükçü to make people remember Medina and The Holy Lands. Kuba is a settlement where *Prophet Muhammed* stayed for three days while he was emigrating to Medina. Mina is a settlement situated between Mecca and Muzdalifa, approximately 7 km away from the Masjid al-Haram. It is the place where pilgrimages are performed such as stoning the devil, sacrificing and accommodation (Şener 2005, 96). Vefa means fidelity and loyalty. Some people add also Huzur street’s name given by Tahir Hodja meaning *peace*.

Peace is pretty meaningful, but it probably depends on who looks for it from where. Normally, historical Erenköy is a place of settlement and is very quiet. After approximately fifty years of establishment, it is still a low-density settlement including mostly one or two stories-gardened, detached houses. This model of housing might be inherited from the setting up process and it seems partially preserved until the present day. Having soft soil seems to give a chance for preserving Erenköy’s current settlement since the municipality did not permit adding extra floors other than two. Erenköy never turned to a high-rise settlement. However, it gets more and more crowded with fascinated visitors who come for sightseeing and photography. Nevertheless, the narrative of the streets and the community generally are not known by them.



Figure 3. 6. Kuba Street (Personal Archive)

Touristic attraction is closely related to the street being occupied by people day and night. A resident's words unravel the discomfort: "We feel responsible. A guard was wanted for this place, but the municipality did not have such a service, there is a police-guard car that goes everywhere and occasionally stops here." The picture below which was taken by a local news agency shows the graffiti on Tahir Hodja's house's outer wall. The agency says that the municipality cleared the writings on the wall to prevent "disrespect" (Konhaber 2016).



Figure 3. 7. The Wall of Tahir Hodja's House Previously (Konhaber, 2016)

Likewise, the recent picture taken from Mina Street shows that the tendency of wall-writing continues in the neighbourhood. I have witnessed too, a couple writing their

names on the walls with a permanent pen. I see them all as an outcome of the recent image of Erenköy's Kuba Street. I see the changing meaning of the wall step by step in Erenköy: What was once made for privacy today seems like a blank ground for lovers.



Figure 3. 8. Graffitis from Historical Erenköy

We proceed with Kuba Street and encounter Mehmet Kıymet by chance. I remember him from the day before by the occasion of our interview. He was repining about the crowd of visitors by saying “in the daytime, brides come. In the afternoon drifters come. After 10 pm. drunkards and thinner addicts come. [...] There is always a fight here on Friday Saturday and Sunday.” Just a day after our interview, I see him again. He is not noticing me at first, and was standing just by a visitor's automobile and was busy with making himself heard inside. I approach slowly to greet him. He was looking a bit nervous for the car and the couple within. By noting them, he asked me “do you see, this was what I was complaining about.” Just at that moment, the guy in the car started shouting: “I am a lawyer, I know my rights.” While they drew into the discussion, I was watching them since it was leading me to another consideration: “Who owns the street?” A lawyer and his

fiance or the person who establishes and lives there for 46 years?

3.3. WHO OWNS ERENKOY?



Figure 3. 9. Mina Street of Erenköy (Personal Archive)

When the tone of discussion raised, I intervened and accompanied Mehmet Bey to his residence. He was probably deeming himself right likewise the lawyer. Because he turned the car and did not go for a long time. This experience inaugurated several further arguments by leading me to think more about “the right of the city.” Eventually, it directed me to add one more question to my questionnaires: “Who

owns Erenköy streets?” Before I have to ask, who built these streets?



Figure 3. 10. Vefa Street (Personal Archive)

Erenköy’s production and construction are necessarily related to its historical background. Kuba and Mina Streets, built in 1970, are the oldest face of the neighbourhood, including 16 houses. They were included in the unified parcel bought at first. Each participant paid the same amount of money for the expenses and renounced a certain amount of land to create a street in between. That is, streets were paid for by the householders themselves and even the expenses for repair was shared between them. In the following years, Vefa Street whose parcel was bought from *Üzümcü Ahmed Ağa*, was developed processing a few years. However, as Bediz says that it even cost a much higher amount around 7500 Turkish liras per sq. meter.

Table 3. 1. Residents of Vefa Street and Surroundings

Streets and Numbers	Householders (c. 1972-75)		
	Vefa St. 2	Vefa St. 10	
	Mustafa Demirkesen	Ahmet Dedeoğlu	

Vefa St. 4	Nebi Şahin	Vefa St. 11	<i>Un-identified</i>
Vefa St. 6	Hüseyin Turgut	Vefa St. 12	A.Dalkıran
Vefa St. 7	Mustafa Ertürk	Vefa St. 13	Hüseyin Sönmez
Vefa St. 8	Ahmet Üresin	Vefa St. 14	Said Bilgin
Vefa St. 9	<i>Un-identified</i>	Erenköy St.	Sabri Alptekin

The streets in the '70s were not fully public since Erenköy was inhabited only by its founders. However, it went more and more public in time. Küçükşenel says that residing within the borders of Silile Municipality in the 70s, Erenköy's land shifted to Konya Municipality in the 80s. The transition of the land from Silile Municipality to Konya Municipality in Erenköy was important in terms of gaining its legitimacy. But on the other hand, the area has ceased being a contiguous area. It accelerated the process of being subject to zoning valuation with rent. Today's Kuba Street is a public space in Konya just like other streets. Sure, the image of cedar pines, popularity and romantic ambience play a crucial role in making it more populated. Even maybe 2,5 meters high walls make people forget that someone else lives there and hears.

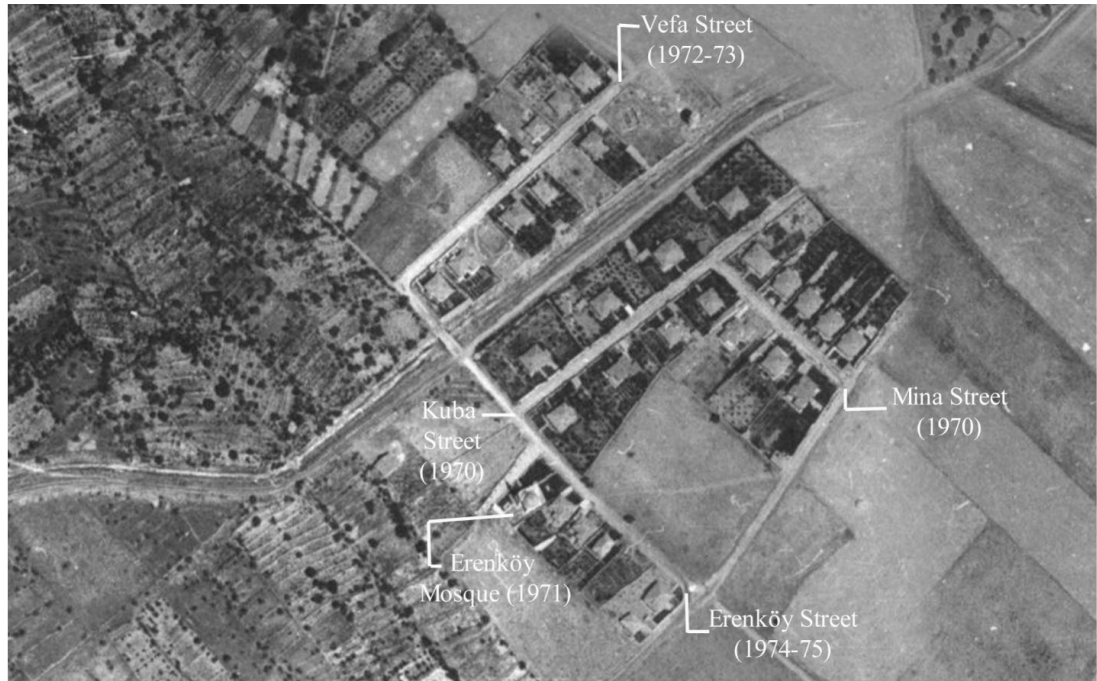


Figure 3. 11. An Orthographic Photo in 1975 (Kent Bilgi Sistemi)

Nevertheless, all these things do not substitute the fact that Mehmet Kıymet's father paid for the streets. On the other hand, it does not negate the fact that every citizen has a claim on the public space and s/he is free to act as s/he demands. Lefebvre brings up the concept of the right of the city and defines it as "both a demand and a cry" (1996, 158). The right of the city offers that people have the right of shaping their everyday spaces. Harvey sees the right of the city as a neglected right of humankind. He sees the right of the city as "a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization" (Harvey 2008,1). Harvey also deems the right of the city "to claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over the ways in which our cities are made and re-made and to do so in a fundamental and radical way" (ibid, 2). Therefore the right of the city shows a tentative opposition between the users of space and its shapers who are usually under the effect of capitalistic motives.

Right of the city in Erenköy is still both a demand and a cry but these are not independent of God, ethics and voluntariness. Owning space or having the right of the city is a very useful concept for understanding Erenköy's public space. However, the right of the city in the context of Erenköy has less to do with Lefebvrian terminology which emphasizes capital circulation and power

mechanisms. The contestation here is more based on the opposing rights of *residents* and *visitors* rather than *power holders* and *citizens*. Old residents of Erenköy seeks a peaceful public space just as its previous form of fifty years ago, while its visitors enjoy their romantic time in the streets. Unlike the visitors, residents also justify their rights through the religiously defined style of life.

Erenköy houses' outer entrances generally hold the sign of "Mülk Allah'ındır" meaning "To God belongs to the possession." This note demonstrates the perspective by sharing that right of space, is not independent of the religious belief in Erenköy. Having properties does not mean to possess them, because it is believed that God is the only possessor. To explicate the discussion more I distinguish the layers of owning in Erenköy by introducing first *sahip* and *malik*. *Sahip* means to companion, to accompany, and to be a trustee, who has been given ability and power to shape the environment. So it does not present the meaning of the absolute owner. "*Malik*" on the other hand is the absolute owner, who owns something, who has an absolute right to it. According to the classical Islamic political tenet, following in Ottoman politics, the ruler uses the title of *sultan* rather than *malik* insofar as he only rules the world as God's deputy (Steppat 1989). Bernard Lewis (1988, 18) says:

The best-known Arabic term for "master," *sahib*, has a primary meaning not of "mastery" but of "companionship." It is the term applied to the companions of the Prophet, the nearest Muslim equivalent to the apostles of Christ; it was sometimes applied, in later times, to the associates and intimates of rulers.

Turgut Cansever emphasizes that by saying "according to the Islamic belief, although people are given the opportunity to benefit, land essentially belongs to God and people have limited benefiting rights with the condition of beautifying" (2010, 126). Likewise, Erenköy's old residents see Erenköy's public space as a place where God's rules are being obeyed, where they have been given limited rights by conditions. The right of the city according to their perspectives is very intermingled to its residents' Islamic concerns and ethical values.

Following my route in Erenköy, I visit *Özgün Market*, the small-size neighbourhood shop and only shop in historical Erenköy. Its owner Ilyas is not originally a resident of Erenköy, he came to the neighbourhood on the occasion of his work, ten years ago. As a familiar person of the space, he knows the residents in general and the

characteristics of the settlement. I ask him how does he feel in Erenköy. Even though he repines that his income is not high, he says that he is very content to be there. He thinks that Erenköy people are wealthy but they do not prefer to do shopping in a small shop, they rather go to bigger shops in the city center. He states that except for a few families who need financial help, residents of Erenköy are very wealthy.



Figure 3. 12. Özgün Market in Historical Erenköy

He allows an open account shopping system in his shop. That is, a person may take his needs from his shop under the condition of paying it later. He says that some people use open account frequently. Some others, volunteer residents of the neighbourhood, occasionally come and pay on behalf of the indebted people by giving 100 to 200 liras away once in a month or 2 months. There are 4-5 people who practice that in the neighbourhood. I ask him about whether they pay specifically for a person's debts or not. He replies that they appeal to his opinion, by asking who needs more and who is not a smoker. İlyas says therefore he prioritize the non-smokers and tenants.

İlyas says that people do not welcome smoking and smokers. He associates this common approach to the attitude of the founders of the neighbourhood who were strongly against smoking. He says that they even would not greet a person if they heard the person smokes. Some residents do not even welcome him since he sells

cigarettes in his shop and one of them warned him once by saying that ‘I would not greet you if I learn you smoke’. Who owns the streets of Erenköy? Rather than making a final decision, I show the arguments. Because as Harvey states: “Claiming the right to the city is a way-station on the road to that goal. It can never be an end in itself, even if it increasingly looks to be one of the most propitious paths to take” (2012, viii).

3.4. WHO CONSTRUCTS ERENKÖY?

Erenköy presents an ambivalent meaning for who looks and how s/he experiences. The meaning of public space and to whom it belongs may change from one person to another and its meaning as well may be spiritual, peaceful, noisy, romantic and so on. The streets are production but their meaning is pure construction. Therefore it is inevitably an area of *tactics and strategies*.

Are high walls tactical or strategic? Considering its background, it seems like a powerful *strategy* established through security and privacy concerns. Since Erenköy was designed distant from the city center, walls served nearly as a self-defence mechanism protecting people from outsiders, dangers and animals. Ibn Khaldun emphasizes the role of security by saying that “in connection with the protection of towns against harmful things, one should see to it that all the houses of the town are situated inside a protective wall. Furthermore, the town should be situated in an inaccessible place” (Ibn Khaldun 2015, 4:5). The situation in Erenköy approves the statement. Anakız Say coming to Erenköy in the ’70s, says that she was hearing the voices of bears and foxes. Nesib Parlak says “it is said that there used to be snakes around here, where shepherds graze sheep. The walls here must have been built not only for privacy but also for security.” Mehmet Dolular says that once in the first days of Erenköy’s establishment he saw a big snake in the field while going to the mosque. Abdurrahman Büyükkörükçü approves the statement by saying that this land used to be called “the field of snakes” (*yılanlı kır*) of its time.



Figure 3. 13. Kuba Street in the First Years (Büyükkörükçü Archive)

Alongside the security, the concern of privacy still approves that walls are strategical. Walls make the houses and social life introverted rather than being extroverted to maintain privacy. Mehmet Emin Karataş touches upon the issue by saying that “our garden walls are high. It has nothing to do with the street. Neighbours do not see each other. In other words, you can easily move around the house as soon as you enter the house through the street door.” He additionally tells that they were designed consciously: “It was done in that way especially with the instruction of Tahir Hodja. In other words, Islamic rules are followed to the fullest extent. The privacy of the house has been preserved.” Raziye Küçükşenel’s involvement has importance as a woman practising Erenköy: “There would be those who condemn us. ‘What are these houses like that? Like a rampant!’ But our house is our private. We would go in there easily [...] You know, we would not be comfortable everywhere.” Küçükerman’s emphasis (1985, 42) opens up the same discourse:

Turkish house has been designed for the woman, providing her with separate areas for her work, leisure and social relations. Thus the ground floor walls form a distinct barrier between the interior and exterior, in some cases having a fortress-like impregnability.

However, I urge that walls gain a *tactical* role more in time, by the increase of overwhelming touristic activities. Şahnur Yağdırın makes her walls stretch due to the concerns of privacy and comfort. All the houses of Kuba and Mina Streets are equipped with cameras and security systems. Already as a distinct separator, today's walls emphasizes more on the sharp distinction of public and private spaces, through their *tactical* features.

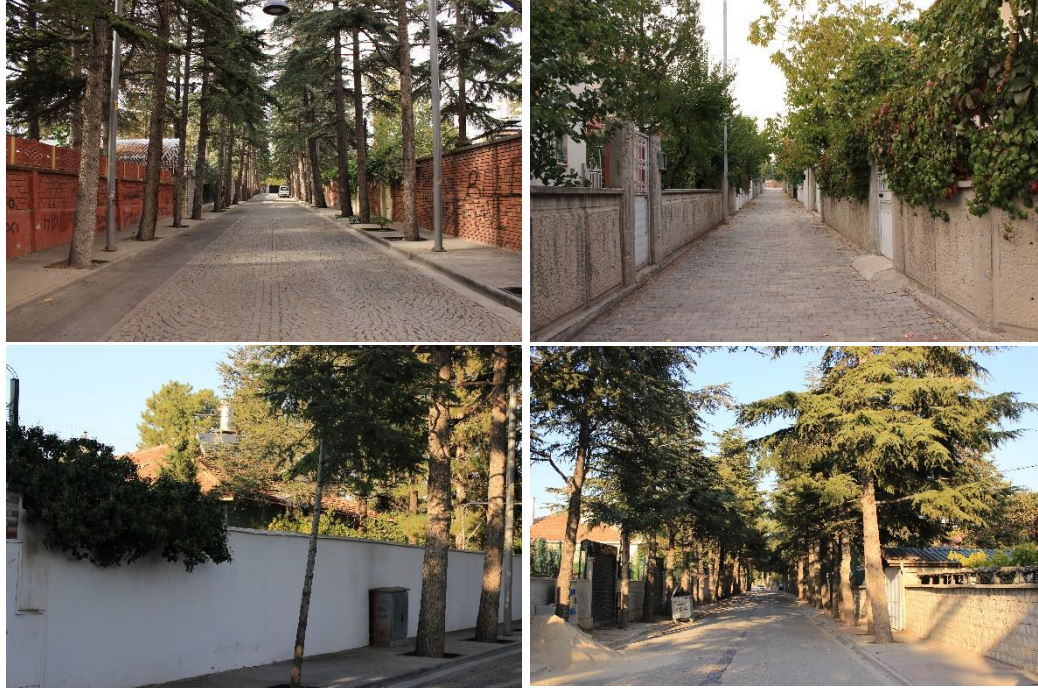


Figure 3. 14. The Walled Outlook of Erenköy from Streets (Personal Archive)

Alongside security and privacy purposes; tactical and strategic features, the walls of Erenköy serve for spirituality. They are not seen as just a material border for its people. Walls are not a basic separator from public to private, they are facilitators of practising Islam. Especially for women, walls are the things that allow them to live according to Islam. Hayriye Turgut's intimate words are quite sufficient to justify it. "Houses are more perfect here. Isn't that what God wants? Isn't it privacy, my daughter? We will pay the most attention to privacy." A short paragraph from O'emara demonstrates the role of walls in Muslim societies saying that "separated outside from inside, secular from sacred [...] along this divide stood partitioned men from women, non-Muslim from Muslim, this world from the next" (O'emara 2007, 19). By parting them, walls in Erenköy, indeed, present a link regarding the afterlife. It may lead people to turn to nature, turn to the inner self and turn to God.

Turning to God through a wall becomes more explicit in the case of the qibla wall for the example of Erenköy Mosque. It is the first collective building completed just after the construction of the houses. Erenköy Mosque reminds the hereinafter not only through its qibla wall but also Tahir Büyükkörükçü's design of the text written on the fountain of the mosque (şadırvan) which states a message from Muhammed Iqbal: "O Believer, the direction of your life shall be in the path of (the Prophet) Muhammed (pbuh). Do not rely on your ingenuity and talent and desire."³² It also recalls the promising world in the exceptional calligraphical pieces of *Hattat Hamit Aytaç* which still decorates the interior walls.



Figure 3. 15. Şadırvan of Erenköy Mosque (Personal Archive)

³² "Ey Mümin hayatının gidişi Hz. Muhammed'in yolundan olsun, Kendi hüner ve marifetine ve arzuna itimat etme."



Figure 3. 16. Calligrafical Pieces of *Hattat Hamit Aytaç* in Erenköy Mosque



Figure 3. 17. Aytaç’s Calligraphy on Erenk y Mosque’s Minbar



Figure 3. 18. Interior of Erenk y Mosque (Personal Archive)

While continuing our tour of the streets, a call to prayer starts to be recited. This voice raising from the minaret of Erenk y Mosque should be the exact call while Tahir Hodja was saying: “There shall be heard only calls to prayer and sounds of

birds”³³ (Büyükkörükçü 2011). By the starting of the call to prayer, Erenköy Mosque’s locked door has to be opened by its imam Nesib Parlak. Today’s congregation is not very crowded, with approximately fifteen people in their middle or older ages. We are the only women today, participating in the prayer. Prayer is completed through the last greetings “as-salamu alaikum ve rahmetullah.” Nesib Hodja starts reading passages from Quran in Arabic, just after reads its translation in Turkish and expounds the verses. It is not common for all mosques, but a tradition for here.

After all, I greet imam to ask about the locked door, since I deem it unusual. He greets me and notes that it is incumbent upon him to protect a very valuable thing at the mosque: *Sakal-ı şerif* (the facial hair of the prophet Muhammed) was given to Tahir Büyükkörükçü from a host family from Izmir years before. He says that it was rigorously kept protected, only be opened up for *kandil*³⁴ nights.



Figure 3. 19. Erenköy Mosque (Personal Archive)

Mostly known as *the Mosque of Tahir Hodja*, Erenköy Mosque seems like it left its

³³ “Burada yalnızca ezan ve kuş sesleri duyulur.” See: (Büyükkörükçü 2011)

³⁴ Kandil: Blessed nights, celebrated by Muslims. They has started to be called as “kandil” in the reign of Ottoman Sultan Selim the II. (1566-1574) since mosques and minarets were illuminated by oil lamps (kandil). These nights are:lailat-a mawlid, lailat-ul qadr, lailat-ul miraj, lailat-ul raghaib, lailat-ul bara (Bozkurt 2001, 300).

splendent days behind. It was one of the distinguished places of the city in the time of Tahir Hodja when he used to give sermons periodically. I encounter Mustafa Bey after performing pray and ask about his days in the mosque. He takes a stroll down memory lane by saying:

Every kandil night he would preach here, I would come to his preacher. We would come with our car. The 70's-80's-90's 2000 [...] We used to come to every kandil. It would be so crowded that you couldn't find a place to put a car. All his lovers from the city would always come.

Ateken shares some scenes of his childhood in Erenky Mosque. “Erenky Mosque would have a different spiritual atmosphere on holy nights. Because of the crowd, we would take a place in the mosque after the evening prayer, and on summer days we would listen to the sermon of Tahir Hodja on the mats laid in the garden of the mosque, pray and greet *Sakal-ı erif*” (Ateken 2016).

Erenky Mosque is a small-size neighbourhood mosque by its dome and minaret. It is the first collective building constructed in 1971, by the reinterpreted design of mer Kirazoėlu.³⁵ It was not situated in the 33.000 square meters unified parcel bought before. Its land was indeed, donated a year later by the owner of the land known as *Tabutu Ahmed Aėa*. Construction has cost 325.000 Turkish liras and the total amount was shared by all householders. Remzi Bediz shares a memory of those days. He says that for the construction 55.000 bricks were estimated however 57.000 bricks were needed, therefore they gathered used materials and reused them in the construction. They went to a demolished house and collected bricks³⁶ from there to complete their new mosque. Apparently, this *tactical* method solved the financial dispute in the process of spatial production.

³⁵ mer Kirazoėlu (1916-1989) is a “master architect-engineer and lecturer of the history of art” also prominent member of Erenky Circle and “the son-in-law of Mahmut Sami Ramazanoėlu.” (Yilmaz 2002, 60)

³⁶ This practice, reusing old materials in the new buildings, is a tradition, known in architectural history as *spolia*. Anatolia and Konya in this sense are very rich as every civilizational centers including examples of spoila. (Boleken 2010)



Figure 3. 20. Erenköy Mosque Under Construction, 1971 (Büyükkörükçü Archive)

Erenköy Mosque should be noted as the most used public space. Rather than parks, streets, restaurants or cafes, residents prefer to gather either in mosques or the houses' *sohbet* rooms. Erenköy's public space shows different things to someone wandering in front of the walls as an outsider by comparing it to the behind the walls.

CHAPTER IV

BEHIND THE WALLS: PRIVATE SPACE IN ERENKÖY

Even if one strolls in front of the fences throughout the day and nighttime, Erenköy's real outlook stays hidden for an outsider, unless knocking on a door and entering a residence. In this chapter, I endeavour to elaborate more on *lived and perceived* spaces in terms of the private space *i.e.* gardens, houses and indoors of Erenköy. I concentrate on *sohbet* as Erenköy's most featured public events, *sohbet* rooms as a striving of the public space, and unital house designs as a negotiation of the public to the private. I highlight a graded sense of publicity in Erenköy houses and talk about how its owners reconcile between the public and the private by their designs. Additionally, I declare that publicity and privacy are experienced differently for male and female bodies.

Subsequently, I re-affirm that designs and material embodiments are at first, related to the bio-social needs,³⁷ then the psychological situations, and eventually the metaphysical sphere that is beliefs. I claim that the bio-social needs can be a need for shelter, privacy, security and a locus of social relations. *Sohbet* events and coming guests as well can be seen as sparking elements of the bio-social needs. I assert that needs and their embodiments are related to emotions and psychological situations such as the feeling of love, comfort, negotiation. Moreover, I explicate that bio-social needs and emotions converge in the upper realm of spirituality.

I assert that space in Erenköy is not something that is "out there" in a way, it is rather something that has the potential to exist at the same time as us. It exists and changes through our actions. I state that Erenköy houses verify the assertion of Cansever: "A work of art is the reflection of the envisionment of being and the universe" (Cansever 2010, 91; translated by the author).

³⁷ I owed the terminology to Cansever.

4.1.WHERE DOES THE PUBLIC END? : NEGOTIATING PUBLICITY AND PRIVACY IN ERENKÖY HOUSES

Public and private are notions denoting the different and mostly oppose domains. Publicness commonly depends on the extent of access given to others and outsiders. Public space is a common domain for any person who has a shared interest. Defining the public and private usually goes hand in hand with definitions of ownership and property besides civil and individual rights.

The well-formed division of public to private shapes Erenköy houses. The division beginning to be seen at the outer walls is felt deeply in the indoors then. Erenköy's inner face, therefore, is undiscovered for an outsider until going behind a door. Titus Burckhardt features a similar argument for the case of historical Fez: "The true unveiling face of Fez remains hidden to whoever knows Fez only from the street and has seen only the shopping alleyways and the grey outer walls of the houses" (Burckhardt, 1992, 91). To apprehend the face of Erenköy, one needs to get in from the outer doors. Outer doors of Erenköy, in this case, become meaningful for obtaining a removable boundary between the public to the private. Doors because enable a person to connect and communicate with others. That is, "the latter (wall) is mute but the door speaks" (Simmel 1994, 7). George Simmel in his *The Bridge and Door* articulates the role of *doors* in architecture:

A piece of space was thereby brought together and separated from the whole remaining world. By virtue of the fact that the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it, it transcends the separations between the inner and the outer.

Moreover, Rapoport reviews the patterns of thresholds over diverse cultures. Compared with other cultures, Erenköy's pattern fits the Indian and Muslim model through its distinction between the public and the private domains. He says that "the compound in India, or the Mexican or Moslem house, put the threshold further forward than the Western house does, and the fence of the English house puts it further forward than the open lawn of the American suburb" (Rapoport 1969, 80).

He adds that “in each case, however, the threshold separating the two domains is present” (ibid).

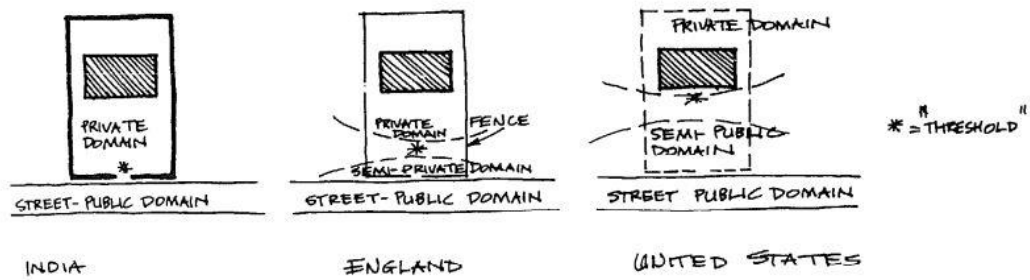


Figure 4. 1. Approximate Location of “Threshold” in Three Cultures (Rapoport 1969, 2014)

The separation of the public to private domains is observable first through the entrances of Erenköy houses. The entrance situated further strictly separates the house from the street. The number of entrances varies from one to three depending on the house design. In some houses the entrance is common while the interiors differ for guests or genders; in some houses, there are two separate entrances as well as compounds in the house assigned for guests and family members; and in some cases, three gates exist including the garage door. The pictures below taken from the same house, show two different entrances: One entrance for guests connected to the garage door and one main entrance for family members.



Figure 4. 2. Main Entrance from the Street to the Garden, and the Garden to the House (Personal Archive)

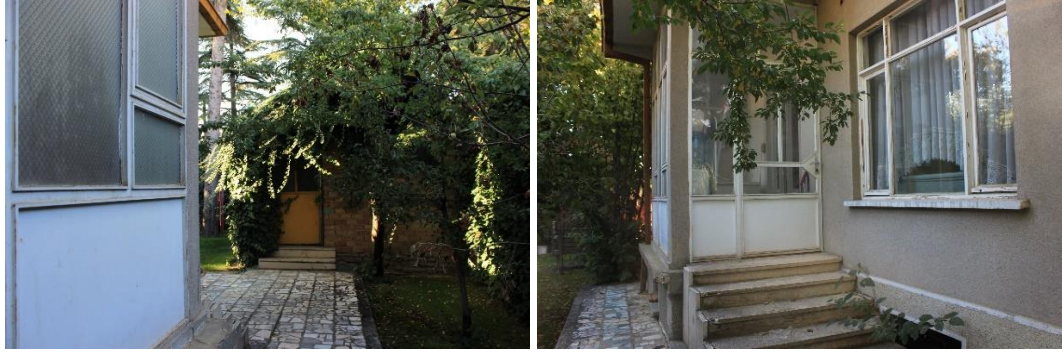


Figure 4. 3. Guest's Entrance from the Street to the Garden and Garden to the House (Personal Archive)

Erenköy's inhabitants, those restrained to be behind the walls due to the pandemic, are satisfied to be there so. Despite the high partitions separating the houses, they resemble that they used to be connected by the virtue of *sohbet* events before the pandemic crisis. Residents, for now, enjoy their time in the houses albeit they still aspire to the weekly gatherings *inter se*.

Sohbet events in the context of Erenköy commonly refer to gender-based, religious-oriented recurrent gatherings which are held by one leader. Notwithstanding being an Arabic rooted word, the concept of *sohbet* is regularly employed in the Turkish language indicating the 'conversation' referring to "establishing friendship and affinity, long-term togetherness with the body or heart, meeting where religious or worldly matters are discussed" (Uludağ 2009; translated by the author). It connotates the earlier circles of the Prophet. Likewise, it connotates the companions who are called *ashab/sahabe* in the meaning of the one who participates *sohbet* events.



Figure 4. 4. A Sohbet event held by Tahir Hodja (Personal Archive)

Sohbet events from early times on has served as a training method for scholars and Sufis for sharing knowledge (ibid). Tahir Büyükkörükçü's statement of (2019, 189) "just as the trees are irrigated from their roots, human beings are irrigated through their ears" emphasizes its critical role (translated by the author). Sufis base their *sohbet* events by referencing a hadith from the Prophet (Altuntaş 2018, 20). "The deen (religion) is naseehah (advice, sincerity)." Just then companions ask, "to whom?" He says that "to Allah, His Book, His Messenger, and to the leaders of the Muslims and their common folk" (Sahih Muslim 55a). *Sohbet* events in the context of the field refer to the most frequent group action and most recurrent practice by its critical role of empowering social solidarity. *Sohbet* events, for some women, is considered the only occasion for going out of the houses, just as a resident says:

We ladies do not leave our house except for *sohbet*. Of course, some women go to the market here, but only occasionally. We used to not go for even buying clothes, but now we go, we are corrupted. We do not take the bus or to the minibus either. We (just) have weekly *sohbets*.

While ladies aspire to the *sohbet* events of daytime, male residents aspire to *sohbet* events held by Tahir Hodja on Wednesday evenings in the houses, after *isha* prayers

in the mosque, and occasionally in various places. Mehmet Emin Karataş shares his thoughts and memories in accordance:

Sohbets took place in those houses for years. For example, in the first years, when there was no mosque, we performed our tarawih prayers at home. Under the leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükü. Our guest rooms are large, accommodating almost 50-60 people easily. Once, in Ramadan tarawih prayer was performed in all houses in turn. So those houses have a great memory from him. There are traces of the Tahir Hodja.

Ahmet, a resident, has an important claim: “There is no person who has not been included in any *sohbet* group in Erenköy.” It is not possible to fully confirm his assertion. However, even by looking at the patterns of the houses, it could be unveiled how compatible the claim is. It has to be said that most of the houses have a saloon named ‘guest room or *sohbet* room’ where is specially designed to host or accommodate guests coming to the *sohbet* events. The house below, for example, shows a specially designed saloon and adjacent room connected through an openable wall to host crowded *sohbet* groups extensionally.

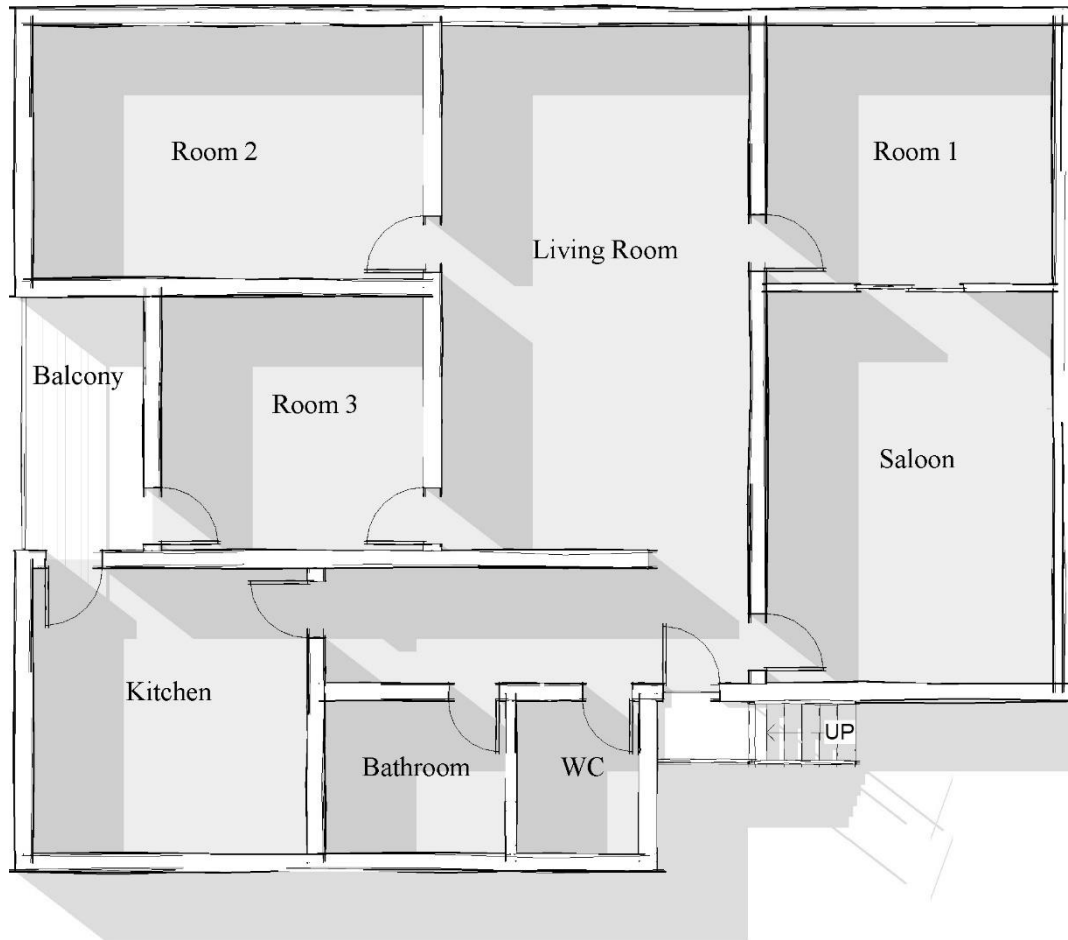


Figure 4. 5. Schematic Plan of House 1

Spatial schemes necessarily mirror to practises and demands of the inhabitants. Residences frequently display *sohbet* events as main design criteria either through distinct compound for visitors, an adjoining room to host crowded groups comfortably, or both. House number 2 shows the characteristics: A specially allocated unit for the guests including the separate entrance, a hall, WC, bathroom and a room. The guest unit permits householders to host comers satisfactorily without not disturbing or being disturbed. House number 3 as well has separate access and unit for guests.

Nonetheless, those two dwellings underwent modifications: The guest's access of house 2 was locked since its owners do not host crowded *sohbet* organisations anymore and the entrance hall of house 3 was wrecked and incorporated into room 1.



Figure 4. 6. Schematic Plan of House 2



Figure 4. 7. Schematic Plan of House 3

House number 4 was built in 1977. Previously had a second entrance for guests alongside a saloon for *sohbet* events, it was transformed when its owners destroyed the second entrance to enhance the saloon.

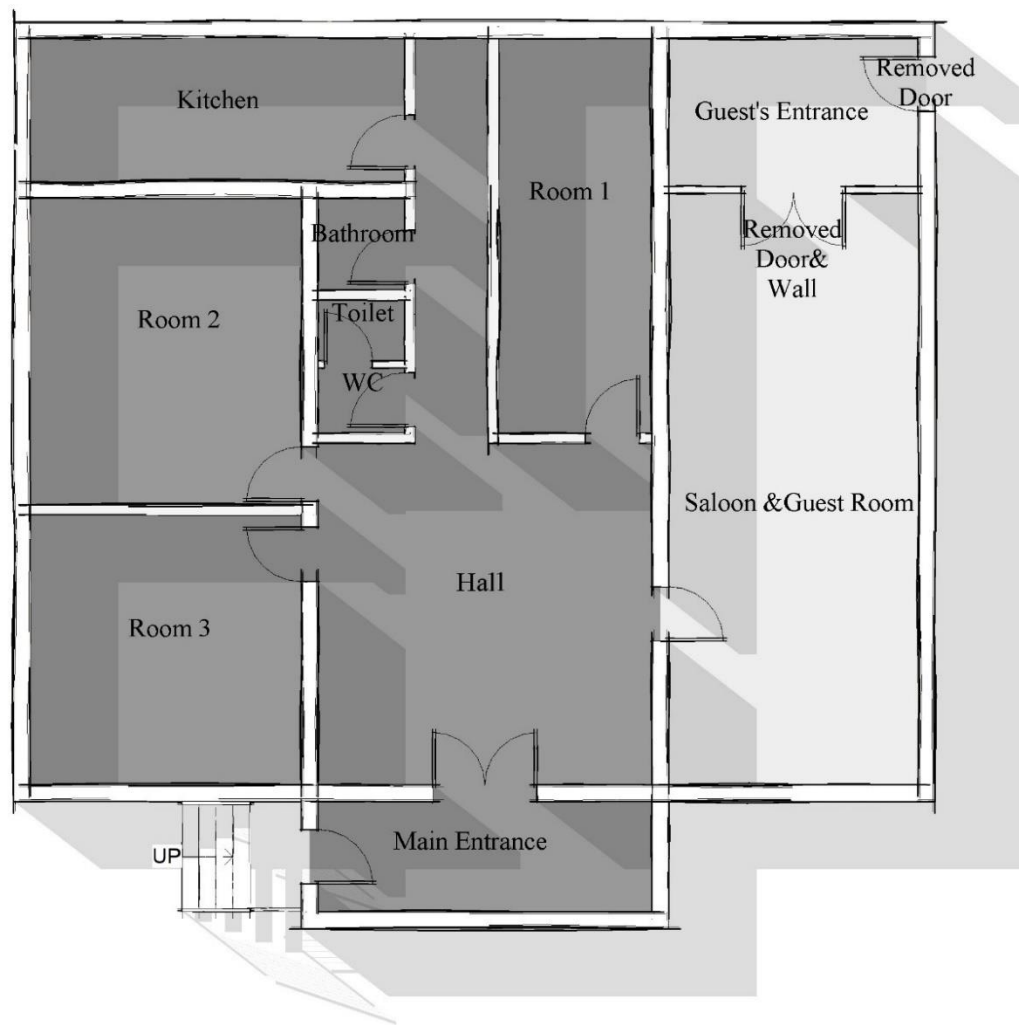


Figure 4. 8. Schematic Plan of House 4

Sohbet events are the most confronted public events. They serve not only for religious or pedagogical purposes also for publicly, profane and civil issues related to the neighbourhood and its problems.³⁸ The places where they held is, I assert, may serve as correspondence to the *public spaces*. Subsequently, I consider the units of houses as a striving for negotiation among publicity and privacy by delimiting confrontations of visitors and residents or male and female, besides, *personal* and *political*.

In terms of the thesis, I deal with the public space rather than the public sphere. Public space and the public sphere are not the same things albeit they are linked. As Pratt says that “the distinction between spheres and spaces preserves the understanding that the concept of the public sphere is in large part a democratic

³⁸ I do think that the togetherness of both religiously and profane issues in *sohbet* events is because that there is not a sharp division between the worldly and after-worldly issues in Islam.

ideal that we strive towards, in and through the construction and use of public space” (2009, 584). My intention is not to discuss the public sphere and space which would be a good topic for future studies, but rather to understand how public space is created, perceived, and transformed in time.

Looking at today's sociological researches, it is seen that both are discussed many times, be it the public sphere or the space. In my understanding, public sphere is a broader scope of the public space. It is often come across in the works of Habermas, Callhoun and Fraser. Habermas (1991) associates publicity with negotiation and open discussion. He correlates publicity to “the rise of literary clubs, salons, newspapers, political journals and institutions of political debate and participation in eighteenth-century European ‘bourgeois society’” (Barker 2004, 168). By doing so he “attempts to ground the renewal of the public sphere in the notion of an ‘ideal speech situation’ where competing truth claims are subject to rational debate and argument” (ibid). Therefore according to Habermas “the public sphere is conceived as a space for debate based on conversational equality” (ibid). Likewise, Calhoun says that “the notion of the political public sphere centered on the idea that private persons might come together through reasoned communication to consider public issues and inform public policy” (2010, 303). The realm of public for Arendt was the domain of appearance while the private is the realm of necessity. Public space as she appeals to the Ancient Greek and says, was associated to freedom and the possibility of equality (1958, 38). The public realm is “the common ground gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other” (1958, 52). In the modern world as Arendt asserts that the revitalization of citizenship “depends upon both the recovery of a common, shared world and the creation of numerous spaces of appearance in which individuals can disclose their identities and establish relations of reciprocity and solidarity” (D’Entreves 2019).

The public space is characterised in modern sociology as the space of politics and public institutions while the private is the circle of domestic relations. Public life, therefore, is a shared realm in terms of spatial relations, dominant norms and values while private is the realm of intimate and personal identities. Barker argues that the public space is “a space for democratic public debate and argument that mediates between civil society and the state in which the public organizes itself and in which ‘public opinion is formed’” (Barker 2004, 168). In the sociological works public

space is mostly recognised as that to “which all citizens have a right of access. Public space must be juxtaposed with private space, or space over which private property rules are in operation” (Bloomly 2009, 602).

Pratt finds public and private spheres “discursively constructed, contested categories” (2009, 583) He says that “the regulation of public space is instrumental in regulating public debate and excluding some groups from public life” (ibid, 584). The feminist approach of public space is constructed according to those challenges by criticizing the idealization of the public spaces and its underlying connotations of male domination. Russell criticizes the concept by saying that the word ‘public’ in Latin refers to the “correctly constituted group of Roman adult male citizens” (2016, 169). Nancy Fraser criticizes the notion of public space for being a space of adult males as “a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule” (1990, 62). Feminist motto examines it through their watchword of *personal is political*, which hints that public space, the political is associated to the personal, the private.

In terms of my fieldwork, I mostly focus on public space. By examining Erenköy context, there are almost no squares, coffee shops in the entire neighbourhood and public parks are very useless. When I ask where people go and where they meet, two answers are given: Houses and the Mosque. It is obvious that there is an effort to create a public space in Erenköy, and *sohbet* rooms are very suitable for it. It is possible to say that men and women have public spaces of their own. So that women as well talk about the neighbourhood and houses where they come together periodically. Mehmet Kıymet says that his wife's views were influenced by his *sohbet* friends while he was designing the house. For this reason, they built the kitchen not on the north side, but on the south side.

As it is stated above, men and women experience publicity differently. House number 5 shows these publicities in the house. From the guest entrance, it has a transition to a guest room (male *sohbet* room) which is connectable by the adjoining room through a fully openable and fully closeable intermediate element in between. This space is used for male *sohbet* groups. On the other hand, the house has another room which is specially designed for female bodies and their *sohbet* events. The female *sohbet* room is connected with a separate entrance.

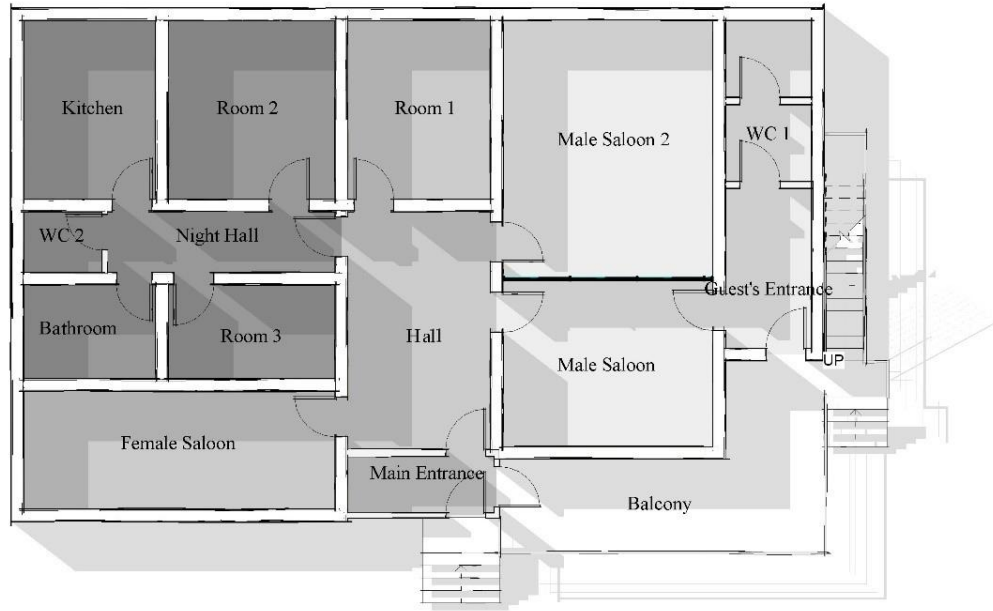


Figure 4. 9. Schematic Plan of House 5

Likewise, house number 6 and its spatial planning signify two units divided/connected by a door and corridor. No change made over time and its householder calls this division through colloquial concepts: “*Haremlik selamlık*. So you are closing the door. The kitchen bathroom and bedroom have contact with no one. It is the same with our tenants [...] God says ‘beware.’ We will pay attention to the ‘*haremlik-selamlık*.’”

Local and colloquial concepts of *harem* and *selamlık* are the names given to the units which designate this spatial division. *Harem* denotes the space of women and its counterpart *selamlık* is the sphere assigned for the male or the guest. Taking its premises both from religion and tradition, *harem* and *selamlık* historically, and culturally dates back to a long time ago. In the literal meaning *harem* is a term used for “forbidden or sacred place, (it) refers to women’s quarters, which are offlimits to males other than husbands or male relatives” (Oxford Dictionary of Islam 2003a, 109). Therefore *harem* is the everyday unit where the family members and some of their relatives are allowed to enter. *Selamlık*, on the other hand, is the place of men guests who were kept away from the everyday sphere. Şahnur Yağdırırır says “the difference from the apartment of our house is this: We enter from here, men enter through that door. We don’t see them, they don’t see us. The two rooms at the back

belong to the guest [...] The guest is hosted there. He doesn't see us. *Harem-Selamlık.*”

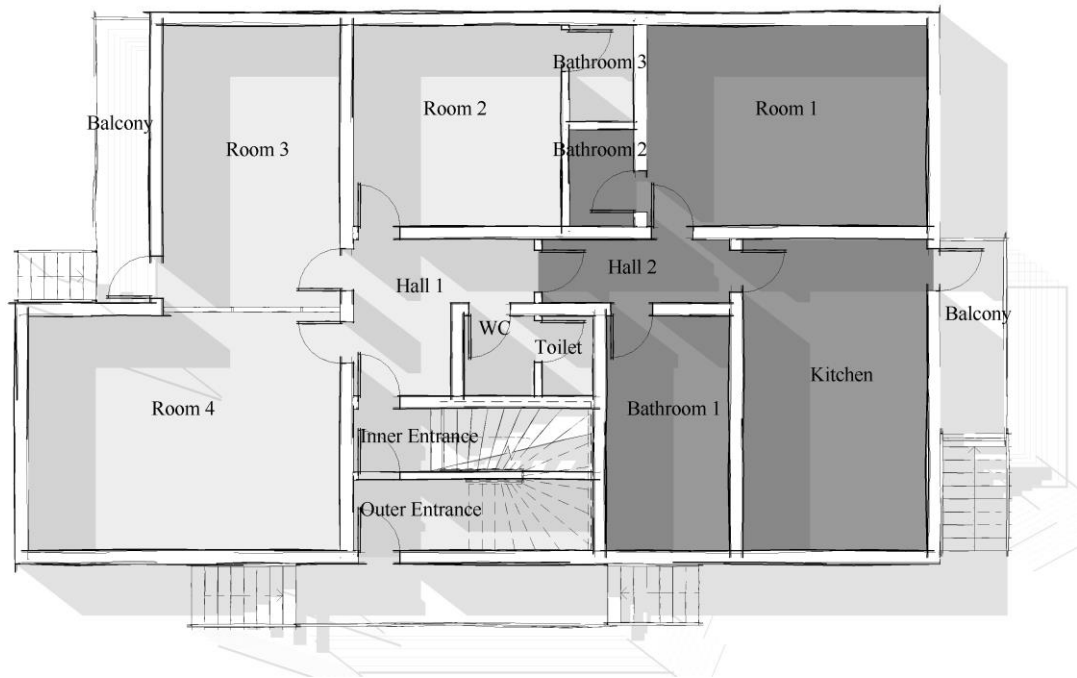


Figure 4. 10. Schematic Plan of House 6

Rather than acknowledging the spatial division in the houses, *harem* and *selamlık*, as a result of only gendered divisions, I propose to mark them first, as an attempt to strive for a controlled detachment/unification among public and private, second as a reflection for the desire of comfort. I highlight a similar organization in the ancient Greek houses’ *gynaikonitis* and *andronitis*.

Andronities “in ancient Greece, the part of a building used by men” (Harris [1975] 2006, 36). Beyond genderly connotations, andronities operates nearly as a public space. It is used for festivities, dining, drinking and the symposion (Bilge 2019, 34). Spatially, andronities is “linked to the street and included a large peristyle section with spaces reserved to men’s dining parties. The rooms that faced the street were used as guest apartments and hence the guests could use these rooms without entering the peristyle court” (ibid, 36). Gynaikonitis, on the other hand, is “the private space of the house including two chambers -thamos, amphithalomos and the surrounding rooms which served as dining rooms for everyday use and chambers for slaves” (ibid). Pierre Bourdieu in *Kabyle House* observes a negotiation between public to private through the distinction of domestic space in

a Barber house where he interprets the house as "the world reversed" (Bourdieu 1977). Juan Eduardo Campa (2012, 40-41) observes similar spatial features in Cairene houses. By emphasizing sacrality, he conceptualizes the division of interiors by two local concepts: The private part as a reflection of *hurma* and its counterpart as a reflection of *sharaf*. His distinction denotes powerfully established negotiation between two spaces.

Sharaf 'honor' is the masculine counterpart of 'hurma; they are two sides of the same coin. In spatial terms, we can consider sharaf as a sort of cover for 'hurma; providing it with its public face and its defensive mask. The word sharaf suggests the idea of height, and of 'overseeing.' Without 'hurma, sharaf loses its reason for being, however. Likewise, 'hurma cannot be preserved for long without its outward visage [...] A house's sacrality consists of 'hurma and sharaf, its feminine and masculine qualities. This sacrality cannot be known in itself, but must be manifested in concrete signs communicated by social action, speech, and interior display.

In the thesis, I generally do not embrace the genderly conceptualization of *harem* and *selamlık* since I consider this twofold opposition does not suffice to explain the spatial arrangements *in situ*. Rather than introducing only the genderly separation, I highlight their role of negotiation among the public to private. For some houses, I elaborate a further graded spatial division between publicity to privacy which was determined by spatial elements such as corridors, doors, halls in between.

Does the woman belong to the private space while the man to the public? I think that this is not based on such a duality in Erenköy. Actually private refers to the householder and family members; besides, the public embraces guests and the members of *sohbet* groups. Therefore, I argue that males and females can both be included in public and private fields.

House number 7 despite having only one entrance still shows these degrees of privacy through three visible units. First is designed for guests; formed by the entrance, bathroom, WC, saloon, room 1 and the balcony; second is designed for the everyday use determined by room, bathroom, kitchen and saloon; and third is designed as the night unit including the three rooms, three WC's and a bathroom. It reveals the graded composition of space which ranges from the more public to the more private. Therefore, the guest unit can be seen as the more public field in the

private space while the night unit is the more private in the private. This range of spatial units is very much seen in the houses of Erenköy.

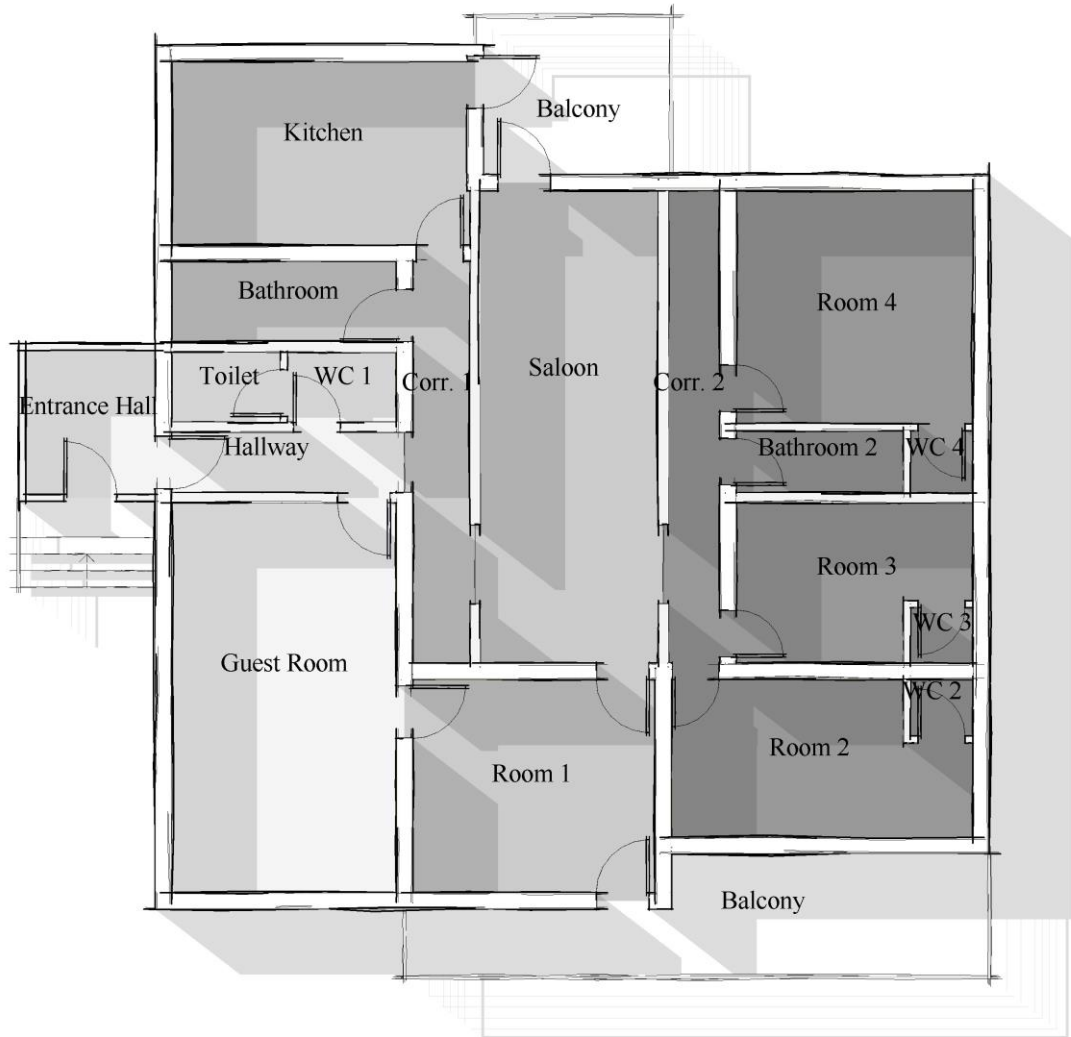


Figure 4. 11. Schematic Plan of House 7

House number 8, for instance, has two separate entries, proffers four compounds displayed in varying colours. First is the guest unit which includes two adjacent rooms for crowded *sohbet* sessions. Second is the everyday unit used by women, family members and female guests for everyday activities including women's entrance, hallway, hall, and a room. The third is the night unit accessible through another door and hall including a WC, bathroom and bedroom. Last the kitchen unit, is also one part of everyday units but it has been deliberately designed separately, accessible through another door and corridor. It is the most-used unit by women in everyday activities including a room, kitchen, bathroom, WC and stair

enclosure. The house, designed nearly fifty years ago, still exists in its original form. However, the guest's unit and its outer entrance were locked and closed permanently. Its proprietors justify the circumstance by stating that they do not host crowded groups or guests anymore besides having a huge house is burdened for cleaning, heating and guarding.

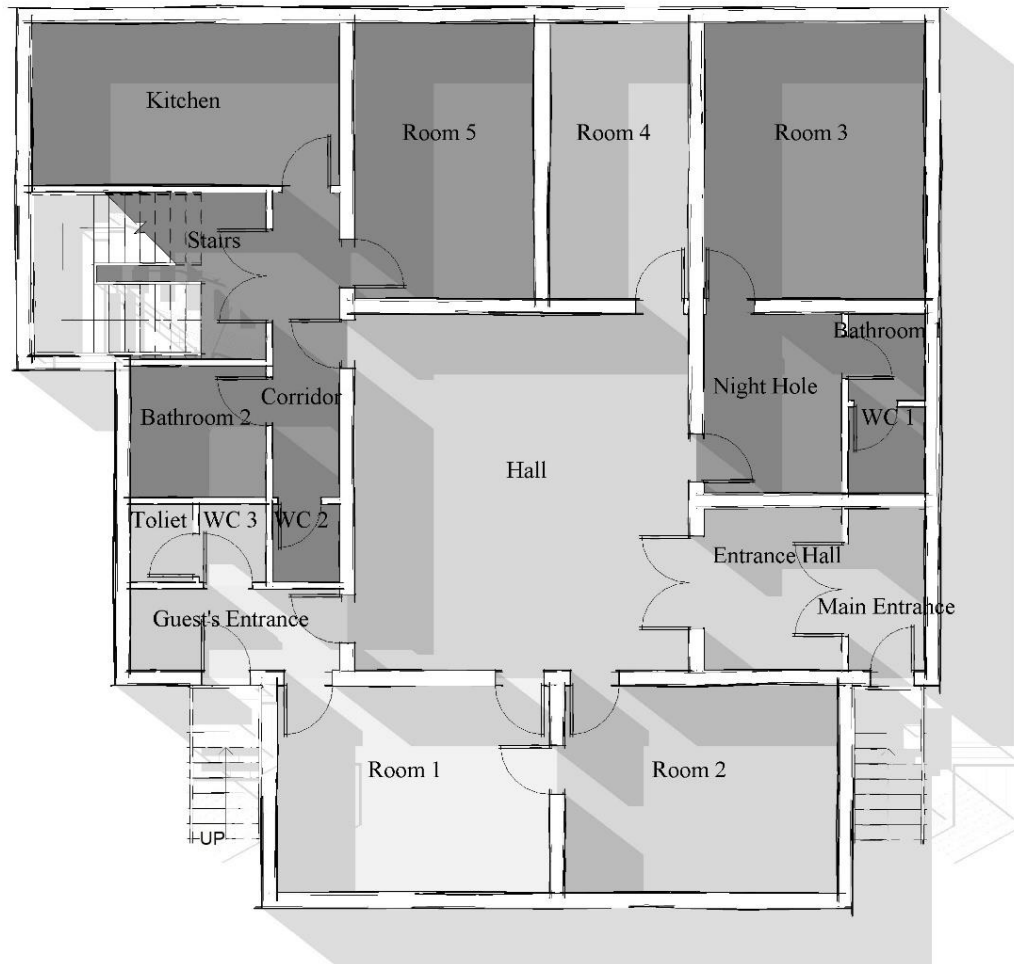


Figure 4. 12. Schematic Plan of House 8

House number 9 does not possess multiple entrances but still, holds four visible units. The first is the guest's unit including the entrance, salon, hallway and WC. The second is the everyday unit including the living room, two rooms and a front balcony. The kitchen unit includes the kitchen, hall, stair and WC and the night unit, at last, includes the bedroom, bathroom and Room 3. The house still exists in its original plan yet several rooms were locked since they have not been used for years.



Figure 4. 13. Schematic Plan of House 9

House number 10 demonstrates three visible units. A unit for guests comprises a saloon, WC and bathroom. Accessible through a door and hall, the kitchen unit includes a kitchen, WC, bathroom and cellar. Everyday unit includes a central entrance, hall and three rooms. Looking at the backyard, the balcony combines both kitchen and everyday units. The recent door opening between the women's entrance and saloon demolishes the previous disconnection between units by combing every day and guest spheres.



Figure 4. 14. Schematic Plan of House 10

It would be wrong if I would assert that the main circumstance that shapes Erenköy houses is the only gender, and argue that follows the motivation of living Islam better. This would not be realistic, at the same time, this would fall short of revealing the reason for the general tendency of the destruction of the present-day *harem* and *selamlık* in the neighbourhood. Because it would end up with a circumstance in which the residents of Erenköy would eventually degenerate or give up their values. However, I claim something more complex here. I state that there were numerous reasons for arranging the houses into *units*, the first of which was the effort to create a sort of public space, which corresponds to the decision-making mechanisms underlying being a neighbourhood. For this purpose, I describe the guest units and *sohbet* saloons as an effort to create a kind of public space rather than a genderly distinction. Second, I assert that the binary division of interiors is not accurate since most of the Erenköy houses have a gradual understanding of publicity and privacy which does not correspond to the duality of genders. This seems to be a kind of new model of reconciliation with publicity.

Therefore, I have chosen the concept of *negotiation*, however, there is a second factor that shapes Erenköy houses is the feeling of *comfort*. Comfort is desired for guests to make themselves comfortable in their places, to make *sohbet* groups comfortable during their gatherings, to make the housewife comfortable in her area and make the family members comfortable in their spheres like an interlocutor says “our house is our private, we can not relax everywhere.” Hayriye Turgut shares a similar opinion. “For example, now we are on the floors, right? Using elevator, male-female. You have to enter with them. You can't tell them to stop here. But here you get out on your own, you go through the door to where you will go.” And she adds that “houses are perfect here.” It gives the guests their own space and the host their own space. Eventually, it gives them the opportunity of living under the same roof, at the same time.

Today, residents tend to either incorporate units or lock and abandon them. I consider the tendency as a natural outcome of changing bio-social needs. Rapoport (1969, 78) says:

It may be suggested that the nature of man and his institutions contains elements of both constancy and change which affect the subject of built form and can be considered in relation to the biological nature of man, his perception, and his behavior.

It is known that *sohbet* events are not perceived as it was in the early days, residents do not host extensive groups anymore and they are too old to maintain a large house. Today, there is no need for a discussion area related to the neighbourhood, because the *responsibility and voluntariness* for Erenköy have decreased. With the dissipation of *‘aşabîyah* in Erenköy and the passing of Tahir Hodja, *sohbet events* no longer have the same meaning as they used to have before. *Sohbet events* are still followed by the residents but it seems as they do not pose as being a public event anymore. Therefore, if the negotiation factors disappear, such a place in the houses will not be given a founding place as before, and there will be no need for it. Houses, therefore, follow the change of time, generations, needs and conditions. This is what I associate with the disappearance of *sohbet* rooms and the unification of *numerous units* in houses, alongside the reasons for comfort.

Well, do all these have nothing to do with faith and Islam, if so, what kind of relationship does it have? I think its relationship with the belief is very stratiform. I

turn to Cansever and Hartmann to establish this relationship. In their *New Ontology*, material structures are never mere material structures, they are more than that.

4.2. HOUSES ARE MORE THAN MATERIAL STRUCTURES

Houses are material structures for sure, however, in the thesis, I assert that they signify more than their materialities. They are indeed, indicators, signs, loci, embodied imaginations and practices. Houses, therefore, are not apart from people's beliefs and thoughts. Miffin and Wilton draw attention to the idea that home first provides shelter, offers privacy, provides locus for social relations. It is the center of activity, and it "functions as 'anchor' as a stable source of identity and meaning. Lastly, it "is an indicator of social status and a mean through which people express views and values" (2005, 406). Likewise, King (1980,1) asserts:

Buildings result from social needs and accommodate a variety of functions- economic, social, political, religious and cultural. Their size, appearance, location and form and governed not simply by physical factors but by a society's ideas, its forms of economic and social organization, its distribution of resources and authority, its activities and beliefs and values which prevail at any one period of time.

Lefebvre approves these ideas by saying that "the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space" (1991, 38). As all the statements show houses' designs converge to practises, needs, also beliefs and values. In terms of the thesis, I investigate their relation to the faith even though Islam does not offer any model of housing and does not specify any rules about how the houses ought to be. So that I believe, faith reveals the way of building through an indirect but powerful way.

To understand the architectural embodiments of Erenköy and to make sense of their relationship to the values and beliefs I urge an appeal to Hartmann's *New Ontology* (Neue Ontologie) and his categorizations of being. Nicolai Hartmann is one of the most renowned German philosophers of the 20th century. "He systematically developed a comprehensive and rich theory of categories, which set out his thought on ontological modalities [...] the ontological levels in which reality is structured" (Poli 2021). Hartmann strongly criticized the old ontology dependent upon dualities, and he challenged it by his distinguished *New Ontology* where he defines ontological levels under four categories; "the inanimate, the biological, the psychological and the spiritual" (ibid). "Four main strata" as he says "embrace the

whole sphere of the real world with the multiplicity of its ontic structures. Their differentiation corresponds to the realms of phenomena articulated according to the most important differences between heterogeneous spheres of objects” (Hartmann 1953, 46). In the ontology of Hartmann “parts and wholes are both authentic aspects of being; independent and dependent entities are similarly aspects of being; physical, biological, psychological and spiritual types of being are all manifestations of being, and none of them is “more being” than any other” (Poli 2021). His assertion of *New Ontology* is actually very much related to his understanding of human. He states that human “is not only a spirit; he has a spiritless psychic life, too. He is also an organism and is even a material structure of the same nature as other inanimate things” (Hartmann 1953, 48). And he adds that humans “reacts to certain stimuli instinctively like an animal [...] he propagates his species, just as he experiences thrust and counterthrust like a material object. The organism, for its part, possesses, besides the quality of being animate, also the general character of physical materiality” (ibid).

Moreover, Hartmann argues that the work of art possesses and reflects the ontological levels (Tunalı 1971, 25). Turgut Cansever applies Hartmann’s theory to architecture. Likewise, Cansever asserts that an architectural embodiment at the lowest realm is related to its upper strata, the bio-social; the psychological and the spiritual realms. The problems of the architectural work belonging to the field of material existence, according to Cansever (2010,75) are resolved according to the demands coming from the upper layer, the bio-social sphere. The bio-social sphere is the realm of biological social needs, interactions and relationships. He urges that the decisions and demands of the bio-social sphere also come from the higher sphere of psychology; instincts such as fear, love and the like (Cansever 2005, 20).

I consider Hartmann’s approach to ontology and its adaptation to the architecture by Cansever very useful to understand the architectural products of Erenköy. I argue that Erenköy houses are shaped by the bio-social needs alongside psychology, metaphysics and beliefs. Bio-social needs mostly, in the context, become visible in specially designed *guest* and *sohbet* rooms alongside its grades of publicity and privacy. I assert here that these needs are very much related to the *seeking of comfort* and *negotiation* as a common psychological motivation which emerges as a corollary of voluntary act and reflection of current lifestyle.

Subsequently, psychology is relevant to the spiritual existence and sphere of metaphysics. According to Cansever, (2010, 75) preferences and attitudes belonging to the sphere of the spiritual existence such as modesty, timidity, ostentation, etc. are formed by the reflection of beliefs in the spiritual sphere. I argue that both the houses and the change of the houses display manifestations of its residents' imagination of life and perception of the universe. As Cansever articulates that the decisions and demands of the bio-social sphere stem from the sphere of spiritual existence and eventually from faith (ibid). Beliefs underlie human decisions and these are necessarily reflected in his interaction with the environment as he states and adds that "our preferences in the construction of the environment, namely our architectural and artistic preferences, is the manifestation of what we believe in our actions and products. Briefly, it is a complete manifestation of our faith" (ibid,132; translated by the author).

In the philosophy of Cansever "beautifying the environment and forming collective social space would enhance the formation of a vision of existence and the universe, as it would enable human beings to obtain a place in the world" (Yorgancıoğlu 2012, 9). The interaction of faith and the design becomes apparent in Hayriye's statement: "Houses are more perfect here. Isn't that what God wants? Isn't it privacy, my daughter? We will pay the most attention to privacy." The statement of Ahmet as well declares that "God says 'beware.' We will pay attention to the '*harem-selamlık*.' That is, there are verses and hadiths accordingly. So we always recommend this to neighbour and tenants. Because this is God's command." Abdullah says that "since the founding community came with the desire to live Islam, the rules were Islamic rules. It was a rule that everyone abided by voluntarily."

I argue that faith is observable in interior designs too. In some houses, the use of visual elements, such as photos or pictures on the walls is very limited. It is because Islam limits the depiction and put visuals under some restraints.³⁹ Instead, I assert

³⁹Residents frequently expound their attitude by referencing certain hadiths. A hadith, for instance, reported by Abu Talha says that the Prophet (pbuh) said "Angels do not enter a house that has either a dog or a picture in it." (al-Bukhari 846ADb) Also, as it is narrated from Aisha, the wife of Prophet (pbuh) "The painter of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, Make alive what you have created." (al-Bukhari 846ADc)

that residents usually decorate their walls through clocks, calligraphies referencing some verses from the Quran or natural objects.

Moreover, I think that the relationship between faith, bio-social need, psychology and materiality can all be summarized through a special design of the sink of some houses. The sink is specially designed to ease the ablution.⁴⁰ For the ones who practice Islamic rules, performing pray, therefore ablution is a binding religious duty. The unique design of the new sink eases ablution.

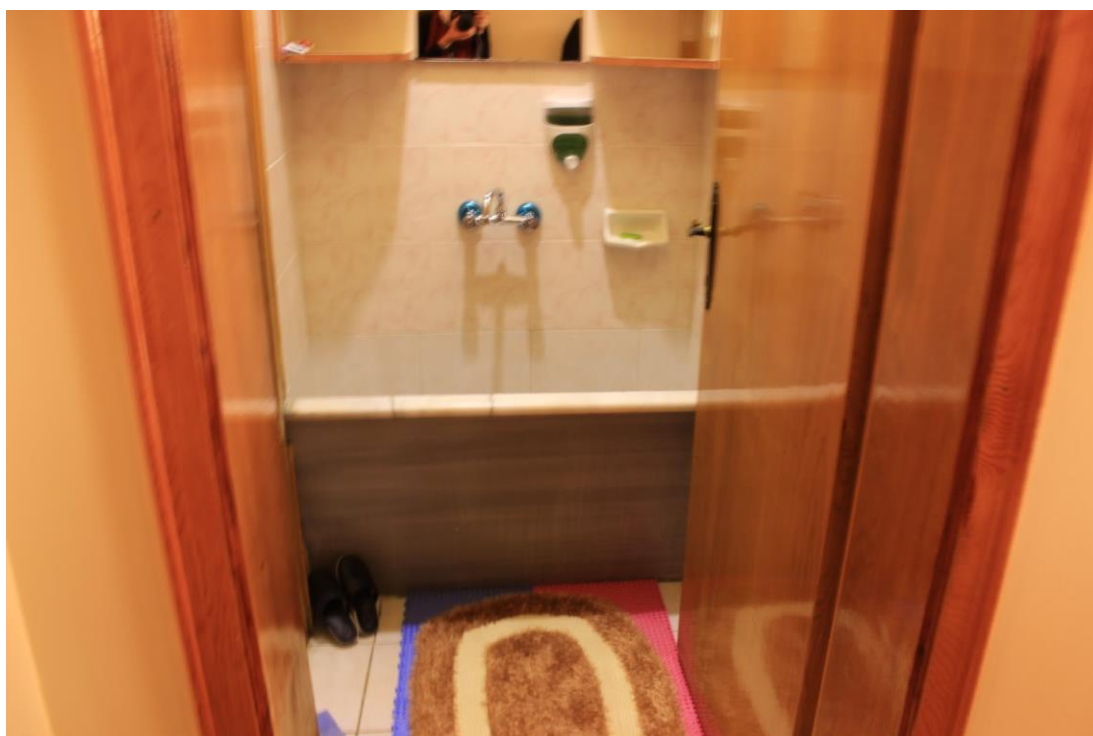


Figure 4. 15. Special Design of Sink for Ablution (Personal Archive)

Why does a resident place such a design of sink in the bathroom? The answer was given to the question inevitably leads us to observe its connection with the faith. Even though the connection is indirect it is still powerfully shaping the designs. The reason, I argue is not only related to belief, just as Hartmann and Cansever have said, is also a bio-social need being related to the feeling of cleanliness, comfort and negotiation on a psychological level.

⁴⁰ Ablution is an act of washing and cleaning of some body parts before prayer. Having an ablution is minor purification ritual in Islam is a prerequisite for worshipping “In preparation for prayer, a person must observe ritual purity (tahara), and wudhu, minor ablution, is obligatory. It requires one to wash the hands, wash the face and beard, wash the arms up to the elbows, rub the scalp, and wash the feet up to the ankles (Adamec 2009b, 253)”

I watched affect in Erenköy insofar as I consider it useful to apprehend the space and the community. Within the scope of this thesis, so far, I have touched upon the motivating role of love, responsibility, and voluntariness, and will add negotiation and comfort to the list in the next chapters. I argued that emotion and affect can be seen as mediators between human productions and human actions to the ideas and concepts.

How can emotions, feelings, and affect play such a critical role in shaping ideas and actions? Affect theory deals with this question by following the movement or circulation of emotions. Ahmed's *Happy Objects* for instance is based on the approach of thinking affect as 'sticky'. She says that "affect is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values and objects" (2010, 30). Similar to Ahmed's *Happiness* (2010), Thrift's "Glamour" (2008); Berlant's "Cruel Optimism" (2010) Probyn's "Shame" (2010), and several and concepts show how powerful and transformative the affect is. As Seigworth and Gregg argues that "affect is in many ways synonymous with force or forces of encounter" (2010, 2). Just as Hartmann's New Ontology and his categorizations of Being, Seigworth and Gregg highlight the nature of in-between-ness for affect: "Affect is born in in-between-ness and resides as accumulative beside-ness" (2010, 2).

Adapting Cansever's conceptualization to the affect theories, I argue that the role of affect in Erenköy is powerful, and it situates in between. It hovers between the sphere of bio-social needs, that is bodily issues and the metaphysical sphere, that is immaterial issues. In any case, affect is useful in shaping material realities. Houses in Erenköy, therefore are more than material structures.

4.3. THE EYES ARE THE MIRRORS OF THE SOUL: FOLLOWING GAZES IN ERENKÖY HOUSES

There is a meaningful idiom both in Turkish and English: "The eyes are the mirrors of the soul."⁴¹ The idiom itself reveals that the vision is followed by feeling. Likewise, in this part of this research, I follow the gazes in Erenköy houses, I attempt to understand where people direct and focus their gazes since I argue what they think and desire can be analyzable on where they look. I assert where they look goes hand in hand with the love of nature, the pursuit of beauty.

⁴¹ Gözler kalbin aynasıdır.

At first, I follow the gaze at the sky hence houses are gardened and allow their residents to look at the infinite blue. Burckhardt verifies the same point in his book by saying that “houses of Fez on the one hand, “is closed in on itself; on the other, it is ever open to infinite” (Burckhardt 1992, 105). Likewise, the houses of Erenköy, delimited with the walls and doors, present a distinctive and ‘infinite’ sphere. They offer an extended universe for their residents. Staying behind the walls, houses do not visually communicate the street and the neighbours, but they interact the nature through their lush, and respectively green gardens. By their lush gardens, light breeze and airy atmosphere, they present a distinct perspective to look out to the cosmos. Gardens, in that case, are usually designed to be watched. Even though some parts of the gardens are used for small scale agricultural activities, they are more aesthetic than the usual agricultural land. Those picturesque gardens unravel the link between spaces, belief and beauty. The story of the garden below including antic objects, pergolas and chairs, for example, is a strong strive for beauty as Bachelard says: “For our house is our corner of the world [...] it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word. If we look at it intimately, the humblest dwelling has beauty ”(Bachelard [1958] 1994, 4).

The garden located in historical Erenköy was designed and maintained by its proprietors for *temaşa*, by their statement. Meaning “to look” the concept of *temaşa* points beyond looking on, it prioritizes the feeling more than the action. It means to watch somewhere by relishing it (TDK 2021). The house owner says that “in this house, for example, I have hourly seats: The white table until 10 o'clock, the table in front of the door between 13 and 15 o'clock, the pergola after 15 o'clock, and the balcony in late afternoon and evening.” That is, he interacts with the garden and nature depending on the sun and shade.

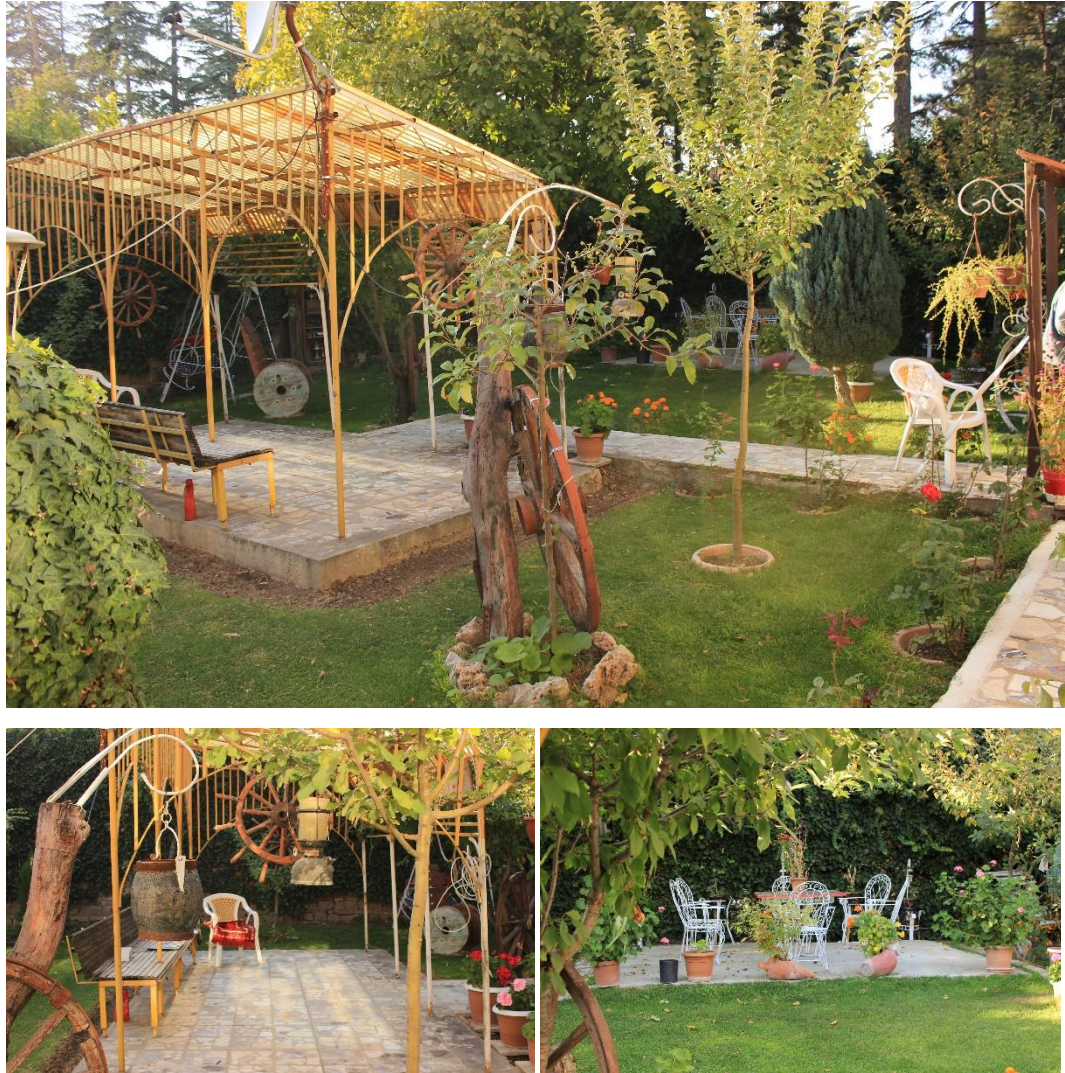


Figure 4. 16. The Garden of a House (Personal Archive)

However, this ‘beautiful’ garden brings a non-negligible factor alongside design, which is the economy due to the water bills costing around 800 Turkish liras per month. However, it seems that he eventually found a way for it by hiring his venue photographers. The house owner does not hold it a business. He neither has any sign at the house nor advertisements. Nevertheless, he accepts some familiar photographers occasionally his venue to take photographs in return to 200 Turkish liras for two hours. Consequently, it proves that capital flow can not be underestimated in the production of space. As Lefebvre (1991, 9) says that “few people today would reject the idea that capital and capitalism ‘influence’ practical matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labour.”



Figure 4. 17. Looking from Balcony to Backyard (Personal Archive)

Temaşa reflects interior design as well. Not today, but for fifty years ago, Erenköy's windows and its interiors used to be designed according to cushion-pillow sitting.⁴² Cushion-pillow was a useful decoration for indoor, however, it was given up by time. Rooms for today, either equipped with fixed divans or items of furniture. The cushion-pillow way of sitting is still very compatible with the windows which were designed as low as a sitting person to watch outside. Windows designed nearly 2 meters in size starting its lower limit 60-80 centimetres above the ground.

By comparing it to the wall, and the door, windows have a more significant mission: They enable a person to see. It is transparent and it is limited through the vision. According to Simmel, it “gives to the window only a part of the deeper and more fundamental significance of the door” (1994, 8). Windows serve as a mediator between human space and nature, by reflecting nature through gazes. In this case, windows are the eyes opening towards the outside. It works “from inside to outside: it is there for looking out, not for looking in” (ibid). Windows of Erenköy too, are created to look out, by admiration. Some houses have big balconies to watch the gardens, as well as some others, have big size windows.

⁴² Cushion-pillow design is a traditional way of interior design takes its premises from the earlier Turkish tent. Later it was adopted in the interior design of traditional Turkish house.



Figure 4. 18. An Example for Cushion-Pillow Design (Küçükerman 1985, 79)

I asked at the beginning that “where do people look, how do they perceive their environment, and what does motivate their designs?” By asking so, I assert that sensations, insights and imaginaries are directly representable in dwellings, types of furniture, designs and objects. Besides, I do suppose that Erenköy’s characteristics and its resident's aspirations can be analysable through the interior objects. I assert that space in Erenköy is not something that is “out there” in a way, it is rather, something that has the potential to allow us to exist at the same time. It also exists and changes too, through our actions.

CHAPTER V

SPATIAL CHANGE

“Nothing endures but change” says Herakleitos. Change as he states, is inevitable and it is the nature of our dynamic globe. Likewise, space changes through actions and operations. Erenköy as well did not remain as it was dreamed of. Starting with 16 householders, it has reached 13 thousand inhabitants at the present day. While it was growing from 1969 on, the understanding of space has also changed.

Its streets visibly reflect the changing mechanisms. Their ever-increasing touristic popularity is observable through *the street of lovers* in where full of declarations of love and names on the walls exist. In addition, it can be detected by the visitors of the streets *i.e.* photographers, strollers, drifters and young couples. Its residents, accordingly, complain about the intense crowd, increasing cases of burglary and the feeling of insecurity. The recent image of wealthy Erenköy by the increase in brand-new villas functions for appealing to burglars; equipped cameras and security systems emerge as a kind of reaction to increased tourist activity and theft.

In this chapter, first I follow the spatial and social change in Erenköy through the spatial elements and *‘aşabîyah*. I urge that change stems from the spatial expansion, infusion of different communities, therefore, decrease of the recognition of residents *inter se*, in sum, the decrease of *‘aşabîyah*, responsibility, voluntariness and negotiation. Second, I investigate ongoing discussions on a controversial field, Konya Cement Anatolian Fine Arts High School by unfolding contestations among the residents and students, that is insiders *versus* outsiders. Third I focus on Erenköy’s others and outsiders by following the tension among the established and the rest. Eventually I argue that Erenköy’s change is inevitable.

5.1. “PRECIOUS LAND FOR SALE”: ERENKÖY IS EXPANDING

I ask the interlocutors how they feel about the present-day Erenköy. They say that they love to be there even though they have some slight complaints. They nearly all, declare that Erenköy has changed. However, some of them deem the change a development, while some others underline its role of degeneration.

The change has been started by the independent or collective housing strategies from the middle of the '70s on, just after Erenköy has been established. Independent people showed interest in Erenköy, bought land and built a house insofar as it was a developing place and respectively cheaper. The advertisement in the local newspaper show some land for sale. The advertisement at the left is from *Yeni Konya* in 1st May 1972 says *Precious Land For Sale*: “A very precious 16607 square meter land with a 319 meter front to the road and a depth of 53 meters is for sale in Erenköy, on the Silles Road.” And the advertisement at right from *Yeni Konya* in June 1972 says “in Erenköy; and on the left of Silles Road, the parcels and the whole field will be sold in a hurry” (translated by the author).

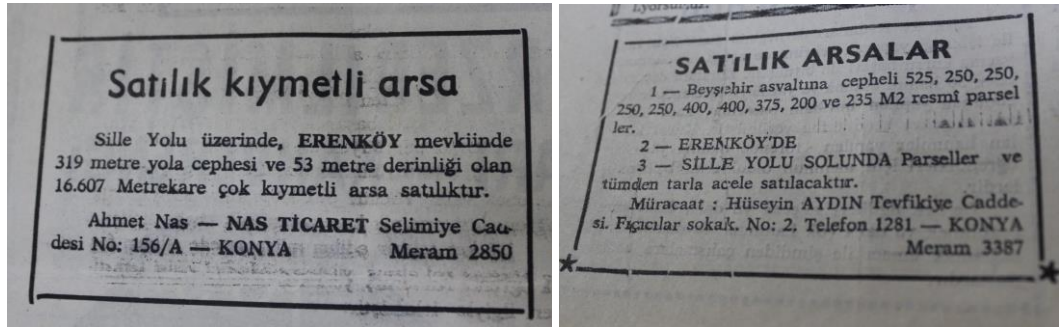


Figure 5. 1. Lands For Sale (Yeni Konya 1972)

These advertisements in 1972 denote the beginning of the process of inhabitation in Erenköy. People who have the land in these years have started to be inhabited in 1975 circa, not for religious or emotional but economic motives. Nevzat Gediz who migrated from Germany, came to Erenköy in 1975 due to its economic affordability. He says that “(we came because) we bought the land from here. Not for Tahir Hodja.” Hüseyin moved to Erenköy in 80’s verifies by saying that “we came in the '80s. Not for Tahir Hodja or someone else.” Rahim Say migrated from his village in 1978 says that they came to Erenköy since they found affordable land:

My friend said, ‘I have a few parcels in Erenköy, let me give you a few, 20 liras.’ [...] We got a parcel from here [...] There was nobody on this land. After I moved here after the completion of the construction, I could

not supply water here for two years [...] There was no electricity, we were managing with a lamp.



Figure 5. 2. An Orthographic Photo in 1986

Independent houses differ in housing plans and spatial organizations to the mainstream of Erenköy houses for some aspects. Whilst the publicity and privacy was encountered in spatial organizations for the first houses, it was less adopted by the newcomers. Second, their garden walls are not as higher as the foundational houses'. Third, some houses include traditional models or elements in designs due to the resident's rural background. Fourth, the houses have been built by considering economic affordability in terms of materials and the number of rooms. The plan below and the photos show the strive of economic affordability in terms of material, and design.



Figure 5. 3. Some Independent Houses (Personal Archive)

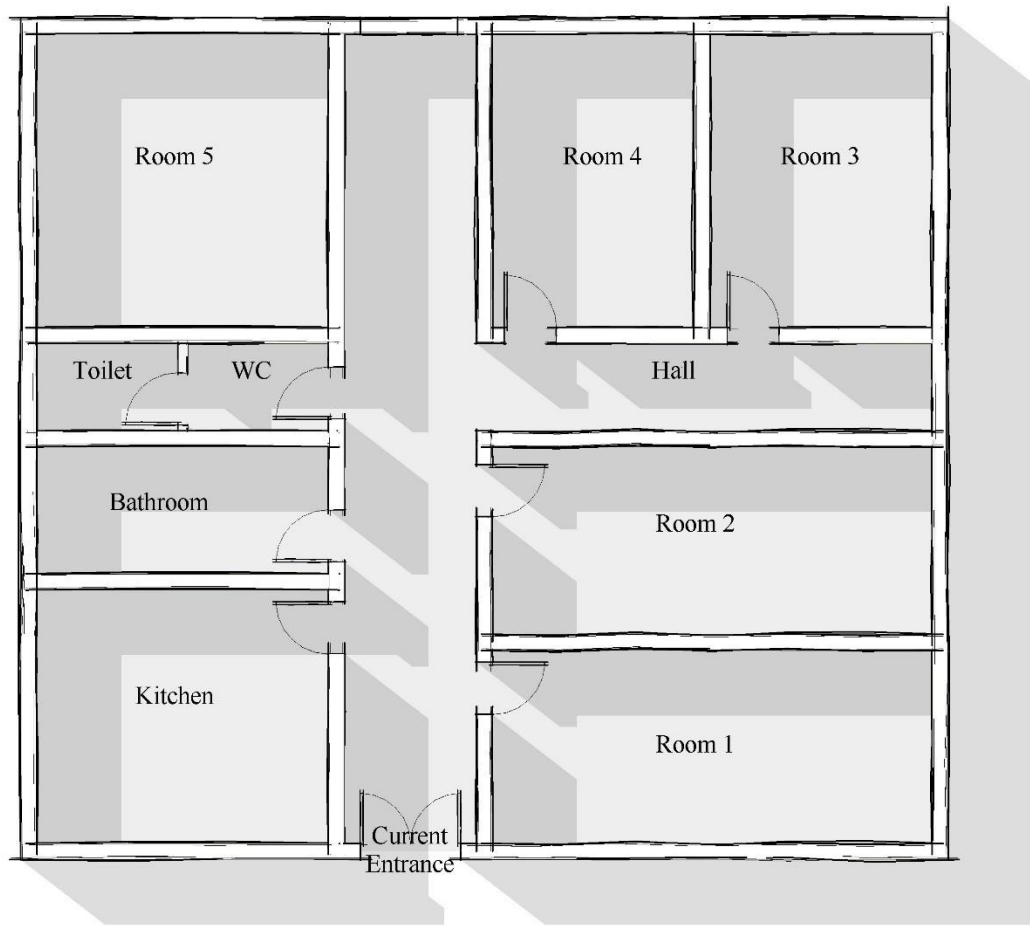


Figure 5. 4. Schematic Plan of House 11

In the following years, as of the mid-1980s, the expansion was accelerated by collective housing strategies organized by a cooperative system. Cooperative systems are defined by law as “partnerships with variable partners and variable capital established by real and legal persons in order to provide and protect certain economic interests of their partners, especially their profession or livelihoods, through mutual assistance, solidarity and bail, with a legal personality” (1163 Kooperatifler Kanunu 1969; translated by the author). It is a very suitable system for collective housing which requires the financial and voluntary participation of people.

Cooperative systems, in terms of housing, first was implemented in Berlin in 1847, however, it was widely adopted by other countries in time (Zadil 2011). It was adopted in Turkey for the first time in 1934 in Ankara Bahçelievler example

(Müftüoğlu 2001, 56). From 1934 on, the cooperative housing systems had accelerated in the 1980s Turkey. In these years, with the beginning of loan applications from the Mass Housing Fund (*Toplu Konut Fonu*), cooperatives became widespread throughout the country. Mass Housing Law No. 2487 was enacted in 1981 to bring a solution to the housing problem and to make low and middle-income people house owners by giving loans to housing organizations from the Mass Housing Fund. So much so that it has been practised, eventually, the share of housing cooperatives in the total housing market approached 50% in the early 1990s (“T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı” 2019). It was widely practised by the ones who want to own one’s own house in an affordable way. The social bond between the people is sustained here through the financial co-partnership.

Erenköy’s urban growth follows Turkey’s mainstream trend of housing. Cooperative housing in Erenköy can be seen as an accelerator for the process of habitation. As of the mid-1980s, Eseroğlu family says that 131 cooperative houses through the collaboration of 100 participators in Erenköy were constructed occupying an immense part of the neighbourhood’s land. While cooperatives tend to build high rise apartments, Erenköy case resulted in three stories at maximum due to the construction law limiting buildings there, to two stories due to the soft soil. Since then, they were designed private, twin block and gardened. Having an affordable, gardened house in a quiet place also was a motivation for coming to Erenköy in those years. Eseroğlu family says that they came here since the houses have gardens and they were affordable.



Figure 5. 5. A Cooperative House in Erenköy (Personal Archive)

Houses constructed in the cooperative system show nearly the same typological plans. The plan of houses does not have any specific features related to religiosity or tradition.

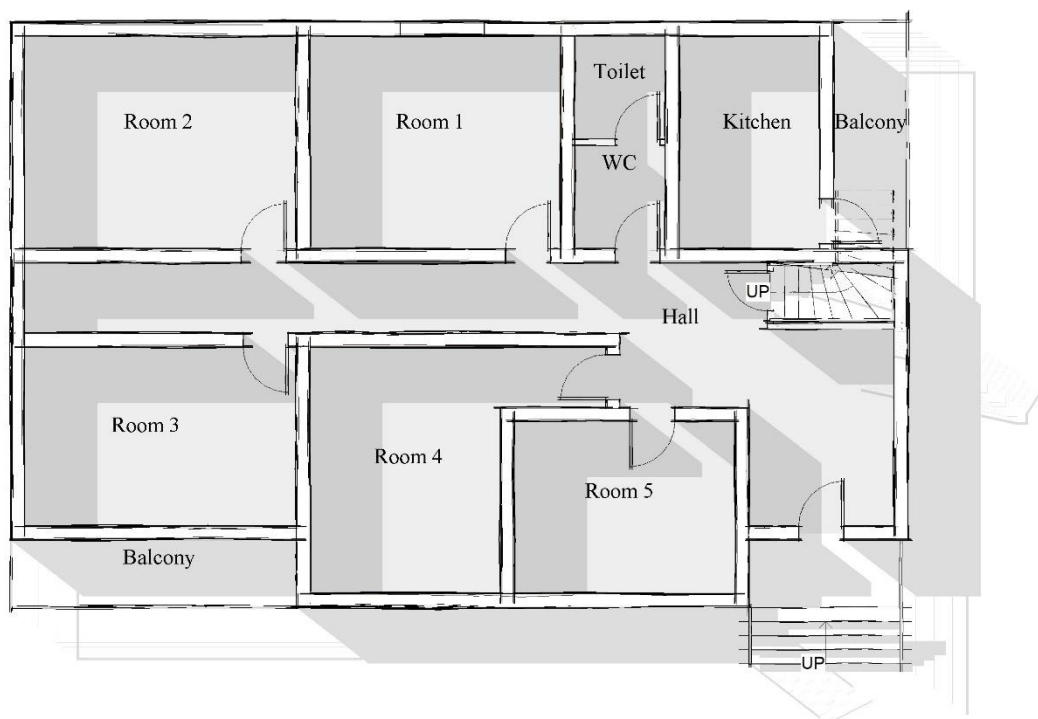


Figure 5. 6. Schematic Plan of House 12

Independent housing activities eventually come up with a need for a new mosque in the mids of '80s. For the new mosque, newcomers gathered and established an NGO to collect donations.⁴³ In 1983, eventually, they got enough financial sources to start the construction and completion. They designed the mosque much larger in size, without a dome and with a minaret in the architectural sense.⁴⁴



Figure 5. 7. Ramazanoğlu Mosque (Personal Archive)

For the following years, it ought to be said that the recent image of Erenköy gradually embraced a luxurious appearance by villas. Erenköy's clean air, soft ambience, closeness to the town and low-rise outlook paved the way for its gentle image. Villas, indeed, shape Erenköy's current predominant face. They may easily be differentiated from other houses due to their lux and modern outlook. They are less traditional, gated, and some have distinguished elements such as saunas and swimming pools. They are mostly private, two and a half story, detached and gardened houses that usually do not hold traditional characteristics.

⁴³ At first, a philanthropist donated his parcel. Then, Tahir hodja forwarded people for their donation. once at the end of his sermon in the central mosque by saying “Tahir hodja will be a guarantor of every piastre you donated.” After becoming a deputy also, he endowed two months of his full salary.

⁴⁴ This mosque has a similarity to the previous mosque built in 1971. Spoila was practised one more time. Again, the material in the roof was not efficient and they needed to collect material from a recently demolished building. Rahim Say says that “We were looking for roof tiles. We came halfway, closed half, could not close the half. I went to Tahir hodja, I said, we will not be able to close it. There was a Bekçi Ahmet Ağa, in his garden, they destroyed the old building and brought the old tiles here. [...] We brought it (his houses' old tiles) from there and laid them on the backward face, the backside is completely with old tiles. I will never forget.”



Figure 5. 8. Villas of Erenköy Neighbourhood (Kent Bilgi Sistemi)

An interlocutor living in one of those villas says that she has not heard the story of Erenköy. She also declares that she does not know anyone from the original settlers. She moved here inasmuch as she like the region: “We have been in Erenköy for 23 years. We moved in 96. Very beautiful, calm and green all around. I love pine scents. Good weather. My husband bought this place as the land and then we built it ourselves.” Nevertheless, her position does not indicate a rigid classification. That is to say, people who came for Tahir Hodja still existed, after the 2000's even. Hasan Hüseyin says:

In 2008 I came. Before coming here, I did not know that Tahir Hodja was here. We saved some money to buy land. The neighbour said that Tahir Hodja dwells here, then I decided to buy it. I was going to buy and sell to make money, I gave up, I built a house, now I'm dwelling.

The people who come beside those houses are respectively wealthier and the villas they reside in generally are sold out around three million Turkish liras.⁴⁵ The numbers of villas are not less in Erenköy rather they give the common characteristics of today's neighbourhood. Figure 5.10 which was illustrated by the GIS data, orthographic maps and personal visits shows the general development of the houses in time. As it was seen in the illustration, houses more or less follow three mainstream building trends. The first and the oldest trend shows the building activities of *muhibban*. The second color shows the second wave trend of housing which comprises mostly 1970's circa to 2005 circa. Those houses include both a part of independent houses and cooperative houses. Last and the third trend of houses comprise mostly the brand-new villas or apartments which includes the houses built after 2005.

⁴⁵ The price of those houses shows nearly thousands of times more than the minimum wage of the country as of 2021.

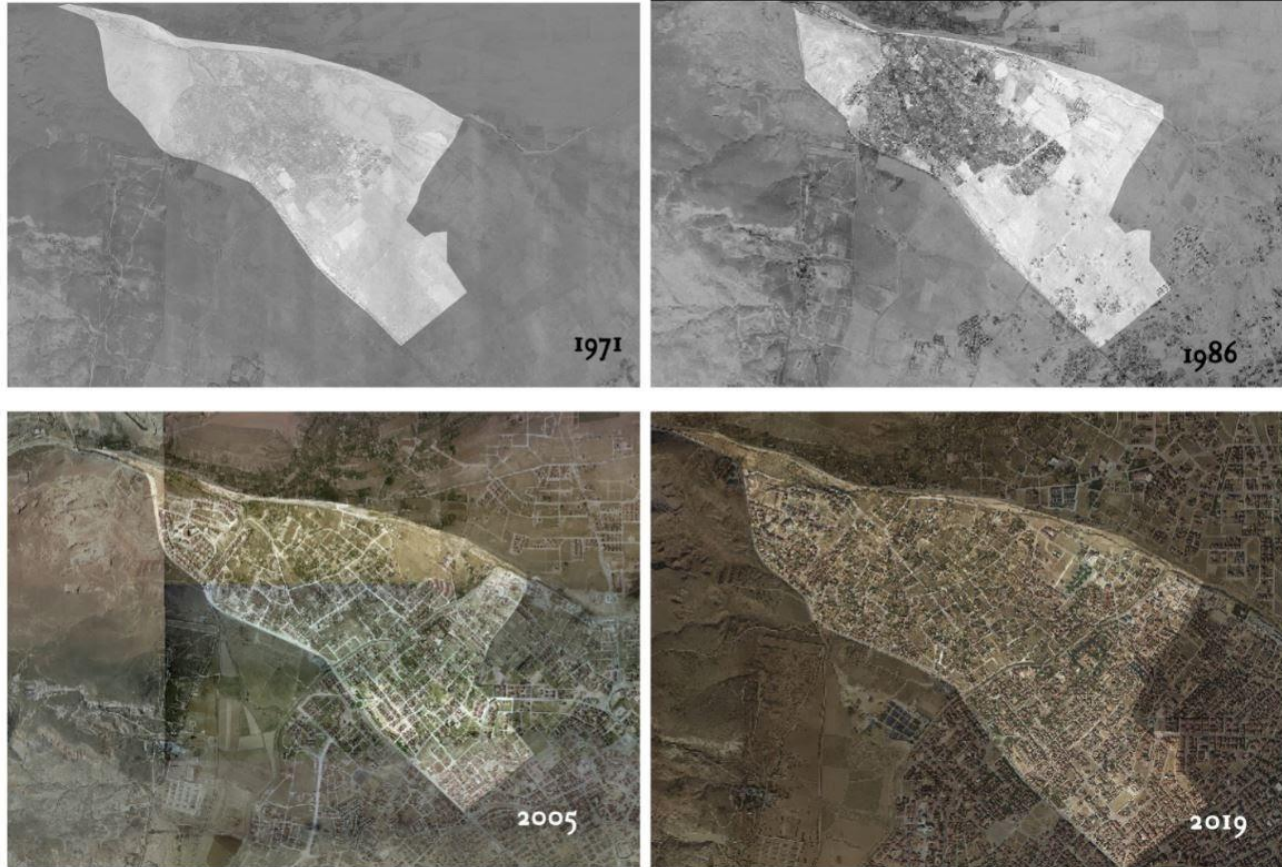


Figure 5. 9. Spatial Expansion of Erenköy in Time (Kent Bilgi Sistemi)

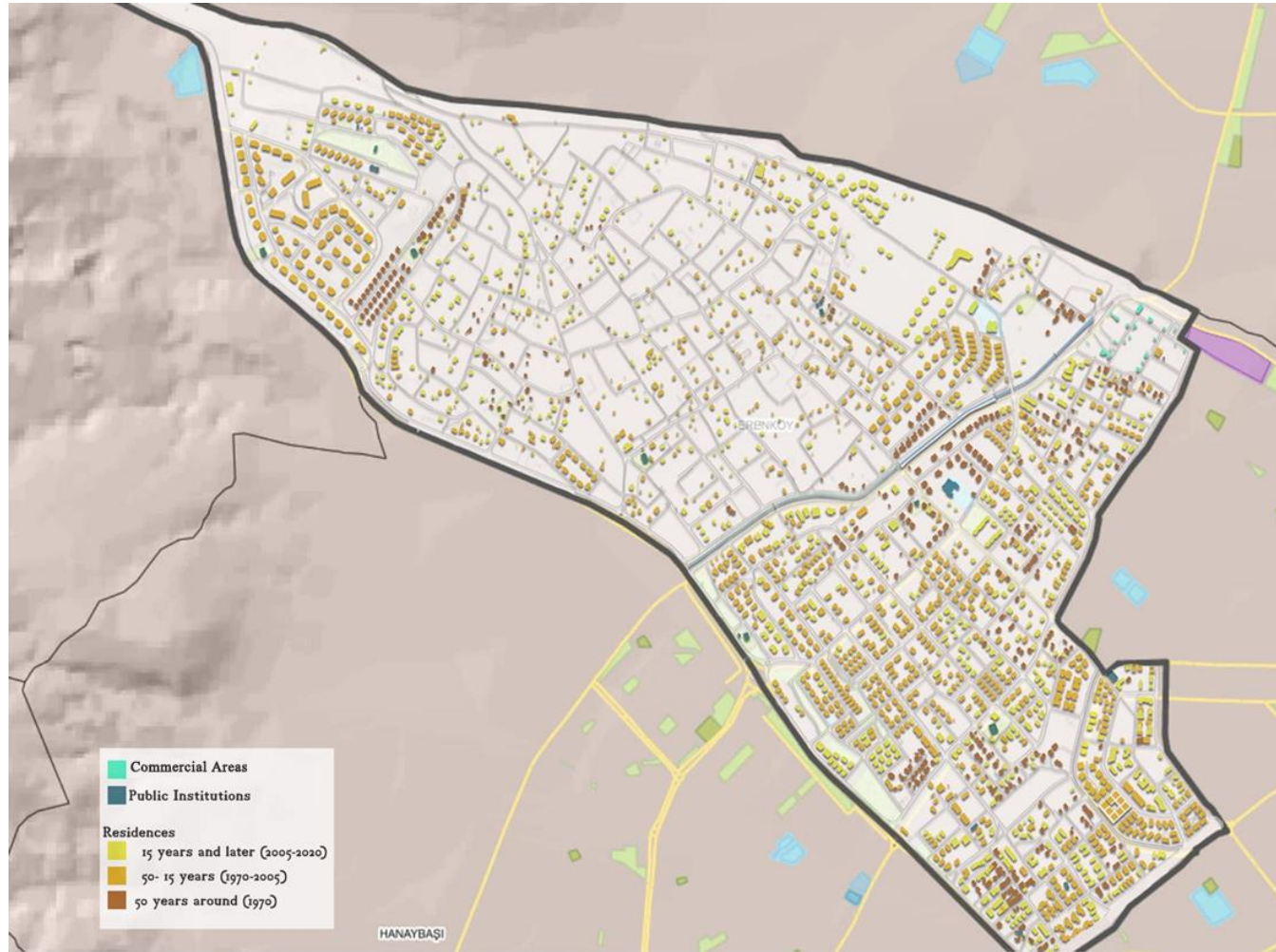


Figure 5. 10. Housing Trends in Erenköy by Time (Personal Archive)

Erenköy's popularity can visibly be seen in the change of its land's market value (Figure 5.11). The calculation of the current market value of the land is normally determined by an interdisciplinary commission, called the "valuation commission (*takdir-değer komisyonu*) under the leadership of the Municipality. This commission periodically updates the current market values of the land. When I asked about the sudden increase in the market value of the land in 2013, Selçuklu Municipality Unit of Financial Services explained this drastic increase as a strive for capturing the normal values in the market and balancing the existing values for determining a realistic land value. That is, even by looking at the graphic, it is possible to grasp how Erenköy's land has been valued for years.

Market value of the land for Erenköy region (per square meter)

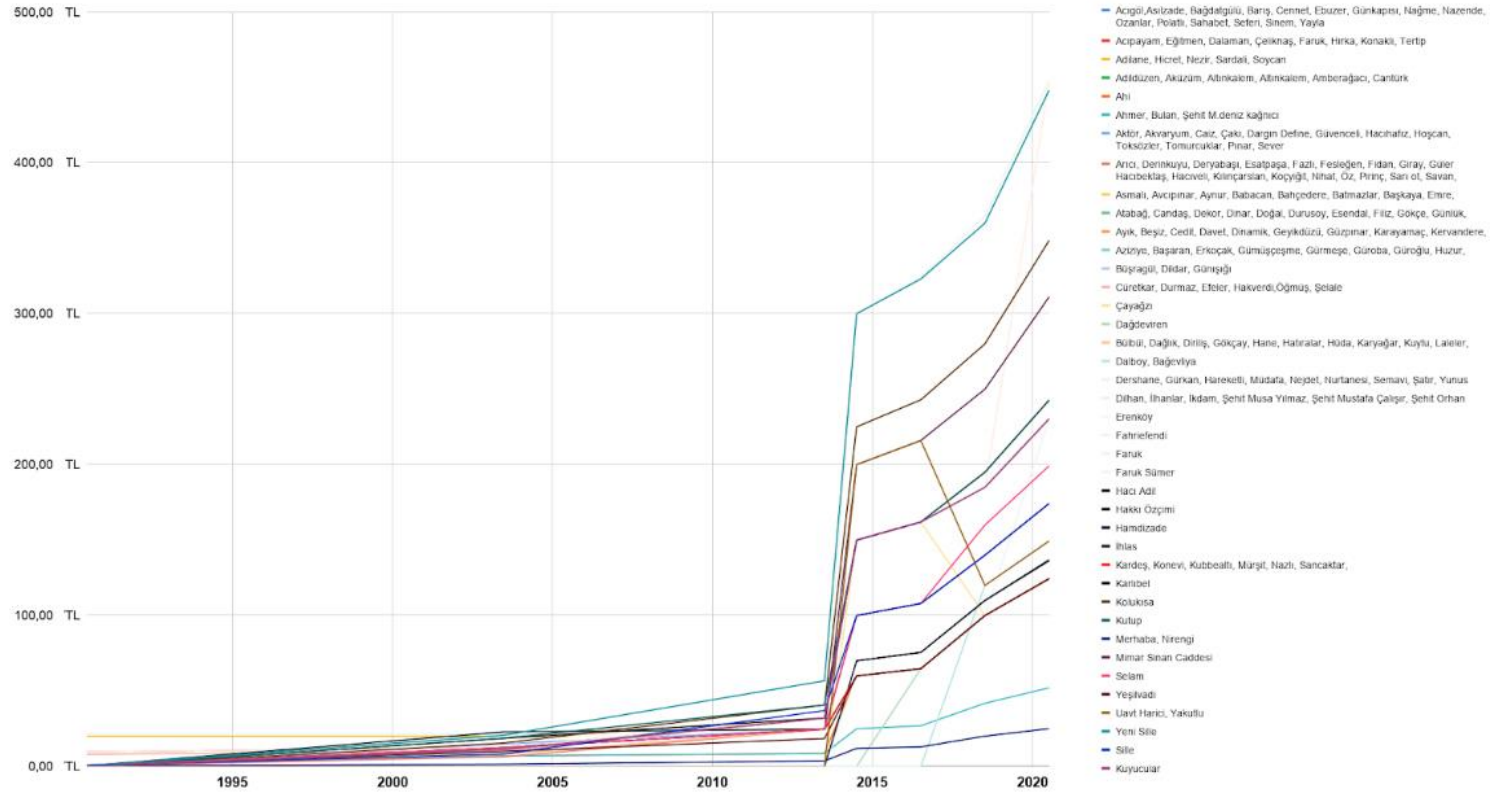


Figure 5. 11. Change of the Market Value of Land in Erenköy (Personal Archive)

5.2. A CONTROVERSIAL FIELD: KONYA CEMENT ANATOLIAN FINE ARTS HIGH SCHOOL

While walking in Erenköy, there is a place that will attract the attention as much as lux villas: *Konya Cement Anatolian Fine Arts High School*. What brought one of the biggest changes to Erenköy was undoubtedly Konya Çimento Anatolian Fine Arts High School as the first public institution and one of the most controversial and discursive spaces in the neighbourhood. The high school of Fine Arts in Erenköy is the only school of fine arts in the city situated at the heart of the neighbourhood. It was completed in 2000 and gave its first graduates in 2004.



Figure 5. 12. Konya Cement Anatolian Fine Arts High School (Personal Archive)

While some residents are satisfied with this school, others are not at all. Dissatisfied people have various complaints and critics regarding their ethical concerns. They complain about students' "impudent" behaviours and careless attitudes towards the opposite gender. Eventually, some of them think that this school was built to disrupt Erenköy. They think that it has deliberately been put at the centre of Erenköy to ruin its harmony and religiosity. A resident says: "They built fine arts here. To deteriorate this place [...] Here it is a terrible school. With this system, they built it, especially into Erenköy. Why is that? Because there was no such deterioration in Erenköy. Did

they have reached their aim? Yes, they did.” Mustafa says that he went to the news agencies to spread their protestation and tell their discontent. He says that he published some interviews and writings. Like him, several people do have doubts about how the land was provided to build this school.



Figure 5. 13. An Orthographic Photo from 2019 (Kent Bilgi Sistemi)

I turn to historical maps to understand how the Fine Arts High School was built in this area. I come across the oldest map in the archive of the Municipality. According to decision number 33 taken on 16.07.1997, the region first was allocated for primary school. It seems that this area was initially considered as a primary school area, and then it was decided to turn into a high school.

Who decided to build a high school? Are the people of Erenköy right to doubt or is this some kind of speculation? I still do not know exactly how this decision was taken, however, municipal employees consider *Konya Provincial Directorate of National Education* responsible for this issue. *Konya Provincial Directorate of National Education* asserts that an independent inspector made a regional analysis for the area and determined a need for a high school. According to the construction law, this is necessary to provide an extensive analysis before deciding what is going to be built in the field and what is needed in the region be it primary-secondary or high school. By doing so the Directorate declares that the construction of a high school in Erenköy was taken by an inspector's decision.

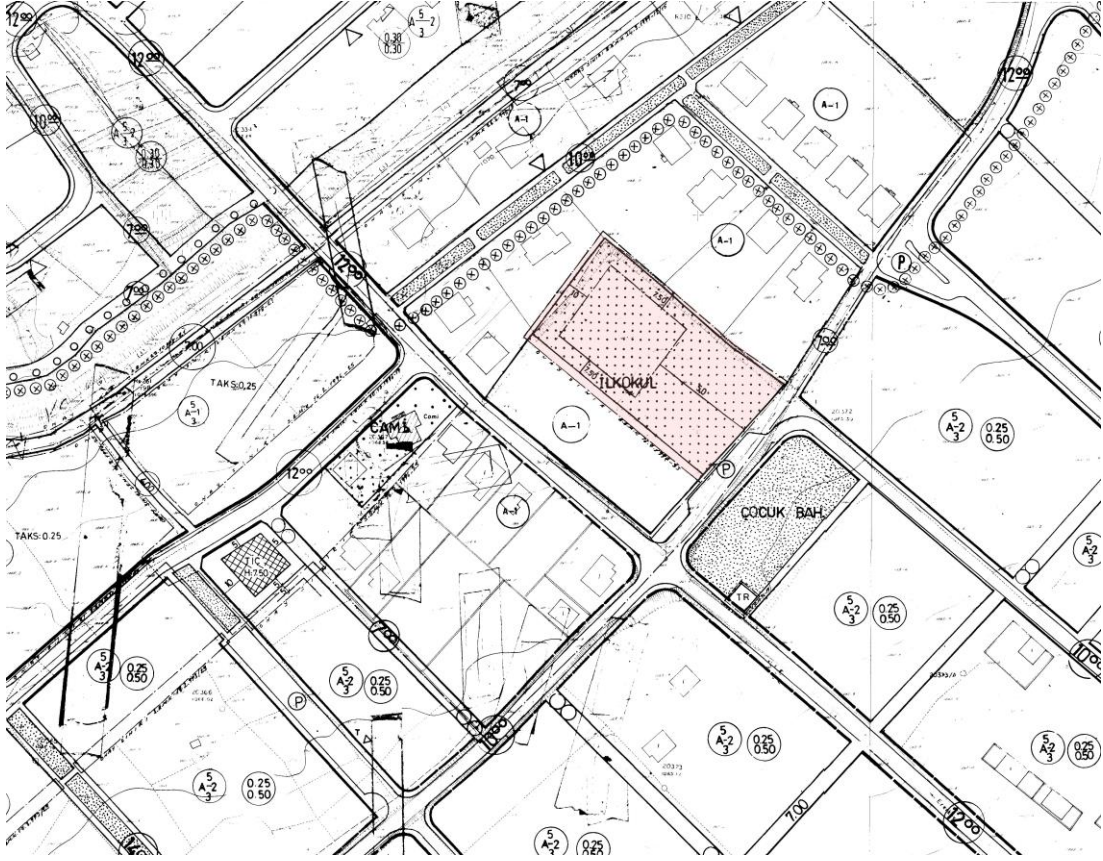


Figure 5. 14. The Oldest Map Showing the School Area

Looking at the plan changes, it seems possible to say that the decision of high school was taken later. High school buildings require larger parcels following regulations and laws (Resmi Gazete 2017). Besides, fine arts high schools require some additional spaces according to *The Guide of Educational Buildings' Design of Minimum Standards* (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2015). Since the parcel was not sufficient for a high school area noted above, therefore it expanded. The expansion seems to have been updated in the plan six years after the school was built, in 2006 with decision number 294 taken by the Konya Metropolitan Municipality Assembly Commission on 15.12.2006 (Figure 5.15).

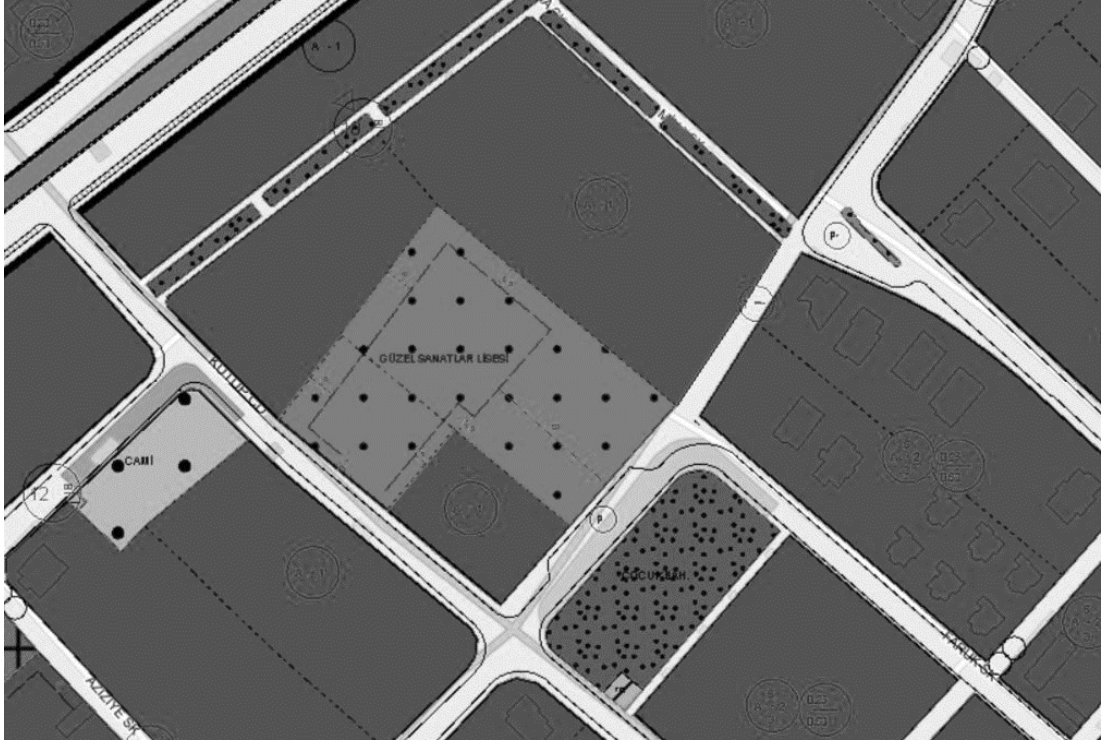


Figure 5. 15. The Map Showing the Expansion

Why the school was built there on purpose, by whose decision it was built seems quite unclear. But one way or another, the difference between the students and the neighbourhood can be read even on the street.

Some of the residents of Erenköy are indeed uncomfortable with the students, but some others consider their existence as a kind of opportunity. Küçükşenel family says that they do not have even slightest complaints in the school. Even though they settle next to the school and say that they are happy to hear the voices of instruments always. Nesib Parlak says that he has no complaint, he is even happy when he sees students at the mosque for Friday prayers. Şahnur Yağdıran says that while seeing the students she feels sorrow and always prays for them. It must be said that the Fine Arts High School played a major role in the spatial and social change of the neighbourhood by contributing to the pluralistic environment.

Lefebvre's spatial triad is quite useful to understand how space has been conceived, lived and perceived differently. According to the inspector who took the decision of building the Fine Arts High School, it may be conceived as a need for the neighbourhood to make the area more prosperous. But today, it has been perceived from some circles as a hostile interference. Lived space, on the other hand, demonstrates how space can change with the inclusion of people and their experiences.

5.3. ERENKÖY'S OTHERS AND OUTSIDERS

This part of the thesis draws attention to the established-outsiders relation in Erenköy. Erenköy, as I argue, was not only the result of a group's self-manifestation of desire to live in Islam, also the result of one group's ideological, social, and economic demarcation from another group. Although founders say that they are all united by the “love of Tahir Hodja” there were several things to unite them: Worldview, life practices, and financial situations. Looking at their worldview, none of them saw themselves as secular. Life practices were very intertwined with religiosity *e.g.* prayer, fasting, and *sohbet* events. Looking at their life standards, they shows that they belong to a higher socio-economic background.

Where and from whom did the founders separate themselves? To put it simply: The city. They separated themselves from the city and established a new urban land. However, the utopia based on social progress started to be well-liked by others just a few years later. Before long, the city and its residents surrounded Erenköy. How then did this demarcation in Erenköy result in time? How were the relations, tactics, and strategies produced between the old settlers and the newcomers?

Norbert Elias (1994) seeks an answer to a similar question in his book *The Established and the Outsiders*. In the study, he questions how a group of people can monopolise power and use it to exclude and label members of its opponent group. His research shows that the established group at Winston Parva manages control and power over others through various mechanisms such as gossip and discrimination. Both groups seek to create an identity that will call itself “we”. Between two groups, there were no differences in nationality, in ethnic descent, in race, in the type of occupation, income and educational levels. “Both were working-class areas. The only difference between them was [...]: one group was formed by old residents established in the neighbourhood for two or three generations and the other was a group of newcomers” (Elias 1994, xvii) Elias (1994 xxii) illustrates the mechanism in following way:

The group of old residents, families whose members had known each other for more than one generation, had established among themselves a common mode of living and a set of norms. They observed certain standards and were proud of it. Hence the influx of newcomers to their neighbourhood was experienced by them as a threat to their established way of life even though the newcomers were fellow nationals. For the core group of the old part of Winston Parva, the sense of their own standing and of their belonging was bound up with their communal life and its tradition. To preserve what they felt to be of high value, they closed ranks against the newcomers, thus protecting

their identity as a group and asserting its superiority.

It is obvious that the “others” and “outsiders” in Erenköy emerged alongside the spatial expansion that took place over time. Just as Ellias does, when describing the “others” in Erenköy, it is possible to trace this concept back to the first independent settlers. Similar to Winston Parva there is no difference in Erenköy between older residents and newer in terms of their nationality, ethnic descent, race, occupation, income, and educational levels. Rather, being older and established creates hidden barriers among these groups.

Settlers who came in the 1970s mostly felt that they were the “others” in Erenköy. They generally say that “we are not Erenköy, the real Erenköy is there.” Nevzat Gediz says that “Erenköy neighbourhood was there (by pointing forward) before us. They founded Erenköy, not us. [...] Abdullah Pekyatırmacı says that “streets by cedar pine are Erenköy, except those are ‘Erenköy neighbourhood’ not Erenköy.” Another resident says that “(even) those who came with Tahir hodja did not want the neighbourhood to be expanded here and (other) people to come. So they behaved in that way. However, it is one's land, one buys it and builds one's house.” Moreover, another resident says that she feels a strict division among them and the residents of historical Erenköy::

I did not see anyone walking here from that (Kuba) street [...] Well, once in my life, maybe I have passed that street once in 25 years. (I do not go) because I feel uneasy and uncomfortable there. It seems to me that there is a wall once as in Johannesburg, there are blacks on one side and noble whites on the other. There is something between us never be overcome. What do I do then? I do not go out much outside.

“Others and outsiders” in Erenköy can be seen as Fine Arts students, local tourists, photographers, and those who come here later. *al-Muhammed* family, a Syrian refugee family living in historical Erenköy, say that they have never felt exclusion and discrimination in the neighbourhood and are very happy for living in Erenköy. However it is very visible that they do not develop neighbourliness due to their language barrier. Only the youngest member of the family who is in its 10's ages and speaks Turkish is known and communicated by residents. Moreover, another family who has been living as a tenant in historical Erenköy for more than ten years thinks that no one has developed intimacy and friendship with them since they are tenants.

It seems that the established-outsiders relation in Erenköy is not operated within a

stigmatization and gossip mechanism as in Winston Parva. The mechanism here is mostly built on the dilemma of communicating or not communicating. As I portrayed in the previous chapters, İlyas the owner of Özgün Market feels pressure since he sells cigarettes and is warned by a resident who says that I will not talk to you if you smoke. The dilemma of communication is seen in *sohbet* groups again. While people who are together in *sohbet groups* develop friendships and communication with each other, those who are not involved are being deprived of them.

In addition, the people of Erenköy have an “other” in their minds with which they often compare themselves: The people of Meram. They say that the place where it may physically resemble Erenköy in Konya the most is the Meram district. Both have nice airy, less dense places known in the city as wealthy venues. However, the people of Erenköy differentiate themselves from the people of Meram whom they considered as *elite*. By repeatedly saying that “we are not like Meram” they strive to emphasize the humility of people in Erenköy. They usually differentiate themselves by emphasizing their strong connection to ethics, and religion. Erenköy is known today for its piety and wealth at the same time. Erenköy residents as well accept being “wealthy” but they add “wealthy but humble not elite.” Ahmet, a resident, differentiates the two neighbourhoods by saying that “for example, in Meram, human relations are zero. There is a dog in front of people’s houses so that no one can enter. But it is not like that in ours, brothers know us. We have religious conversations once in a fortnight.” I verify his statement in terms of my house visits, however, still, the difference between being wealthy and elite seems very ambivalent. Grasping economic differences also requires further research.

The contestation between the photographers, lovers, local tourists, fine-arts students, outsiders and the former inhabitants shows how the power and rule have shifted to the opposite side over time. While former residents were not allowing a terrace to the loft for fifty years ago, they could not intervene and not prevent the events happening just in front of their houses. No matter how much the established use the communication mechanism, the side of power seems to have changed in Erenköy. These and several other examples show that the owners of the space in Erenköy are not its founders anymore.

Change is inevitable since time is inevitable. Within the scope of this thesis, I do not

discuss whether the change is a contribution or degeneration, rather I try to illustrate the current situation of Erenköy by focusing on the change itself. As I claimed, change in Erenköy was a result of a natural process. This process was related to the expansion of Erenköy, the ageing of its founders, the dissolution of *asabiyah* between them and therefore decrease in voluntariness, responsibility and negotiation. I argue that alongside spatial expansion and the dissolve of *asabiyah*, the most basic thing, the solidarity between people, is weakened. Ahmet Koçak says that:

Here, we used to exchange eid greetings in our house. We would buy our candies, we would go to another house [...] However this tradition was removed a few years later. Now everybody comes here from the city, yet nobody knows about anything about anyone. Those who knew about us have already gone, others came.

Likewise, “Ibn Khaldun precise the change to a mere element: Asabiyah” (Kayapınar 2006, 86; translated by the author). According to Kayapınar, Ibn Khaldun, unlike other thinkers, did not consider change as an external factor, but as an internal variable related to all other factors (ibid). Ibn Khaldun argues that spatial growth may deteriorate social solidarity and may lead to both insecurity and corruption. “Immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery, for the purposes of making a living in a proper or an improper manner, increase among them [...] People are now devoted to lying, gambling, cheating, fraud, theft, perjury, and usury” (Ibn Khaldūn 2015, 4:18). Ibn Khaldun says that it is related to the excessive growth of the city. “The town will extend farther and farther. Eventually, the layout of the town will cover a wide area, and the town will extend so far and so wide as to be (almost) beyond measurement. This happened in Baghdad and similar (cities)” (Ibn Khaldūn 2015, 4:1).

It would be unrealistic for Erenköy to resist change since the day it was founded. By the time, Erenköy got older, its people got older, some of them died by inheriting the house to the following generation. Some of them voluntarily adopted the change, some others were too old to resist. Moreover, human relations weakened and led to alienation among the Erenköy people. Respectively wealthier residents moved to the city center by transforming its former house to a summer villa, those who could not move executed some changes in the house either by uniting previously separated units or locking and not using them. Today’s Erenköy shows that change coming alongside time is inevitable.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

“Space is never empty, it always embodies a meaning.” Lefebvre (1991, 154) was right for arguing that space holds significance. Who builds structures, who plants trees, who names streets, who feeds cats, who clears around, who pays, who lives and several additional interrogations are essential to apprehend the meaning that it embodies. However, the meaning it presents is not transparent and open that any person may understand at the first glimpse: It requires to be interpreted, decoded, and deciphered. The meaning that it offers concerning the faith is even hard to analyze. In the research, it was what I was striving to do by following Erenköy from its establishment to change; its past to present; its imagined form to embodied.

Erenköy was built in 1969 when a group of people came together intending to live Islam better under the leadership of Tahir Büyükkörükçü. Still today it has traces from fifty years ago through the single-story houses designed by their users, lush and wide gardens, garden walls exceeding two meters, numerous entrances, cedar pines along the street. Erenköy through its authentic features unravels the obscure but powerful link between space and faith. I am aware that Erenköy is not the only place to observe this relationship. However, it is a fruitful ground and up-to-date example for tracking the developing role of Islam on urban life and its reflection on the urban through feelings. By doing so Erenköy demonstrates that Islam and urban life do not contradict as it is supposed, even may compromise.

Erenköy is both the social and the physical presence. Erenköy’s social structure can be seen as an instance for the Khaldunian *asabiyah*; indeed, its recontextualized form through love. By doing so its pioneers and founders can be called *muhibban* (the lovers) the people who love each other, who sympathize with Tahir *Hodja* as a religious leader, and who love God as a creator and sustainer of the world. Erenköy’s physical structure, its center(s) streets, walls, moreover, reflect the responsibility and voluntariness. Erenköy discloses the story of people heating the mosque, feeding street

cats, or turning off the street lamps, and many more connotating the concepts. It besides, shows the self, free will, argumentation, and democracy by resident's participation in the production of space. Erenköy reflects the strive for peace and happiness not only hereinafter also in this realm.

Three essential peculiarities identify Erenköy houses. First, the houses have gardens, high garden walls, and single-story according to founding commitments. Second, they incorporate *sohbet* rooms signifying the spirit of neighbourliness and strive of public space insofar as *sohbet* is Erenköy's most featured public event. Third, the houses are designed in an unital spatial organization by negotiating between the public to the private. Erenköy houses follow the original interpretation of publicity and privacy, graded publicity, as a way of reconciliation. By doing so, comfort likewise is desired for guests to make them comfortable in their places, to make *sohbet* groups comfortable during their gatherings, to make the housewife having comfort in her area, and make the family members have comfort in their spheres.

Love, negotiation, voluntariness, responsibility, and comfort: The relationship between spaces and feelings is obvious in Erenköy's position. How is then all these are related to faith? To explicate, I turn to Turgut Cansever. Using his conceptualization, I argue that feelings are influenced by beliefs and metaphysics. Therefore, I emphasize the indirect but very strong and transformative relationship between belief and space. I argue that the definitions and boundaries of emotions are defined and determined by the religion itself. That is, comfort in Erenköy context does not mean doing what one wants, it indicates getting peace and inner comfort abiding by religious rules. Negotiation points to a public-private distinction, whose boundaries are drawn by religious belief. Love, in itself, refers to the love towards God. Voluntariness as well denotes doing with the belief of being rewarded by God hereinafter. I underline that space in Erenköy is not something outside of its users, residents, and founders. On the contrary, space is an intrinsic element that exists in one's own feelings and practices. For this reason, I urge that the production of space in Erenköy is not different from placemaking and vice versa. Space and place are immersed with each other.

Erenköy's *conceived space* reflects the concern to live Islam better. But, its *perceived*

space on behalf of the tourists and visitors is not at all. Most of those who come to the region neither have heard of Erenköy's story; nor conceive it as a religious area. They indeed conceive it as a romantic and authentic space for a visit. This is how, its famous street, Kuba Street which was named to make people remember the Prophet, has been informally named as the Street of Lovers. Its high garden walls, today, stand as a blank canvas for the declarations of love. Erenköy's *lived space* obtains its meaning for the ones who live in it: A conservative space for a student of high school, a place of othering for a tenant, or a spiritual atmosphere for an old resident. *Lived space*, is the space where additional aspects are included in the process: Time, capital, contestations, strategies, tactics, current life practices, and the latest trends. Cases of theft increasing along with the lux villas and security equipment are too, a part of Erenköy's *lived space*.

Erenköy did not remain as it was dreamed of. It could not resist change since the day it was founded. As time passed, it got aged, the people who lived there got older, some of them died and inherited its house to its children. Some of them who stayed in Erenköy voluntarily kept up the change, some others were too old to resist the change. Some of those who are respectively wealthier moved to the city center and turned its former house into a seasonal residence, those who could not move made some renovations in the house either by incorporating authentic designs of units or locking and abandoning them.

Erenköy's change seems to have been accelerated in the correlation of the increase in the number of people, houses, and institutions. Despite the crowd of people, Erenköy Mosque is not as full as it was in the first days. Sohbet events no longer have the same meaning as they used to have before. Its residents do not host extensive groups anymore and they are too old to maintain a large house. Today, its original founders do not need a discussion area related to the neighbourhood. The contestation between the photographers, lovers, local tourists, fine-arts students, outsiders, and the former inhabitants shows how the power and rule have shifted to the opposite side over time. While former residents were powerful in not allowing a terrace to the loft for fifty years ago, could not intervene in the events ongoing just in front of their houses, today. These and several other examples show that the owners of the space in Erenköy are no longer its founders. Change is inevitable since time is inevitable. Erenköy has changed

in time for many aspects. Nevertheless, it is still meaningful enough to offer various things to acquire.

In the thesis, I endeavoured to expand the issue of the production of space and placemaking practices mostly in terms of the spatial elements and the current everyday life. However, I argue that still, to grasp the details regarding the houses and their designs, they extensively need to be researched. I got benefitted from oral historical narratives to construct a consistent spatial background for the neighbourhood. I interpreted designs, discourses, actions, practices, and feelings. Yet, I could not conduct a comparative study and still emphasize the importance of comparative studies to remark the critical trajectories in the aforementioned categories. I think that the discussion of the publicity and privacy is very valuable within the scope of the thesis, but due to various limitations, I could not elaborate the discussions sufficiently by enriching them with literature research. Therefore, Erenköy still seems to need to be investigated in terms of publicity. Within the limitations of the thesis, I am confined by briefly mentioning not focusing on the circulation of capital, spatial valuation, and their social, economic, and spatial effects, I eventually argue that they require further research.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF INTERLOCUTORS

1. Abdullah Pekiřatırmacı	Full-Time Resident
2. Abdurrahman B�y�kk�r�k��	Seasonal Resident, Son of Tahir B�y�kk�r�k��
3. Abd�lhamit Alparslan	Full-Time Resident, Imam of Ramazanođlu Mosque
4. <i>El-Muhammed</i> Family	Full-Time Resident
5. Ali Lamcı	Full-Time Resident
6. Ali Bař	Full-Time Resident
7. Ahmet Ko�ak	Full-Time Resident, Previous Imam of Erenk�y Mosque
8. Ahmet Pekiřatırmacı	Seasonal Resident
9. Ahmet.....	Full-Time Resident
10. Anakız Say	Full-Time Resident
11. Asım S�zbir	Full-Time Resident, Founder
12. Dudu	Full-Time Resident
13. Emine Eserođlu	Seasonal Resident
14. Fatma Bet�l Pekiřatırmacı	Full-Time Resident
15. Furkan Atılgan	Full-Time Resident

16. Hatice Alparslan	Full-Time Resident
17. Hatice	Full-Time Resident
18. Hasan Hüseyin	Full-Time Resident
19. Hayriye Turgut	Full-Time Resident, Founder
20. Hüseyin Tosun	Full-Time Resident
21. Mehmet Kıymet	Full-Time Resident
22. Mehmet Dolular	Architect
23. Mehmet Emin Karataş	Seasonal Resident
24. Mustafa Koruyucu	An Acquaintance of Tahir Büyükkörükçü
25. Mustafa ...	Full-Time Resident
26. Nazmiye Tosun	Full-Time Resident
27. Nesib Parlak	Full-Time Resident, Imam of Erenköy Mosque
28. Nevzat Gediz	Full-Time Resident
29. İlyas...	Full-Time Resident, Owner of Özgün Market
30. Raziye Küçükşenel	Seasonal Resident
31. Rahim Say	Full-Time Resident
32. Remzi Bediz	Full-time resident, Founder

33. Resul Böge	Full-Time Resident
34. Saadet Atılgan	Full-Time Resident, Sociologist
35. Şahnur Yağdıran	Full-Time Resident
36. Tefik Küçükşenel	Full-Time Resident
37. Yusuf Dönmez	Full-Time Resident, Ney Performer

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Name - Surname Melike Sıla ACAR

E-mail

Education

Degree	Institution	Years
Bachelor	Selçuk University, Architecture	2013-2017
Master of Arts	Ibn Haldun University, Alliance of Civilizations Institute	2018-2021

Work Experience

Status	Institution	Years
Teaching Fellow	Ibn Haldun University	2018-2021
Expert, Architect	Tigris Development Agency (Turkish Ministry of Industry and Technology)	2021

Foreign Languages

Language	Level
English	Advanced
Arabic	Intermediate