

TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES

**PERSPECTIVES OF SPACE ON VIOLENCE:
ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPACE AND
VIOLENCE THROUGH ANKARA BENTDERESİ**

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
Utku DOĞANAY

Department of Architecture

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. T. Nur Çağlar

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DECLARATION OF THE THESIS

I hereby declare that all the information presented in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with ethical conduct and academic rules. Proper citations have been provided for the sources referenced sources, and the references have been accurately stated. Furthermore, I confirm that this thesis has been prepared in compliance with the thesis writing guidelines of the TOBB ETU Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.

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TEZ BİLDİRİMİ

Tez içindeki bütün bilgilerin etik davranış ve akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde edilerek sunulduğunu, alıntı yapılan kaynaklara eksiksiz atıf yapıldığını, referansların tam olarak belirtildiğini ve ayrıca bu tezin TOBB ETÜ Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü tez yazım kurallarına uygun olarak hazırlandığını bildiririm.



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ABSTRACT

Master of Science

PERSPECTIVES OF SPACE ON VIOLENCE: ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPACE AND VIOLENCE THROUGH ANKARA BENTDERESİ

Utku DOĞANAY

TOBB University of Economics and Technology

Institute of Natural and Applied Sciences

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Violence is an expansive and intricate concept analyzed across various disciplines. Although it is frequently perceived as an interpersonal phenomenon, violence is profoundly interconnected with spatial dynamics. The space associated with violence is not merely a physical environment; it serves as a locus where social relationships, power dynamics, and economic processes are materialized. Consequently, violence is exemplified not only through physical assaults or destruction but also through processes such as displacement, discrimination, poverty, and social exclusion, all of which occur from the disruption of social and economic structures.

The main aim of this thesis is to examine how violence emerges through socio-spatial decisions, economic changes, and individual behaviors within space, to evaluate the physical, psychological, economic, structural, and symbolic impacts of these processes, and to determine which actions can be defined as violence. In line with this aim, the thesis targets to evaluate spatial violence using an interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional approach, and to uncover how different political regimes and urban/spatial planning strategies have perpetuated violence in various forms throughout history.

For these purposes, Bentderesi and its surroundings, located in the Altındağ district of Ankara, have been chosen as a specific case study. Bentderesi has experienced significant social and spatial transformations over time, has harbored some of the most dangerous neighborhoods where even law enforcement hesitated to enter, and has been stigmatized by associations with brothels and prostitution, all while its historical, natural, and cultural heritage has been systematically eroded. It is a marginalized urban area where violence shapes the spatial environment, spatial transformation shapes violence, and this cyclical dynamic becomes evident. Thus, reinterpreting and redefining the concept of violence through a spatial lens requires a thorough re-reading of Bentderesi.

The methodology employed in this thesis is grounded in David Riches' theory of violence, which explores violence from the perspectives of the performer, victim, and witness. This theoretical framework encourages a comprehensive understanding of spatial violence and its expressions within the built environment. The analysis conducted through this tripartite perspective reveals that space can function as a perpetrator, provoking violence, as a victim, suffering harm from political and individual actions, and as a witness, retaining the imprints of violence. This classification makes visible the underlying processes that contribute to urban spaces' destructive, fear-inducing, criminal, and harmful outcomes.

Keywords: Spatial violence, Spatial transformation, Urban politics and human behavior, Perspectives of violence, Bentderesi

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans

MEKANIN ŞİDDET PERSPEKTİFLERİ: ANKARA BENTDERESİ ÜZERİNDEN MEKAN-ŞİDDET İLİŞKİSİNİN KURULMASI

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Şiddet, çeşitli disiplinlerce incelenen geniş ve karmaşık bir kavramdır. Genellikle bireyler arası bir eylem olarak algılansa da şiddet aslında mekâna derinlemesine bağlıdır. Şiddetle ilişkilendirilen mekân, sadece fiziksel bir alan değil; aynı zamanda toplumsal ilişkilerin, güç dinamiklerinin ve ekonomik süreçlerin somutlaştığı bir yerdir. Bu nedenle, şiddet sadece fiziksel saldırı veya tahribat olarak değil, aynı zamanda sosyal ve ekonomik yapıların bozulmasıyla ortaya çıkan yerinden edilme, ayrımcılık, yoksulluk ve sosyal dışlanma süreçlerinde de gözlenir.

Tezin ana amacı, şiddetin sosyo-mekânsal kararlar, ekonomik değişimler ve bireysel davranışlar yoluyla mekân üzerinde nasıl ortaya çıktığını incelemek, bu süreçlerin fiziksel, psikolojik, ekonomik, yapısal ve sembolik etkilerini değerlendirmek ve hangi eylemlerin şiddet olarak tanımlanabileceğini belirlemektir. Bu doğrultuda, tezin hedefleri ise kentsel alanlardaki şiddeti disiplinler arası ve çok boyutlu bir yaklaşımla değerlendirmek ve tarih boyunca çeşitli siyasi rejimlerin ve kentsel/mekânsal planlama stratejilerinin farklı biçimlerde şiddeti nasıl devamlılığı olan bir durum haline getirdiğini ortaya koymaktır.

Bu amaçlar doğrultusunda, Ankara'nın Altındağ ilçesinde bulunan Bentderesi ve çevresi, tezin odaklandığı spesifik bir örnek alan olarak seçilmiştir. Bentderesi, tarih boyunca çeşitli toplumsal ve mekânsal dönüşümlere sahne olmuş, kolluk kuvvetlerinin

bile giremediği en tehlikeli mahalleleri barındırmış, tarihi, doğal ve kültürel geçmişi yok edilmiş, genelevler ve fuhuşla damgalanmış bir bölgedir. Şiddetin mekanı dönüştürdüğü, dönüşümün şiddeti organize ettiği ve bu kısır döngünün görünür olduğu kentin dışlanmış alanıdır. Bu nedenle, şiddet kavramının mekân üzerinden yeniden üretimi, Bentderesi aracılığıyla mekânın yeniden okunmasını ve tanımlanmasını gerektirir.

Tezde kullanılan metodoloji, David Riches'in şiddet teorisine dayanır. Bu teori, şiddeti fail, kurban ve tanık perspektiflerinden ele alarak, mekânsal şiddetin anlaşılmasına ve bu şiddetin mekân üzerindeki yansımalarının incelenmesine olanak tanır. Üçlü perspektif yaklaşımıyla yapılan incelemeler, mekânın şiddeti teşvik eden bir fail, politik ve bireysel eylemlerden zarar gören bir kurban ve şiddetin izlerini taşıyan bir tanık rolü oynadığını gösterir. Bu sınıflandırma, kent ve mekânla ilgili yıkım, korku, suç ve zarar içeren sonuçların arka planındaki görünmeyen süreçleri görünür hale getirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekansal şiddet, Mekansal dönüşüm, Mekan politikaları ve İnsan davranışları, Şiddet perspektifleri, Bentderesi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DSİ	: Devlet Su İşleri
FETÖ	: Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü
ISIS	: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MİT	: Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı
ŞPO	: Şehir Plancıları Odası
TAK	: Teyrêbazên Azadiya Kurdistan
TBMM	: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi
TCK	: Türk Ceza Kanunu
TMMOB	: Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği
TOKİ	: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı
TOMA	: Toplumsal Olaylara Müdahale Aracı
UN	: United Nations
WHO	: World Health Organization



1 INTRODUCTION

Urban areas and spaces are in a constant state of flux, influenced by various factors such as political decisions, economic changes, and individual behaviors. This continuous transformation, while often aimed at development and improvement, does not always serve the public good. On the contrary, it can sometimes result in significant harm, damaging the intrinsic values of the city and the well-being of its residents. The dynamic nature of cities makes them both resilient and vulnerable, as they are continuously reshaped by the forces acting upon them.

Beyond being the spatial concentration of people organizing their lives around nonagricultural activities, urban space is a place where all individuals living on a particular piece of land carry out their life activities, blending social and built environments. (Weeks, 2008). As the population on the same land increases, the diversity among people also grows. This diversity leads to more security issues and violent acts in cities. The "feeling of insecurity" that individuals experience, along with the "fear" that develops from it, results from legal, economic, and spatial causes. This fear is due to concerns about personal safety, the risk of being attacked, or witnessing an attack (Lab, 2000; Wekerle & Whitzman, 1995).

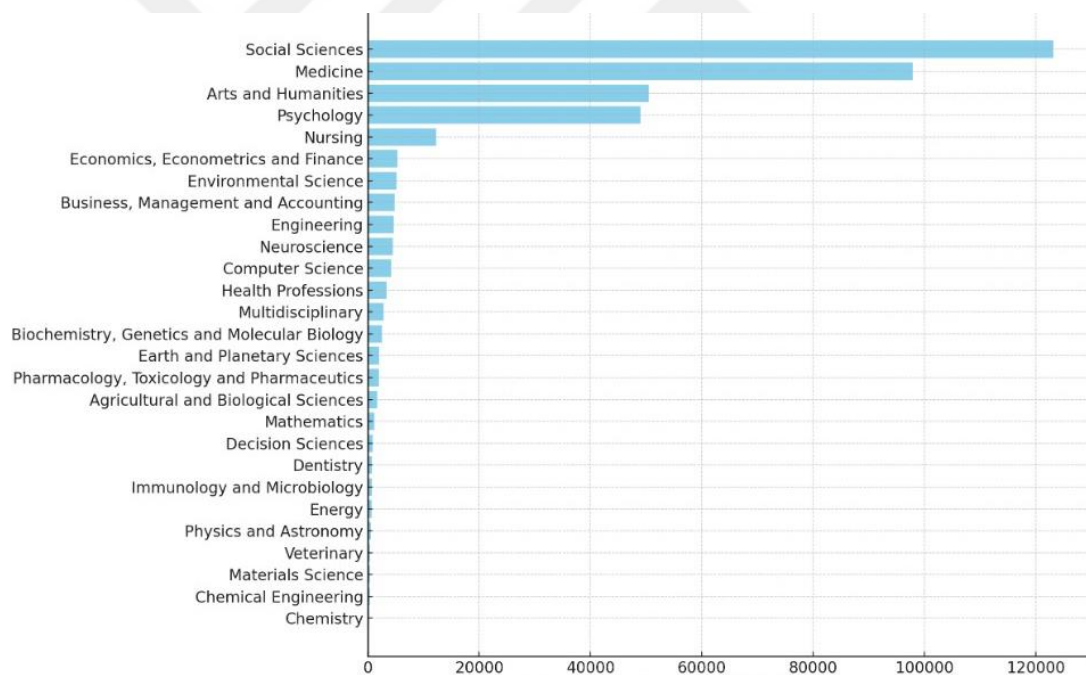
Violence is in everywhere in different forms. To elucidate with well-known examples, the Jewish races, who were exterminated and massacred by the Nazi regime, were executed in concentration camps. Spaces like Auschwitz and many other camps spatially manifested this violence. Violence is not only evident in wars and invasions but also in actions related to entertainment and sports. For instance, Eric Cantona, one of the legendary football players of Manchester United, famously executed a kung-fu kick at a hooligan fan of the Crystal Palace team who was sitting near the pitch and insulting him in 1995, making the football stadium a spatial witness to this violence. (Smyth, 2020). The world-famous Boca Juniors-River Plate derbies, known for their fierceness in competition, often make headlines due to the clashes created by fan groups that despise each other because of the values symbolized by the fans and the teams. In 2018, following a match that ended in a 2-2 draw, River Plate fans attacked the bus carrying Boca Juniors players, throwing stones and breaking the windows of the bus. (Yoesting, 2018). In public spaces such as squares, acts of terrorism, street

fights, bar brawls, student arguments at school exits, and domestic violence... The relationship between spatial organization and violence is crucial, especially in vibrant urban spaces where social control cannot be maintained. Jane Jacobs' concept of "eye on the street" emphasizes that healthy and safe urban areas are made possible by people actively watching and using the streets. According to Jacobs, spatial elements, such as mixed-use areas that generate activity at different times, building entrances and windows facing the street, and the presence of street-oriented individuals like shopkeepers, play a vital role in creating security or insecurity (Jacobs, 1961).

Violence does not only include actions seen on the streets and limited to human relations; it appears as an open-ended concept when examined in a more comprehensive and spatial context. According to Rafael Moneo, violence in architecture is a way of intervening in the natural and historical integrity of a site (Moneo, 1992). Bernard Tschumi views violence as a mutual relationship between the human body and space, a form of order that violates and limits each other's existence (Tschumi, 1996). Jurgen Habermas sees violence as a violation of the ideal conditions of communication and discourse and at the same time a form of transformation; It is the background of the public space that social actors first destroy and then redesign and reconstruct to transform society. (Habermas, 1991). Michel Foucault defines violence as a tool utilized by the government to produce knowledge and establish social norms, with psychological, social, and economic impacts on individuals and groups, as well as a spatial and managerial practice observed in disciplinary and punitive systems, educational institutions, prisons, and hospitals (Foucault M. , 1977). Antony Vidler explains violence as the exercise of power and control through the organization and manipulation of physical space, affecting individuals mentally and psychologically (Vidler, 1993; 2000). Rob Nixon describes violence as a "slow" process that occurs over a comprehensive period and place, with a corrosive impact that does not manifest suddenly or in a single sequence (Nixon, 2011).

The concept of violence, which can be examined within a spatial framework but can be interpreted in different ways and establish a relationship with space, can emerge from the lack of spatial organization or can be a reason for the emergence of space. Violence may not be directly visible; it may also present itself in invisible forms. As Jean Michel Salanskis said, violence is a slippery notion (Salanskis, 2019).

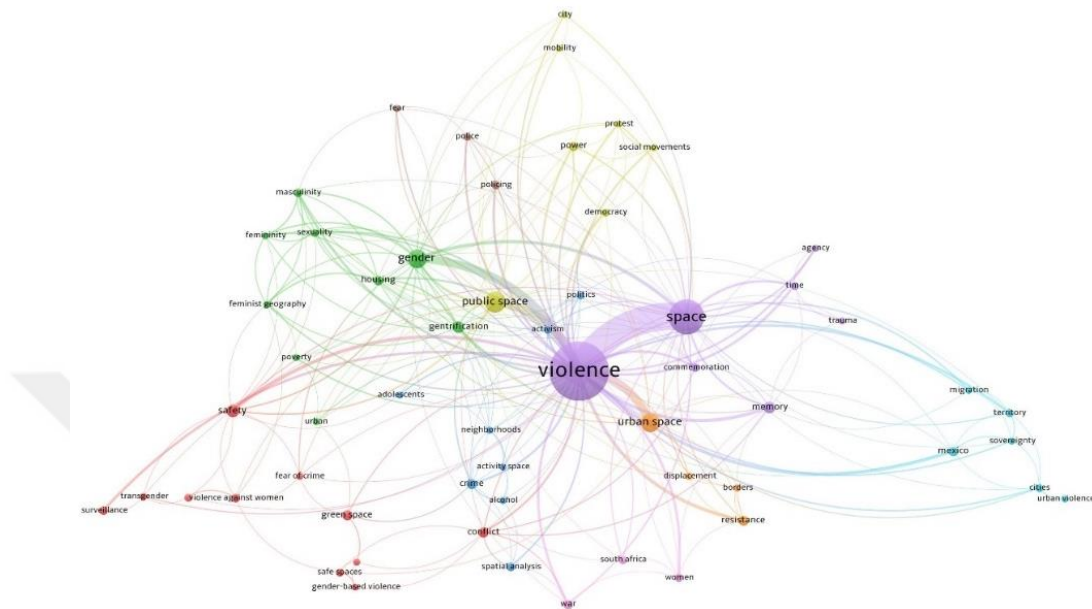
Violence and its effects in the spatial dimension is not typically a research subject directly explored within the discipline of architecture. While it is challenging to find studies and analyses conducted explicitly under the concept of violence, it is possible to establish a relationship through closely related concepts. For instance, although Carter Wood (2007) does not explicitly use the concept of violence in examining the relationship between spatial production and construction with physical aggression, his study explores how situations that refer to violence in both material and imaginative spaces are perceived, and how physical occurrences in public spaces are shaped by political control, individual conflicts, and territorial stigmatization. These influencing factors are related to but independent from the discipline of architecture. Similarly, Simon Springer (2011) investigates the spatiality of violence through geographical changes and analyzes its spatial dimension through the lenses of neoliberalism, rationalism, and cultural practices. He emphasizes that the spatiality of violence is closely intertwined with the disciplines of sociology and politics.



Infographic 1.1: Number of publications on the concept of violence by discipline in the Scopus database (prepared by ChatGPT)

Violence is a multidisciplinary concept, and many disciplines use it in their field of study. In the analysis made through the Scopus Database, the idea of violence was frequently used in social science studies (Infographic 1.1). However, medicine, psychology, nursing, arts, and humanities have included this concept in their studies. Studies in the Environmental Science discipline have not touched upon violence as

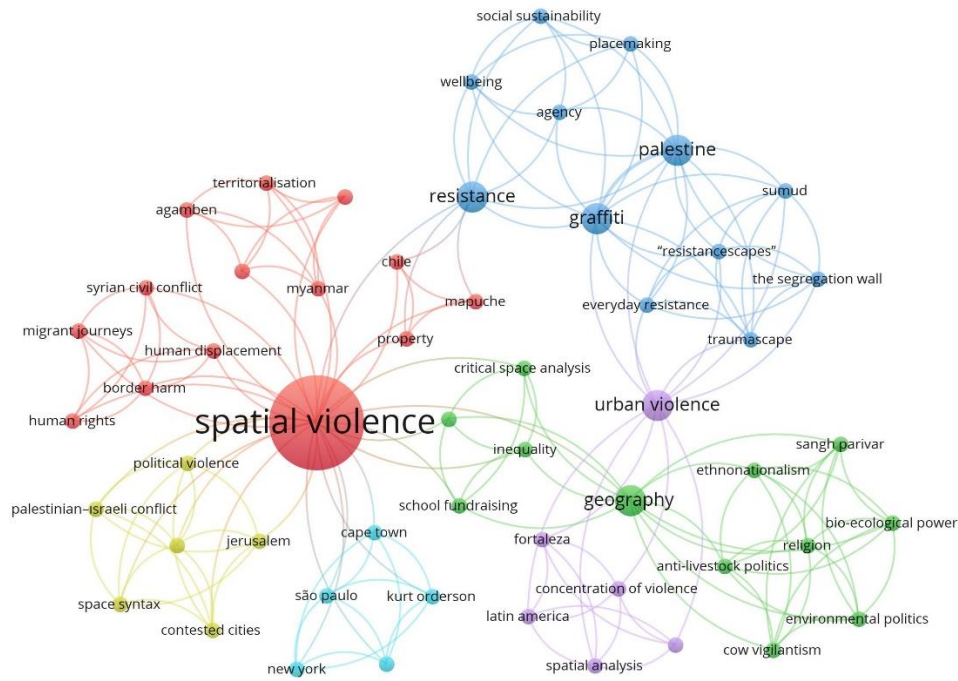
of violence often considers its occurrence in specific spatial environments, such as school, street, rural area, prison, workspace, and college. Furthermore, violence can also be studied from a regional, city, or country-specific perspective, as indicated by concepts relating to Spain, Nigeria, Iran, and Kenya.



Infographic 1.3: Violence and space as keywords co-occurrence network created in VOSviewer

Academic studies that explore the relationship between the concept of violence and space encompass insights into which spaces are affected by the concept of violence or where acts of violence are examined. These studies also consider which concepts influence the relationship between space and violence (Infographic 1.3). They demonstrate that urban spaces, public spaces, green spaces, as well as specialized urban areas like neighborhoods and borders, are affected by acts of violence. Concepts such as politics, social movements, gender, migration, power, sovereignty, and migration impact the relationship between space and violence. Additionally, terms like gentrification, crime, conflict, war, displacement, fear, trauma, and poverty illustrate the effects of violent acts on individuals and society within a spatial framework.

When a conceptual analysis is made on spatial violence (Infographic 1.4), it is seen that two different forms of violence are associated with this concept. While the concept of urban violence is examined through the graffiti as a result of physical damage to the place; The concept of political violence has been examined through political processes through the sustainability, wellbeing, inequality and displacement.



Infographic 1.4: Spatial Violence as a keywords co-occurrence network created in VOSviewer

Therefore, the concept of violence requires a comprehensive examination of the harmful consequences of political processes on both space, individual and society, and the damage caused by human actions to space. Discussing these transformations within the framework of violence highlights the importance of inclusive and equitable urban planning, which requires recognizing and addressing harm in historical, socio-economic and political contexts. Framing spatial changes in terms of violence aims to shed light on the importance of considering all dimensions of harm in spatial studies (both in urban and architectural disciplines) and policy making.

The Bentderesi region of Ankara provides a striking context for this analysis, a multi-layered space where being and living there means different things at different times. It is a space where Ankara's urban fabric was shaped by various forms of violence during the process of its evolution from a historical settlement to the capital of modern Turkey. The Bentderesi region exemplifies the complex interaction between violence and space, demonstrating how urban policies, historical legacies and socio-economic factors intersect to produce and sustain harm in spatial environments. By examining Bentderesi as a performer, victim and witness of violence, this research aims to provide a detailed understanding of how violence manifests in space and to contribute to the general discourse on violence and spatial studies.

1.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to explore the complex dynamics between violence and urban/architectural space, and to examine how socio-spatial decisions, economic shifts and individual behaviors contribute to spatial transformations that can lead to various types of violence such as physical, economic, symbolic or psychological, within the urban entities; It involves defining the effects of violence, understanding how it can be evaluated, and identifying which actions can be described as violence.

Although the concept of violence has been extensively examined in fields such as psychology and social sciences, it has not been sufficiently explored in architecture and urban studies, especially not in a multi-dimensional way. Thus, the objective is to fill the gap in existing literature regarding how events and urban decisions can provoke violent outcomes in urban spaces and to propose an interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional analysis through different perspectives, as important tools for evaluating violence on urban areas.

By achieving these objectives, the study aims to contribute to the broader discourse on spatial justice and urban resilience, providing insights into how urban environments can mitigate violence and foster social cohesion; It is the examination of which spaces various political regimes, management styles and urban planning strategies have organized throughout history and what kind of violence these organized spaces have inflicted on the space and the citizens.

1.2 Methodology

The first part of the research involves a literature review, in order to examine forms and dimensions of violence and construct a solid background in order to familiarize the reader with the terms that will be used later. Bibliographic research involves gathering information from various sources such as books, publications, scholarly articles, and research projects.

In this thesis, the spatial correspondences and various meanings of the concept of violence will be explored using qualitative research methods, according to "Architectural Research Methods" by Linda Groat and David Wang. Qualitative research focuses on understanding phenomena through the meanings people ascribe to them and typically involves in-depth studies of specific cases (Groat & Wang, 2002).

Within the qualitative research methodology, the spatial relationship of violent acts and their consequences will be established through the perspectives of performer, victim, and witness, as theorized in the introduction of David Riches' "Anthropology of Violence." These perspectives aim to explore complex social interactions and experiences.

For the establishment of the relationship between violence and space, this thesis employs the case study approach, a subset of qualitative research methods. This approach involves a detailed examination of Bentderesi and its surroundings in the Altındağ district of Ankara, to understand the spatial and social dynamics of violence. This comprehensive examination is classified using David Riches' three perspectives, allowing for the discussion of various violent events and their spatial formations around Bentderesi under different definitions. Such a methodological framework is used to gather comprehensive and in-depth insights, typical of qualitative research strategies discussed by Groat and Wang.

Rather than focusing on the relationship between space and violence in a specific period, this study examines various forms of violence occurring in the region over different eras. These forms of violence include crime, war, acts of destruction, and violence associated with urban transformation and refunctioning. The study explores these from multiple perspectives, covering the region's pre- and post-Republican history, morphological situation, demographic structure, and changes in architectural/urban programs. Although many of the places examined within the framework of violence have been transformed or destroyed over time, they are still included in this study.

Spatial violence relationships revealed as a result of the literature review are examined by interpreting the similarities/differences by using as tools maps, aerial photos, academic studies examining the region, news, council minutes, city plans, plan description reports and old photographs of the area as well as current photographs.

This methodology ensures a balanced analysis that considers the perspectives of all actors involved in violent events and offers insights into how urban environments can be used to reduce violence and promote social cohesion.

2 THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE

2.1 Etymology and Linguistic Roots of Violence

Etymologically, the word 'violence' is derived from the Latin word *vīs* that means strength, energy or power. From *vis* derives the adjective "**violentus**", meaning 'vehemence or impetuosity', a passionate and uncontrolled force. Yet because acts of excessive force frequently result in the violation of norms, rights or rules, the meaning of violence is often related as well with the latin verb "**violare**", that is related to injury, destruction, dishonour or violation. (Bufacchi, 2005; Springer and Le Billon, 2016; Vorobej, 2016)

So according to these two definitions, there are some important nuances on the etymology of the term between the adjective "violentus" and the verb "violare": While the first one (violentus) is focus on the way, the manner, the nature of the action is carried out, the second one (violare) is focused on the consequences of this term, so the fact that it signifies injuring, harming, breaking, tarnishing, raping, forcing, trampling. (Krause, 2009; Vorobej, 2016; Wade, 1971)

The terms find equivalents in English (violence), French (violence), Spanish (violencia) or Greek (via), can find different interpretations in other non-latin origin languages. For instance, although the German word "gewalt" is translated as violence, it does not fully correspond in meaning. The word derives from the Old High German "walten," meaning "to rule or exercise power" and emphasizes authority and control, rather than injury or violation. (Vries & Weber, 1997, s. 2)

The term "violence" entered the Turkish language from Arabic. According to the Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary, Second Edition, the Turkish word for violence, "**şiddet**- شدت" means "intensity, hardness and strenth." (Redhouse, 1880, p. 365)

2.2 Defining violence

Starting a semantic or conceptual analysis with a dictionary definition is a helpful approach, especially when aiming to adhere to the lexical meanings of specific terms as understood within a language community.

Oxford English Dictionary defines violence as:

“Violence is the exercise of physical force so as to inflict injury on or damage to persons or property (Stevenson, 2010).”

This definition utilizes the word injury to describe violence. But injury is a vast term; what is considered an injury can sometimes change as beliefs and traditions evolve. As laws and traditions change, actions once permissible may become illegal or law-breaking, and vice versa.

On the other hand, the Cambridge Dictionary's definition defines violence as:

"Actions or words that are intended to harm people" or "extreme force (McIntosh, 2013)."

This definition underlines that violence includes not only the use of physical force, but also intangible attacks or intention to harm.

Intention to harm reveals another important aspect of violence, which states that for an act or utterance to be considered violence, it must be intended to cause harm. This intention differentiates violent acts from accidental harm or actions that might cause harm but were not intended to do so, standing as a key factor in defining violence in legal, ethical, and social contexts.

Concepts such as harm and injury can be interpreted in a wide range of ways and have different meanings in different contexts. This can lead to ambiguities and differences of interpretation in the definition of violence. For example, psychological harm or emotional injury can also be considered as forms of violence, but since such harms are not as clear and measurable as tangible physical injuries, such acts of violence may be more difficult to define and assess.

According to those arguments, World Health Organization (WHO), gave a more coherent definition of violence explained the action as:

"The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation (WHO, World Report on Violence and Health, 2002, p. 5)"

Focusing on this simplified definition, violence signifies more than just a physical attack. Notably, the WHO definition does not directly address the relationship between violence and body. An action is considered violent if it occurs against one's will, contravenes the desires, and causes us harm or threatens the individuals. Violence is a complex concept; it can be expressed clearly and directly with immediate effects or even fatal outcomes, or in other conditions it can have undirect impacts and may be difficult to detect.

Because of its complex interpretation and the difficulty of adapting a coherent general definition, different fields are analyzing this term through different perspectives and with various criteria.

For example, in the field of law, violence is typically translated into specific legal definitions and categories that focus on the nature of the act, the causes behind it, and its consequences. Legal systems classify violence into various types such as assault, battery, domestic violence, and homicide, each with its own set of legal criteria and prescribed penalties.

In contrast, sociology views violence through a broader lens that encompasses not only the physical act but also its social context, underlying causes, and effects on communities.

In political sciences, violence is often analyzed as a tool of power and control used by states, groups, or individuals to achieve political ends and influence societal structures.

In economy, violence is considered in terms of its economic costs, the disruption it causes to markets and productivity, and its role in perpetuating economic inequalities and exploitation.

2.3 Violence and Related Concepts

“There are no simple concepts. Every concept has components and is defined by them (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, s. 15).”

When concepts partially overlap with their components on the same plane or come side by side, they establish direct or indirect multifaceted relationships. In this way, each concept transforms each other and allows their meanings to diversify. Every concept has a history, but a becoming involves its relationship with the concepts. It is on the same plane; even if they have different histories, concepts link up with each other, support one another, coordinate their contours, and articulate their respective problems (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994).

In order to understand the multilayered character and impacts of violence phenomenon which has examined and defined in Chapter 2.1: Etymology and Linguistic Roots of Violence and Chapter 2.2: Defining Violence, it is crucial to analyze as well other components of this concept that are directly related with the etymology of the word, such as "power", "force" and "violation".

The term power is related with the one of violence since it means vital force, physical strength, but also, the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events (Michaud, 1991).

Since ancient Greek mythology, *Via* - power was the personification of the abstract concept of power, and she is the sister of *Kratos* (state), *Zelos* (enthusiasm) and *Nike* (victory) emphasizing the importance of this quality for a society.

Today the term can mean different things in various disciplines. For example, in physics, power expresses the rate at which work is done over a certain period, while in political science or sociology, it refers to the ability of individuals or groups to impose their will on others (Munro, 2024).

In sociology, power is rooted in the collective capacity of individuals to act harmoniously, rather than solely in individual capabilities. It is sustained through the social relations of a group and persists as long as the group remains cohesive. As Arendt (1969) elucidates, when we describe someone as "powerful," we imply they possess the authority to act on behalf of a group; if this group disbands, their power dissipates. Within the context of power, violence often signifies a collective phenomenon. In contemporary discourse, referring to someone as a "person in power"

or a "strong personality" involves a metaphorical use of "power," which adds complexity to the concept. Without metaphor, the term actually refers strength (Arendt, 1969).

The concept of power refers to something unique and individual. It is an inherent quality in an object or person, integral to its character. Unlike individual strength, which signifies independence, power within a group reflects collective capacity. Power is the ability of one entity to influence another's actions. The French philosopher Michel Foucault conceptualized power as pervasive, extending beyond political structures and diffused throughout society. He argued that power is not merely about laws or domination, but about the ongoing interactions and conflicts that shape and transform relationships within society. He referred to "the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization (Foucault M. , 1978).

The concept of force, another component of violence, on the other hand, in terminological language, this term pertains to the energy released by physical and social movements (Arendt, 1969). As a component of violence, consists of two semantic elements. One belongs to the ethical value of this concept. This value aligns with the definition, referring to instances of harm or injury. It is about people and the borders of their body or mind. It is about how behaviors coming from people may invade other persons and cause suffering (Salanskis, 2019). Force is essential for violence. Utilizing force with the intent to harm results in injury. When "force" as a component of the violence concept is considered as a means of compulsion, it is synonymous with violence.

The other semantic component of the force belongs to its ontology; this element extends beyond the physicality of the concept of violence. From this perspective, force can be considered or associated with energy; everything appears as potential energy or potential violence, accumulating behind objects or filtering through them as a force. Ontologically, violence is the energetic content of life, and life is truly alive only when it releases its violence (Salanskis, 2019). This notion of energy suggests that the nature of violence isn't solely confined to tangible actions; it can also be perceived through interactions, dynamics, and even existential frameworks. The connection between both components is rather self-evident: it takes energy for hurting or damaging.

The relationship between violence, force and power shows how violence can take different forms from the perspectives of different actors depending on their positions in relation to each other, leads to the conclusion that ontologically, this concept resides in a delicate balance between construction and destruction.

Violence, with its ontological proximity to force, can be conceptualized ethically through the verb violate when it involves causing harm. Thus, it can be argued that the idea of violence is more closely associated with the concept of violation than with the concept of force (Garver, 1973). However, it is essential to examine the implications of whom or what is being violated and what is being violated to understand the different perceptions of violence.

Joseph Betz (1977) explores the intricate relationship between violation and violence, asserting that "violation" comprehensively encompasses all rights. According to Betz, the infringement of fundamental rights, such as the right to life, personal security, and freedom, inherently constitutes an act of violence. However, he also suggests that as the definition of human rights expands, the occurrence of violence becomes more pervasive and seemingly unavoidable.

Therefore, the concept of "violation" is a relative concept and can be interpreted differently from the perspectives of actors of violence. In some cases, the violation has a legitimate basis, while in others it is characterized as a crime.

Crime occurs when laws are violated. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, crime is defined as "an action or activity that is against the law, or illegal activity." The word "crime" comes from the Latin word "crimen," meaning offense and wrongdoing, anti-social behavior (Sowmyya, 2014). There are various elements of a criminal act:

- the individual who commits or attempts the crime
- the intention of the action
- the form of action
- the physical or mental harm to the individual

The causes of crime may be social, economic, psychological, biological, and geographical (Sowmyya, 2014). Aggression is the primary method of criminal action, and the perspective of the person committing the crime and the experiences of the person attacked determine the relationship between aggression and crime (Felson, 2009).

Laws must ensure social order against crimes and acts of violence. For this reason, other people have the authority to use force against those who violate the law. However, the act of punishment is a power given by the state impartially and fairly to control the counter-violence applied depending on the magnitude of the crime committed (Cranston, 1976).

The legitimacy of violence relates to a person's situation and their power to influence that situation and depends on the context and target in which violence is used. The biggest difficulty faced by an act of violence is the alternatives that the person subjected to violence considers for this act. For example, the use of violence in self-defense situations can be considered legitimate, and the legality of violence constitutes a legitimate right to be protected from it (McWilliams, 1970). Therefore, the use of violence can be considered legitimate when it is a means of protecting and defending the rights of certain individuals and groups.

2.4 Categorization and Impacts of Violence

The World Health Organization (WHO) in his report on Violence and Health on 2002 attempted a categorization on the types of violence according to different criteria. The horizontal array in Figure 1 shows who is affected, and the vertical array describes how they're affected.

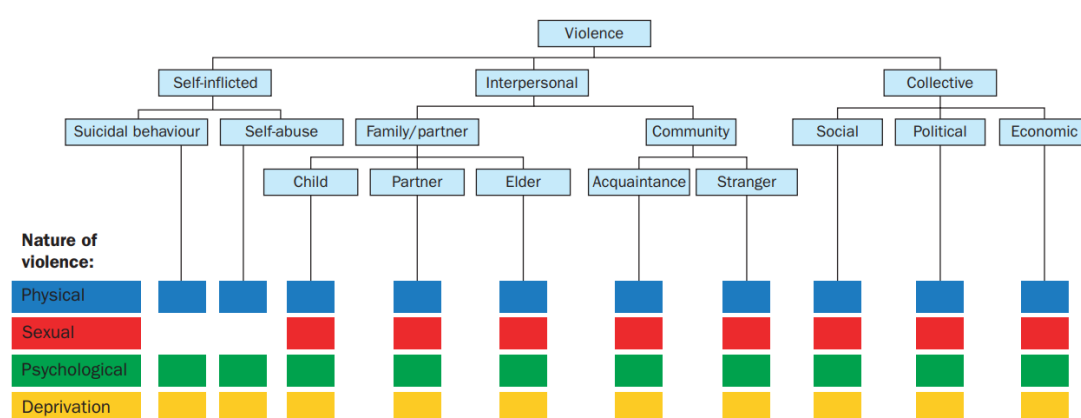


Figure 2.1: Categorization of violence by WHO

According to the people evolved to the violent events or the scope of organization of violence, WHO characterizes violence as self-directed, interpersonal and collective.

Self-directed violence includes suicide attempts, suicidal actions, and self-abusive behaviors. This term covers "fatal suicides" or "completed suicides" (suicidal acts that

result in death) and "non-fatal suicides" or "suicidal thoughts or attempts" (actions that do not result in death). "Self-abuse" or "self-harm" refers to behaviors such as self-mutilation (WHO, 2002, p. 185).

Globally, according to WHO, an estimated 703 000 people die by suicide worldwide each year, meaning that over one in every 100 deaths was the result of suicide, being the fourth leading cause of death in people between 15-29 years old (WHO, 2019, p. 5-7)

Interpersonal violence is divided into two categories. The one occurs inside the households, so called domestic violence, between family members, relatives or intimate partners, including child maltreatment, youth violence or elder abuse. For instance, in 2022, around 48,800 women and girls worldwide were killed by their intimate partners or other family members, meaning that, on average, more than five women or girls were killed every hour by someone in their own family (WHO, 2002; EIGE, 2017).

The second one takes place outside the home borders, inside the community, between unrelated individuals, who may or may not know each other. Examples include assaults or fights among groups and shootings in public places, such as schools and on the streets. Research indicates that youth and young adults, particularly those in Black and Latino communities, are disproportionately impacted, while for ages from 10 to 24 years old, homicide is the second leading cause of death (CDC, 2024).

Collective violence is the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve social economic or political objectives. Social violence includes hate crimes committed by organized groups, terrorist acts, and mob violence. Economic violence involves attacks by groups motivated by economic gain, such as disrupting economic activity, denying access to essential services, or creating economic division and fragmentation. Political violence encompasses wars, violent conflicts, state violence, and similar acts perpetrated by larger groups. (WHO, World Report on Violence and Health, 2002). Since the 21st century began, war has cost a huge number in fatalities: The number of conflict deaths almost doubled in 2022 compared to the previous year, with over 238,000 people killed in conflicts (Url-1)

Additionally, according to the nature of violent acts, the WHO categorizes these violent actions into the following 4 sub-categories such as physical, psychological, sexual and neglect.

Physical violence involves the intentional use of force to cause harm, injury, disability, or death. This includes actions like scratching, pushing, biting, choking, slapping, hitting, and using weapons or restraints. Besides physical harm, it can lead to severe psychological effects, such as mental health issues and trauma, especially in children frequently exposed to violence at home (Schneider, et al., 2019, p. 23).

Psychological violence, or emotional abuse, contains any intentional conduct that seriously impairs another person's psychological integrity through coercion or threats. Its impact can be as severe as physical violence, causing anxiety, depression, or PTSD. It includes humiliating and degrading behavior, coercive control (restricting access, excessive monitoring), threats of violence, control over reproductive or sexual health, exploiting vulnerabilities (immigration status, disability). This abuse can lead to both mental health issues and physical problems like psychosomatic disorders (WHO, 2002; EIGE., 2017).

Sexual violence is generally defined by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention as a sexual act committed against someone without that person's freely given consent. This includes forced, alcohol/drug-facilitated, or unwanted penetration, sexual touching, and non-contact sexual acts. It also includes situations where the perpetrator forces or coerces the victim to engage in sexual acts with a third party. (CDC, 2024)

Neglect (or deprivation), also referred to as deprivation, involves the omission of appropriate caretaking functions that result in harm to a dependent individual. Victims of neglect, who rely on a guardian or caregiver for self-preservation and growth, often include children, adults with severe mental or physical disabilities (e.g., mental retardation and Parkinson's disease), and elderly people with medical complications or other age-related issues. Neglect occurs when a caregiver fails to provide necessary care, such as adequate supervision, nourishment, or medical attention. This can lead to long-term effects such as physical injuries, low self-esteem, attention disorders, violent behavior, physical and psychological illness, and even death. Studies on the matter indicate that neglect is the most frequently occurring form of maltreatment (Fink, 2007; Petersen et al., 2014, p.17).

Violent events have various impacts on societies since they present costs and benefits for individuals and collectivities (Hoeffler, 2017; Waters et al., 2005; Waters et al., 2004).

According to the WHO's report on Economic Dimensions of Interpersonal Violence the costs from violent events can have direct and indirect impacts not only to the individuals that evolved to the events, but to the entire society. The direct impacts for the victims include physical harm, medical costs and legal expenses, while the indirect are related to long-term psychological trauma, reduced work capacity and lack of energy or productivity.

Moreover though, those situations can have broader impacts for the entire society since they affect the healthcare systems, the good function of workplaces since they affect the productivity of the employers and employees, and the economy of the norms. Society experience instabilities and weaknesses and political systems may need to allocate more resources to strengthen social services, infrastructures and more.

In summary, violence is not only a personal tragedy but also a significant societal issue with extensive economic, psychological, and social footprints. The categories of violent events proposed by WHO can give a first impression on the complexity and multi-scale character of the phenomenon to underline the necessity of an interdisciplinarian approach. Addressing violence requires comprehensive strategies that encompass prevention, intervention, and support for victims to mitigate both the direct and indirect costs.

2.5 Further Discussion on the Dimensions of Violence

The representation and perception of various forms of violence in society can vary based on an individual's internal experiences and the external influences of social structures. Consequently, traditional categorizations may be weak and insufficient. To better analyze the concept of violence and its interdisciplinary nature, alternative classifications and definitions have been proposed.

Slavoj Žižek, a Slovenian philosopher and cultural theorist, offers a different approach by categorizing the perception of violent situations into subjective violence and objective violence.

According to him, subjective violence is perpetrated and perceived by identifiable actors. It is the visible form of violence associated with direct actions such as physical assaults, personal aggression, or individual criminal acts. These actions deviate from the norms of non-violence within a social context, making them appear abnormal and conspicuous (Zizek, 2008). Examples of subjective violence include acts such as murder, robbery, and physical injury whether carried out by state repression apparatuses, fanatic crowds, or malicious individuals (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Types of subjective violence and their key outcomes, specific behaviors and targets

SELF DIRECTED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Over 703,000 people die by suicide globally each year. - Suicide is the fourth leading cause of death among people aged 15-29. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Self-abusive behaviors (e.g., self-mutilation) - Fatal suicides (resulting in death) - Non-fatal suicides (attempts or thoughts) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Individual (self)
INTERPERSONAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Around 48,800 women and girls were killed by intimate partners or family members in 2022. - Homicide is the second leading cause of death for those aged 10-24 in some communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Domestic violence (e.g., child maltreatment, elder abuse) -Community violence (e.g., assaults, fights, shootings in public places) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Family members -Intimate partners -Unrelated individuals
COLLECTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Over 238,000 people were killed in conflicts in 2022, nearly doubling from the previous year. - Significant social, economic, and political disruptions globally. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Social violence (e.g., hate crimes, mob violence) -Economic violence (e.g., disrupting economic activities) -Political violence (e.g., wars, state violence) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Groups -Sets of individuals
	KEY OUTCOMES/ IMPACTS	BEHAVIORS	TARGETS

Zizek proposes as a second category the objective violence, that occurs from the disturbance of the "normal" peaceful state of things by a violent event. Therefore, objective violence is an invisible form of violence, since it is embedded within the social, economic, and political systems that establish the norms against which acts of subjective violence are measured; It can be thought as the “dark matter” of violence, an invisible but present state, as opposed to the highly visible.

Objective violence is divided into two sub-categories. The first subcategory is structural violence, that Zizek calls “the often-catastrophic consequence of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems” (Zizek, 2008). In this context,

individuals are being harmed in situations where there's no person (subject) directly engaging in a violent act within the structure. It signifies that the violence is embedded within the structure and manifests as an unequal distribution of power/resources. (Galtung, 1969) Structural violence occurs when individuals are victimized due to political, legal, economic, or cultural traditions, and the long-standing presence of structural inequalities leads to the perception that these inequalities have always existed. Structural inequalities also cause as much victimization as direct violent acts, but the harm in such inequalities manifests more slowly and is harder to remedy. (Winter & Leighton, 2001). Structural violence is the preventable restrictions imposed by society that prevent individuals from meeting their basic needs and achieving the quality of life they could potentially attain. These restrictions are embedded within social structures, and structural violence occurs through economic, political, or cultural processes that hinder individuals' quality of life. (Lee, 1969). The structural aspect of violence emerges both as a consequence and a cause of imbalances and deprivations spawned by societal frameworks and mechanisms. Structural violence revolves around the imbalanced allocation of resources, societal rules, and the limitations imposed by these rules. As a result, the deterioration stemming from such violence is persistent and prolonged. Degeneration can be attributed to societal mechanisms and rules, implicating both individuals and society.

The second subcategory is symbolic violence, found in language, producing social domination and incitement of subjective violence (Zizek, 2008). The concept of symbolic violence was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu and developed to explain how social hierarchies and inequalities are maintained through forms of dominance rather than physical force. Bourdieu explains the concept of symbolic violence as a form of violence that is 'exerted for the most part ... through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition ... recognition or even feeling' (Bourdieu P. , 2001). Symbolism and systems of meaning are imposed on groups or classes of people in ways that they legitimately experience (Jenkins, 1992). Symbolic violence is a method that acts immediately on bodies without physical force, leveraging individuals' inner tendencies with minimal triggering, resulting from interactions generally accepted without being felt, equipped with relations of domination. Precautions against symbolic violence are more difficult than one might think, and this situation is always within us like "the air we breathe", so we are unaware of the level of violence and it is

difficult to get rid of it (Eagleton & Bourdieu, 1992). The application and spread of symbolic violence can be observed in education systems, and the power connections between groups and classes in the formation of society and culture can be applied by continuing in the form of optional imposition and placement in the subconscious (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Just as education shapes the individual, the media affects the society at subconscious and emotional levels using visual and verbal expressions, inequalities between social classes can be reproduced and existing hegemonic power relations can be reinforced through the contents and structures of the media (Bourdieu, 1998).

Table 2.2: Types of objective violence and their key characteristics and definitions

STRUCTURAL	The often-catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of economic and political systems, where harm occurs without direct, visible acts of violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Embedded within social structures. - Involves unequal distribution of power/resources. - Causes harm through societal rules and mechanisms. - Results in persistent, prolonged deterioration.
SYMBOLIC	A form of violence found in language and symbolic systems that produces social domination and incites subjective violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exerts dominance without physical force. - Maintains social hierarchies through cultural and cognitive means. - Operates subtly, often unnoticed, like "the air we breathe." - Reinforced through education systems, media, and societal norms.
	DEFINITION	KEY CHARACTERISTICS

The discussion on the definition of subjective and objective violence and understanding of those categories highlights significant theoretical and practical distinctions in determining when violence occurs (Table 2.2). The first interpretation's focus on outcomes suggests an assessment of violence based on tangible consequences. This approach provides a clear and measurable criterion, especially useful for cases of physical violence with evident results. However, its limitation lies in potentially not encompassing forms of violence like psychological or emotional

abuse, where harm may not always be readily observable or quantifiable. On the other hand, centering on intent, as the second interpretation does, foregrounds the subjective aspects of violence and the potential for harm. This perspective offers a broader and more complex understanding of violence, emphasizing that for an action or word to be considered violent, it must not only result in actual harm but also be driven by the intent to inflict such harm. This complicates the evaluation process, particularly when dealing with intangible harms such as verbal or psychological violence. The distinctions between subjective and objective violence categories underscore that defining and understanding violence is not straightforward. It becomes evident that violence is a multifaceted and multilayered phenomenon, encompassing various types and forms, and can be perpetrated with diverse intentions. This realization highlights that violence is not confined to individual acts alone; it is also embedded within societal and cultural structures, shaped and sustained by these structures.

3 VIOLENCE AND SPACE

The concept of space, much like the concept of violence, can be interpreted differently by various disciplines because of their different perspectives. Just as there is no single definition of violence, it is quite challenging to provide a singular definition of space.

Space can exist within a social reality, and social reality does not have an accidental spatiality. Space is both a means and a result of social life. Soja also asserts that space is constructed and approaches it through a tripartite classification. According to Soja (1996), real space (First space) is the physical space where nature, cosmos, or the tangible world exists. Mental space, which includes logical and formal abstractions, is the imagined space (Second space). The perceived/experienced space (Third space) is the social (produced) space. Soja states that primary space is real, secondary space is imaginary, and geographical imagination has evolved around this binary thinking of space at least in the past century. The third space corresponds to a different spatiality than the first and second spaces, that is, the physical and mental spaces, and Soja describes this as social space (Soja, 1996).

Space can be examined through social classes. The situation defined as socio-spatial seclusion describes the spatial separation of certain social groups from others. However, he does not attribute the formation of this classification solely to social reasons but also emphasizes the economic background (Wacquant, 2010). Problematic areas in many geographies, such as ghettos and suburbs, have been named with terms that mean poverty and misery, and these negative labels are the products of a process (Wacquant, 2008). A ghetto not only defines an area where social exclusion is spatially concretized but also places where economic disadvantages are concentrated (Wacquant, 2012). Therefore, some spaces in the city are places where certain ethnic or social groups are spatially segregated, and economic opportunities are isolated.

Space is a concept that can be examined through both social and economic factors. Harvey has approached the city in the context of the relationships between social surplus value, the dominant mode of economic organization, and the spatial organization of society, and has conceptualized the city within the framework of capital accumulation processes. Spatial forms are not seen as inanimate objects within which

social processes occur, but as entities that contain social processes and are shaped by the spatial nature of these processes.

Space is a collective reflection of social relations and a mean of intervention in the social structure of it. Lefebvre, with the proposition "(social) space is a (social) product." evaluates space as money or commodity within the relations of production. The space produced in this way is used as a means of power over society as well as being a means of production. However, according to Lefebvre, this social space has another definition, and this definition touches on the political side of space. Lefebvre opposes abstract space to represent or understand social space, but it is not the same as social space itself. The conceptual basis of abstract space is based on Hegel. Hegel, for whom abstraction is synonymous with 'the system of all-round interdependence' that sustains the totality of the social whole, and for whom abstraction 'also becomes a determination of the mutual relations between individuals' in capitalism (Hegel, 1991). Lefebvre's analysis of abstract space touches on the political part of space. As a product of violence and war, it is political; instituted by the state, it is institutional. The basis of abstract space is violence and aims to homogenize everything that resists and threatens the space where it is settled (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is a tool for political power to hold power. Space is also a place where conflicts of interest are experienced, and different classes interact. It is the means and result of reflecting all political attitudes and policies to the individual and society. Politics, space, and the city are inseparable and intertwined. Political power has constantly intervened in the space production processes and has taken power under control through space. Just as space shapes society, society also shapes space, so there is a reciprocal relationship between politics, society, economy and space.

3.1 Advanced Dimensions and Forms of Spatial Violence

Subjective objective violence, in the theory of Slavoj Žižek, analyzed in Chapter 2.5: Further Discussion on the Dimensions of Violence, can be studied from the perspective of space. In this respect, subjective and objective violence of space is a type of violence that is applied against space at the individual or community level and can be observed through individual / spatial experiences.

Violence of space can be observed in two forms: physical, psychological, economic and social. Physical violence causes damage or destruction of the built environment

through physical force, while psychological violence is observed in individuals when the physical force of the place provokes feelings such as fear or awe. While economic violence casuse social inequalities through space, social violence causes long term harm to specific communities

Table 3.1: Types, subcategories, definitions and examples of violence examined at the spatial level

TYPE OF VIOLENCE	SUBCATEGORY	DEFINITION	EXAMPLES
POLITICAL BASED SUBJECTIVE VIOLENCE	DIRECT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	Physical destruction of space through politically motivated actions.	WARS AND MILITARY INTERVENTIONS
			TERRORIST ACTS
POLITICAL BASED OBJECTIVE VIOLENCE	ECONOMIC BASED VIOLENCE	Economic policies or actions that result in spatial and social inequalities.	GENTRIFICATION
			RESOURCE ALLOCATION
	SOCIAL BASED VIOLENCE	Violence resulting from social policies or actions that cause long-term harm to specific communities.	SEGREGATION
			INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT
INDIVIDUAL BASED SUBJECTIVE VIOLENCE	PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION	Acts of violence by individuals or groups that result in physical damage to the built environment.	VANDALISM
			ARSON
	PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT	Psychological harm inflicted by the physical environment, often as a result of its design or condition.	FEAR OF CRIME
			PHOBIAS
INDIVIDUAL BASED OBJECTIVE VIOLENCE	----	----	----

The type of relationship explained by the violence of space is not only the destruction and visible physical relations that include harm, oppress, control or damage of the physical space, but also the social and economic destruction that takes time, such as displacement, segregation and gentrification, which are shaped around the space but are difficult to be visible and perceived. It also includes relationships. Therefore,

subjective and objective perspectives of spatial violence can be examined in different types by considering the relationships established by political and individual actors of space.

3.1.1 Political based spatial violence

The subjective form of violence of political actors associated with spatial destruction occurs in wars, terrorist acts and military interventions. Destruction of architecture and infrastructure is an ambiguous aspect of political violence; It can be seen as a continuation of the killing and displacement of individuals in military operations and war situations, and this can be considered as carelessness and negligence of soldiers (Coward, 2009).

All human-targeted military and terrorist actions and the spatial destruction that occurs in this direction are explained by the concept of urbicide. A genocide against the built environment, as an extension of genocide against people, is a concept that represents what must be destroyed in order to erase and purify the ethnic identity in a particular region, it carries the same logic as genocide. Urbicide is the destruction of individual buildings not for what they represent (military target, cultural heritage, conceptual metaphor) but as the condition of the possibility of heterogeneous existence. Urbicide is therefore a form of political violence in itself and is an integral part of specific political programs that seek to destroy the political possibilities inherent in the public space created by buildings (Coward, 2009).

Objective form of violence, where spatial destruction is associated with political actors, demolitions, urban transformation projects and improvement works observed within the city and carried out within the framework of urban policies. However, in this case, the focus should not be on the violence of pure destruction, as the destruction occurs for the purpose of construction. Urban transformation, as a method of creating violence through construction, involves social inequalities that create negative effects especially on poor and marginalized groups, and the spaces built within this framework result in the disruption of social orders and displacement of marginalized groups (Burte & Kamath, 2023).

However, the new social situation in the background of this visible result, the unseen situation, are the structural methods used to distinguish the legitimate from the illegitimate and the valuable from the worthless. The factors that determine the size

and severity of segregation are inequality in income, inequality in education and discrimination (Jurgen, 1998). Therefore, spatial segregation is the reflection of class identity and inequality on space, and the upper income group individuals use the urban space effectively and the lower income group has to act as the object of the space (Harvey, 1973).

The methods used during urban transformation show that violence is relative and varies depending on the purpose of application. Involuntary resettlement is an example of this. This concept, which defines the processes of forced displacement of people against their will, provides opportunities for the reconstruction of production systems and human settlements and provides improvements in economic and living standards when evaluated as a process that follows development goals. However, when this process is treated as a rescue and welfare operation, it leads to unplanned and rapid disregard of people in line with project needs, which creates new problems (Cernea, 1988).

With urban transformation projects, individuals from lower income groups are displaced and upper income groups are placed in those areas. This process that develops through space is defined as gentrification, and this concept is mostly located in the city center; It describes a process of displacement with physical, economic, social and cultural changes experienced in residential areas with aesthetic and historical value (Smith, 2002). The way gentrification legitimizes structural violence is that lower-class individuals who are victims of violence, along with local and central governments, the private sector and their partners, are participants in this process; It does this with the promise of better living conditions (Smith, 2002; Brand & Wissen, 2015). However, in this system, the social segment that reaches the promise of a good life is middle-class citizens with purchasing power and informal housing owners who own land and buy flats in return for their large land. The victims of the system are informal housing users who own an area too small to build on or are tenants (Bayırbağ, Schindler, & Penpecioglu, 2023).

Therefore, the social class that holds economic power or reaches this power with urban transformation puts pressure on the social class that does not have economic power and causes it to become invisible in the city. While one part of society recovers, the other part becomes victims of violence and disappears into the ghetto, and since it is based on a legitimate background, it is the invisible violence dimension of the space.

3.1.2 Individual based spatial violence

Individual-based spatial violence, like political-based violence, includes aggressive behavior that results in the physical destruction or damage of a place. However, unlike political violence, it is not directed against a specific ethnic group or community but involves the application of violence by an individual or a small group against a specific place, property or person through space.

One common form of this violence is vandalism, which involves willful or malicious damage to property. Vandalism often occurs in public spaces or less guarded private properties, including trains, buses, bus shelters, traffic signs, park benches, billboards, vacant buildings, and schools (Scott, La Vigne, & Palmer, 2007). Acts of vandalism include graffiti, trash dumping, light smashing, breaking windows, and defacing property.

Similar to vandalism, which is the form of violence that generally describes damage to the built environment, there are other forms of violence that differ in their methods but target the same structural environment as the target of violence. For example, arson is defined as the act of intentional or malicious damage to property as a result of fire or explosion, refers to the burning of another person's property under circumstances that endanger human life, and is an act of violence that constitutes a crime under the law (Bernard, 2024).

On the other hand, individual based subjective violence of space has psychological impact to the individual. According to Cambridge Dictionary, fear defined as an unpleasant emotion or thought that you have when you are frightened or worried by something dangerous, painful, or bad that is happening or might happen. But fear can be seen and spatially configured in the urban environment.

The psychological impact of spatial violence cannot be considered independently of the objective forms of political violence; It is the visible state of the changing social and demographic situation on individual psychology within the framework of invisible violence. While structural violence can increase the occurrence of crime, it can also increase the formation of fear of crime in a spatial context. The perception of insecurity created by urban space and the weakening of social control mechanisms lead to the spread and diversification of urban crime, reaching levels that threaten life. This, in turn, reduces the quality of life in cities and restricts the participation of urban dwellers

in daily urban life (Sipahi, 2016). The fear of crime disrupts the animation and use of public spaces within the city, leading to negative social and economic consequences. The parameters influencing the fear of crime include a person's literacy, wealth, ethnicity, and age (Gray, Jackson, & Farrall, 2011). In addition to individual factors, collective factors such as income inequality, rundown areas, slums, and refugee ghettos are also significant in the formation of the fear of crime (Sipahi, 2016).

Outside of the parameters of urban violence, the space itself also exerts violence on the individual and is associated with fear. In this context, the concept of phobia was first comprehensively examined and diagnosed in a spatial framework in 1871 by Berlin psychologist Carl Otto Westphal. Agoraphobia, a type of anxiety disorder characterized by the avoidance of situations that induce intense fear and panic, derives from the Greek word *agora*, meaning "place of assembly," "open space," or "marketplace," and from the English word *phobia*, meaning "fear" (Okasha, 2019). It was described by Westphal as a disease manifesting in symptoms such as strange anxiety, palpitations, sweating, and dizziness when in public spaces, deserted urban areas, churches, and squares. Similarly, just as open spaces can cause phobias, closed spaces have also been found to influence the formation of phobias. French psychologist Benjamin Bell described this as claustrophobia, a disease exhibiting symptoms of panic fear of being alone in a closed space, and the sensation of being in a passageway that is getting narrower., a sensation of being in a passage getting narrower (Vidler A. , 2000).

3.2 Ankara as a City of Violence

Collective forms of violence, along with the collective meanings of space, can be examined through different zones in cities. This analysis is about how places are damaged through social, political and economic means illustrating how every damaging situation can be perceived as violence. The relationship between collective violence and space can be explored through the impacts of social violence.

The city of Ankara experienced a rapid increase in urban population around 1940s, especially due to internal migration driven by industrialization. This growing population led to irregular urbanization of the city with various impacts for the today's city. The urban policies along the years have provoked various forms of collective urban violence for the space and its habitats.

With urban development, the natural beds of these streams were disrupted, causing floods during heavy rainfall. Therefore, in the late 1950s, to prevent flood disasters, the stream beds within the urban fabric were enclosed in concrete culverts and buried under streets and avenues (Figure 3.1). As a result, Ankara has become a city where streams exist only in street names today, such as Cevizlidere, Hoşdere, Dikmen Stream, İncesu Stream, and Bentderesi. The connections these streams had with their surroundings were destroyed, when they became road axes (Yılmaz & Yalçiner Ercoşkun, 2020).

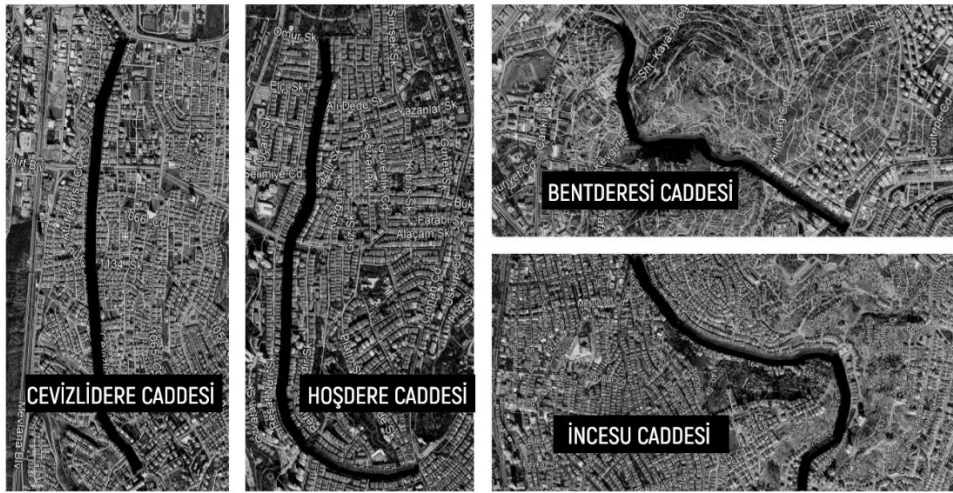


Figure 3.1: Streams turning into streets in Ankara (developed by author)

When Ankara was selected as the capital of Turkey on October 13, 1923, it was chosen over İzmir, Bursa, and Eskişehir. Various factors influenced this decision, with the city's relationship with water being an important consideration. Ankara met several criteria, such as being "close to natural or artificial waterfalls capable of generating electricity," having good "water and air quality," and having "access to sufficient water resources or the possibility of water transportation" (Aytepe, 2004). Additionally, Ankara was considered a suitable candidate for the capital due to its favorable climatic conditions, railway connections to significant centers in Anatolia and the west, and its role as the de facto capital during the War of Independence. This role was deemed natural and justified to continue (Arar, 1969).

In modern cities, especially capitals, streams and rivers are meticulously preserved within the urban fabric. For instance, many modern European cities, such as London with the Thames River, Rome with the Tiber River, Paris with the Seine River, Prague with Vltava River, Brussels with the Senne River and the Canal Bruxelles-Charleroi,

and Budapest with the Danube River, are shaped by these rivers flowing through them. Rivers transform the cityscape and its usage over time (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: Maps showing relationship with natural water resources in European cities (created by author)

However, despite its strong river infrastructure, Ankara appears as an arid city in map readings (Figure 3.3). Compared to the capitals of other European countries, it is quite difficult to perceive from the map that the city center is situated around water. Despite the measures taken, the city still suffers from flash floods during heavy rainfall (Figure 3.4). As a result of the pollution of natural stream beds with domestic and industrial waste, some of the enclosed streams have turned into sewage lines (Yılmaz & Ercoşkun, 2020). Consequently, the enclosed streams, surrounding construction, and stream pollution harm the urban flora and fauna. The ecological damage caused by this, combined with the lack of natural areas where city residents can spend their time, can be considered a form of social violence.

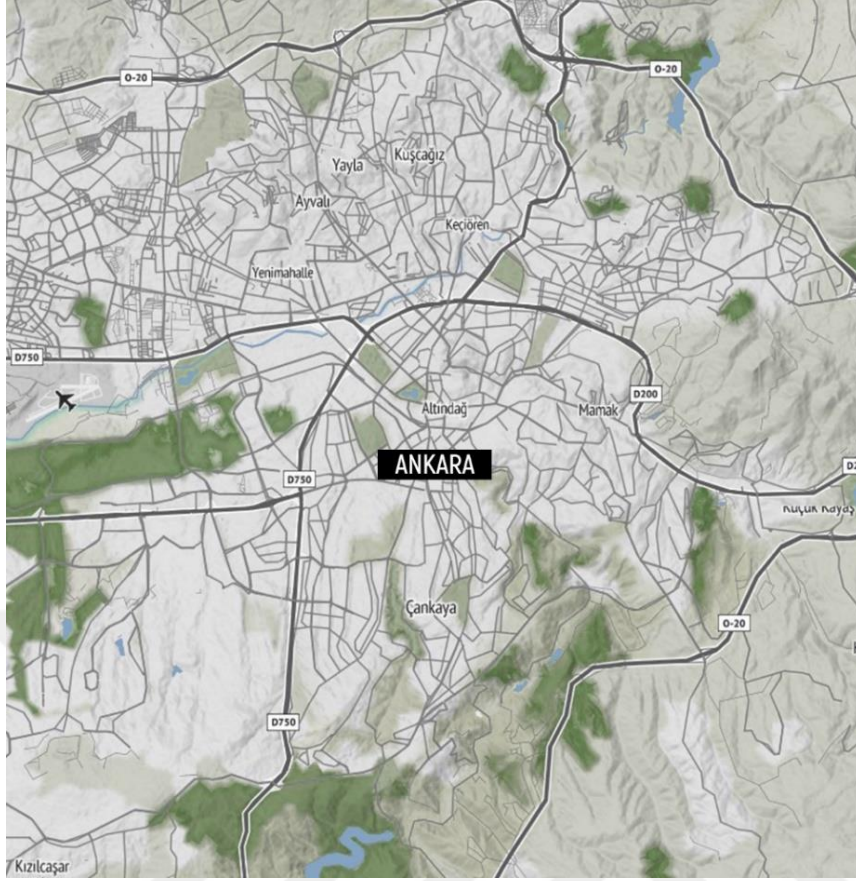


Figure 3.3: The relationship of Ankara city with natural water resources through the current map view (developed by author)



Figure 3.4: Flood on İncesu Street after sudden rain (Url-2)

Another example of social violence is related to government policies toward informal housing, transformation processes, and the reactions of residents to these processes. Dikmen Valley, which was a pasture area and stream bed before becoming an informal housing area in the 1970s, saw its stream ultimately channeled into a collector with the urban transformation practices that began in the 1990s (Memlük et al., 2013).

The urban transformation projects initiated at the end of the 1990s by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality consist of five stages. In 2006, during this transformation, efforts were made to reach agreements with informal housing owners to leave their houses. Those who agreed to leave were promised that they could become house owners by borrowing at low interest rates determined by the state. However, not all property owners wanted to comply with this agreement and those who did experience delays in receiving their new houses (Yılmaz, 2015).



Figure 3.5: Residents resisting during the urban transformation of Dikmen valley (Url-3)

One aspect of the violence is the delayed receipt of new homes by those who agreed to the terms. In contrast, the other aspect involves the conflicts between the property owners who did not comply and the actors implementing the urban transformation (Figure 3.5). Property owners argued that they could not afford to rent a house or buy one with a loan during the transformation due to their low incomes, and they wanted to protect their homes at all costs. During the struggle, it became difficult for teams to enter the area. In response to the resistance from residents, municipal teams cut off infrastructure services such as garbage collection and road maintenance. Subsequently, a court order halted the urban transformation project, but it continued and was eventually completed by 2013 with new legal regulations and new tenders (Yılmaz, 2015).

After the transformation, the buildings overlooking Dikmen Valley became very expensive, highlighting the reasons for the resistance of the local residents. The areas with the most favorable land and property values in the transformation zones were

gentrified. In contrast, the original property owners were marginalized and continued to live in areas with relatively the lowest land values.

We can also examine the spatial relations of political violence, another form of collective violence, in the city of Ankara. As an extension of political violence, terrorist acts committed violence against both civil society and state authority, especially in 2015 and 2016. Within the framework of these actions, public spaces and institutional buildings were the target of the attack and many civilians and military citizens lost their lives as a result of the actions.



Figure 3.6: Bomb attack at Ankara Train Station in 2015 (Url-4)



Figure 3.7: Bomb attack in Kızılay Güvenpark in 2016 (Url-5)

103 people lost their lives as a result of two suicide bomb attacks planned by the ISIS terrorist organization, which took place during the Labor, Peace, Democracy Rally held in front of Ankara Train Station on October 10, 2015 (Figure 3.6). During that period, many people lost their lives as a result of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks

targeting soldiers in many cities of Turkey. 4 months after the Ankara train station attack, on February 17, 2016, the TAK terrorist organization carried out an attack with a car bomb in front of the General Staff building in Kızılay, Ankara city center, while military service vehicles were passing by (Figure 3.7). As a result of this attack, 29 people died and 61 people were injured. Immediately after these events, there was another car bomb attack by the TAK terrorist organization on March 13, 2016, and 36 people lost their lives and more than 300 citizens were injured as a result of the explosion of the bomb vehicle in front of Güvenpark bus stops on Kızılay Atatürk Boulevard (Url-6)

Terrorist acts do not only target civilians and public spaces, but also the existing power order and public institutions. An example of this is the military attempt that took place on July 15, 2016, by a group of soldiers who are members of FETÖ within the Turkish Armed Forces. This attempt targeted critical military and police centers, TBMM and the Presidential Complex were bombed, and strategic locations such as MİT, the General Staff and the Special Operations Command were tried to be occupied (Figure 3.8). During the incidents and conflicts, 249 civilians and security officers lost their lives throughout Turkey.



Figure 3.8: The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) building bombed during the military attempt (Url-7)

Spatial relations of economic violence, which is the last form of collective violence, can also be observed in the city (Figure 3.9). The "gates" built in 2014 on the 5 entrance roads of Ankara, namely Eskişehir, Konya, Istanbul, Samsun and Esenboğa roads, are

an example of this, huge amounts of money were spent on its construction (Url-8). The concept of door has meanings in history such as political power, domination and sovereignty symbol, and it paves the way for the formation of dual ceremonies by transforming the actions of entering or exiting a place into a process. In addition, the "stone-paved road", which has been identified with the Romans throughout history, and the "triumphal arch" with column-arch order placed on the roads, are symbols of the sovereignty of the empire. However, the gates in Ankara were built in 2014 and are places produced for visual purposes, imitating traditional architectural motifs and construction style, but whose purpose is not fully understood, do not have a function and do not create a ceremonial situation within the framework of entry and exit. Therefore, when viewed from this perspective, the cost of these structures creates economic damage and violence.



Figure 3.9: The gates of Ankara (developed by author)

This study of Ankara examines the various forms of violence from a spatial perspective. It analyzes how social, political, and economic dynamics affect urban spaces and the people who live in them. The legitimate or illegitimate history of each space's construction, transformation, or demolition can make it difficult to see the space as a tool of violence from different viewpoints, but its effects can be studied extensively.

3.3 Focus in Bentderesi Region: Criteria of Selection

Scenes of violence scattered in different areas within the city can be observed concentrated in one region of Ankara, "Bentderesi" region. Even though this region is as old as the history of Ankara shaping its urban and spatial structure, there is a few comprehensive academic research, while the area has been continuously transformed.

The Bentderesi region has been chosen as a case study because it exemplifies the social, political, and economic forms of violence observed in Ankara. It is one of the first areas where such violent relations were implemented in the city.

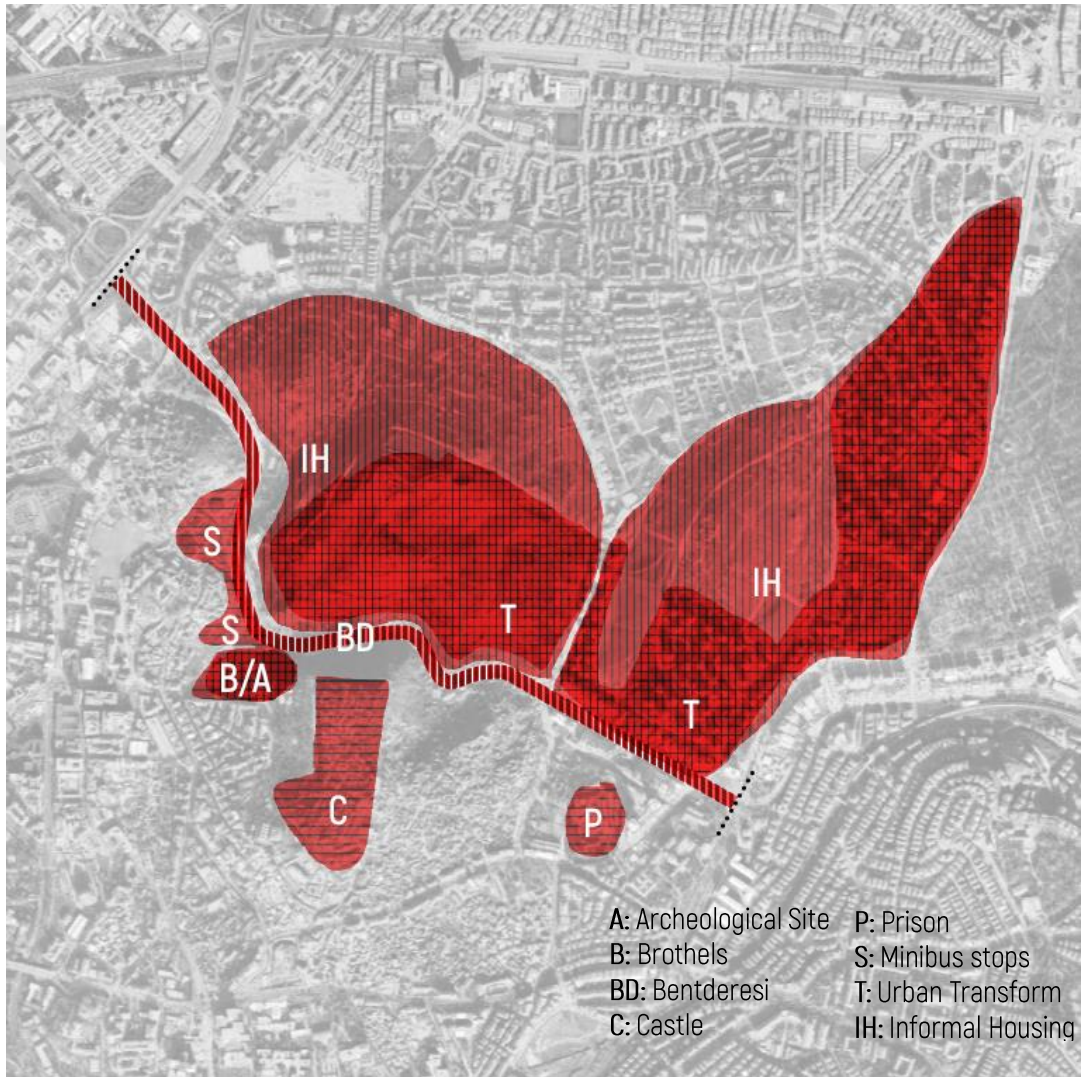


Figure 3.10: Places related with violence in Bentderesi

The practice of covering streams in Ankara was first applied to the Bentderesi stream in this district. The first informal housing settlements in Ankara were formed in the Bentderesi region, and since then the area has constantly been redefined by urban

transformation projects. The archaeological site located in Bentderesi was only recently recognized as a cultural heritage area. Previously, it had been used as a brothel district since the early days of the republic (Figure 3.10).

These are just some of the examples that will be discussed to the next parts of the research that made this zone an illustrative case study that could serve as an analysis tool to examine the matter of urban spatial violence from different perspectives and actors.

3.4 Historical Background of Bentderesi

Old travel books mention the settlement of Ankara city on a hill extending from east to west and the existence of a stream flowing through the foothills of Ankara Castle. This stream, referred to by Charles Texier as "Engürü Water", is known today as Hatip Stream (Texier, 2002). Utilizing the Hatip Stream flowing adjacent to the city, the Romans constructed a small dam on the stream to control water flow, on the northern slope of Hisar Hill where Ankara Castle is located.



Figure 3.11: Postcard showing Ankara Castle, Roman Dam and Bentderesi (Tamur, 2012)

However, in the Ankara Castle and its surroundings, this stream takes on another name and is called Bentderesi (Figure 3.11). The structure that gave its name to Bentderesi, according to David French (2003), who conducted historical research on Ankara,

stated that it may have been built to bring water from the Hatip Stream to the city, that it was not a bridge structure, considering the discharge covers on it. He stated that it showed the characteristics of a complete Roman dam. In the 1st century BC, with their conquest of Galatia, the Romans aimed to make Ankara the provincial capital, intending to use the city for military and economic purposes.

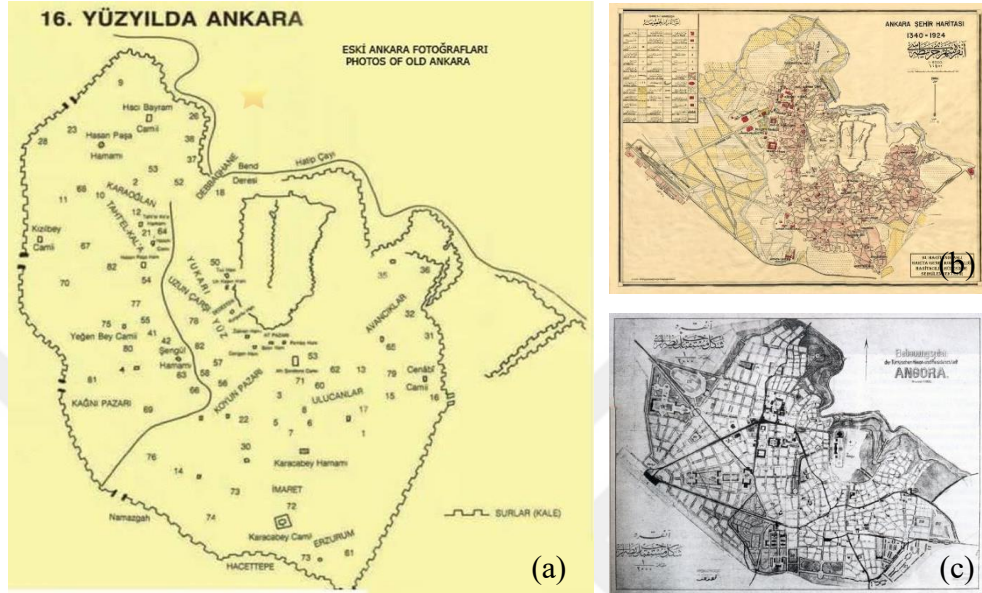


Figure 3.12: Drawings and maps demonstrating the city of Ankara that demonstrates (a)Ankara in 16th century (Url-9), (b)Ankara as a Ottoman Empire city in 1923 (Url-10) and (c)the first plan of Ankara, capital city of Turkey (Url-11).

When examining old maps and drawings of Ankara, it has been observed that Bentderesi formed the northern boundary of Ankara. In a depiction of 16th-century Ankara, the city walls are shown to extend along Bentderesi (Figure 3.12a). In the 1924 Şehremaneti map, which illustrates the plan of Ankara during the Ottoman Empire (Figure 3.12b), as well as in the Lörcher Plan (Figure 3.12c), which is the first plan of Ankara in the Republican period, Bentderesi also marks the city's boundary, and the northern side of the stream is not depicted in these drawings. However, concerning the area that appears empty on the map, German traveler Hans Dernschwam noted that there is another hill opposite the one where Ankara Castle is situated, with remnants resembling fortifications on its summit, and that the stream flows swiftly and forcefully between these two hills (Dernschwam, 1992).



Figure 3.13: The domed structure that gave its name to Hıdırlıktepe (Tamur, 2012).

Across of the stream is not suitable for residential settlement because of topographical reasons. Old photographs of Ankara show a square-plan domed structure that existed in the hill called Hıdırlıktepe until the 1920s but was later demolished for unknown reasons (Figure 3.13). It is not known when and by whom this structure was built. There are unverified rumors regarding the name of Hıdırlıktepe. Some suggest it was called "Timurlenk Hill" because Timur directed the siege during the Battle of Ankara from this hill, while others claim it was named "Kubbeli Hill" due to the tomb of Hatip Ahmet İsfahani located there.



Figure 3.14: Bridges over Bentderesi (Tamur, 2012).



Figure 3.15: Mills on Bentderesi (Tamur, 2012).

The Roman Dam was not the only structure built over the stream. Numerous bridges were constructed over Bentderesi (Figure 3.14). Among these were the Çakırlar Bridge and the Tabakhane¹ Bridge, which connected Tabakhane Neighborhood to the opposite side of the stream, and the Ördekli Bridge, located next to the Ördekli Mosque in Börekçiler Neighborhood, where city residents could see flocks of ducks. Additionally, there were recreational areas and structures like the Uluçınar Bridge, where residents spent their weekends picnicking and enjoying leisure time during the 1920s and 1930s (Tamur, 2012). There are also mills on Bentderesi that reference the commercial identity of the city (Figure 3.15). Until the 1920s, wheat brought from nearby villages was ground in the mills in Bentderesi. There are three mills on the stream, and it was observed that these mills were located near the bridge.

Another commercial identity of the city, as old as Ankara's history itself and mentioned in travelogues, is the production of sof. Dernschwam notes that the trade in Ankara was centered on weaving, with sof made from mohair being the primary product. Bentderesi was significant as a place where raw mohair was cleaned and the produced sof was washed with soap. The Polish traveler Simeon, who visited in 1618, talks about the ethnographic situation of Ankara. He mentions that there were Greek and Armenian neighborhoods in the city and that there was a church belonging to the Greeks along

¹ "Tabak" or "debbağ" is an individual who processes the hides of cattle or small livestock to protect them from bacteria, prevent decay, and make them resistant to heat and moisture. The term "debbağlık" refers to the craft of tanning. Over time, the word "debbağ" evolved into "dabak," and the places where leather was processed were initially called "debbağhane" or "debbagistan," eventually becoming known as "tabakhane." The English term for this facility is "tannery."

with the castle in the upper part of the city. He mentions that the people of the city, regardless of ethnic origin, were engaged in sof trade and production (Hrand, 1953).

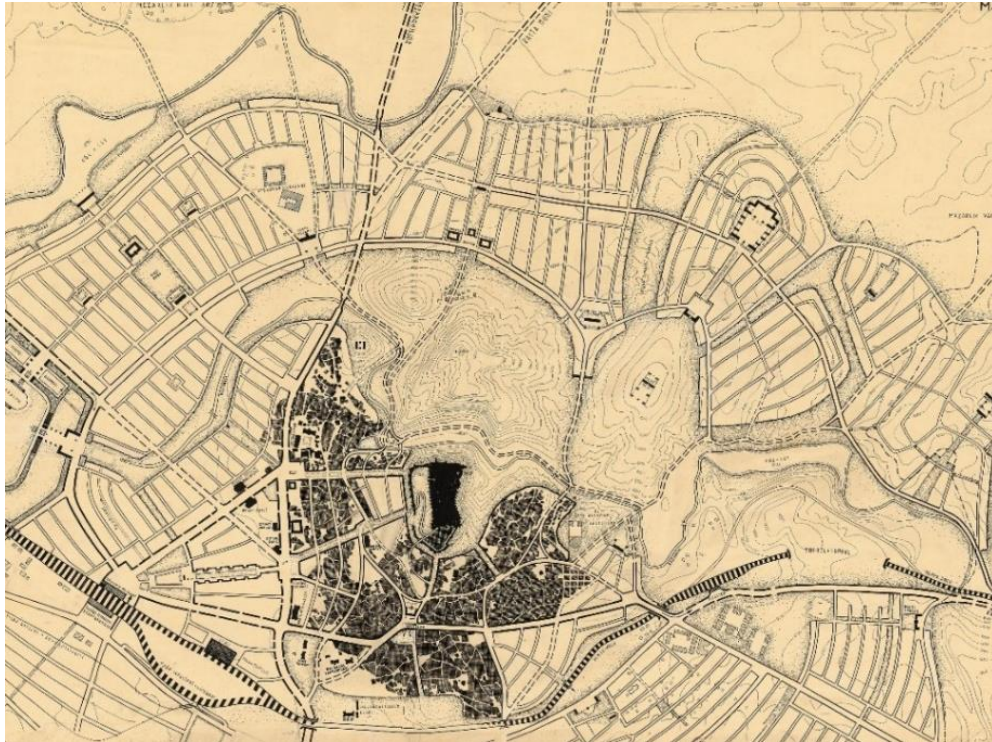


Figure 3.16: Hermann Jansen Ankara Plan (derived from TU Berlin Architekturmuseum archive).

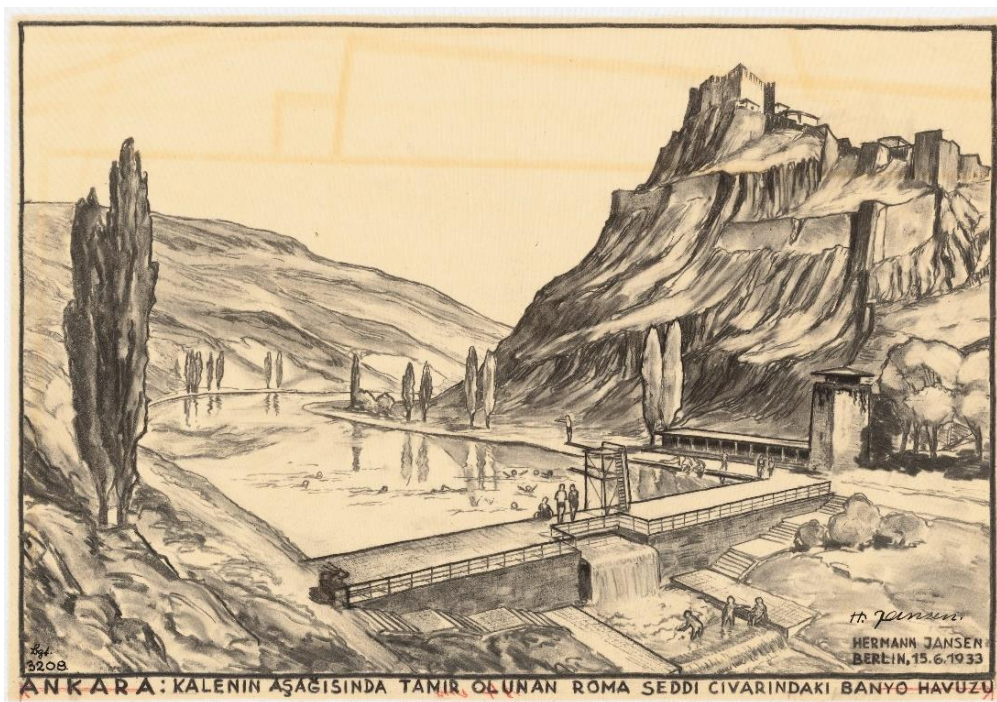


Figure 3.17: The bathing pool near the restored Roman dam below Ankara Castle (derived from TU Berlin Architekturmuseum archive).

Bentderesi and its northern areas were incorporated into urban planning with the Hermann Jansen Plan (Figure 3.16). The Jansen Plan proposed the development of the city towards the southeast and designated the northern parts of the city for reserved residential areas. However, decisions regarding Bentderesi and the Hıdırlıktepe area to its north were made based on land conditions and existing usage. Therefore, the plan suggested that these areas should not be used for residential purposes, preserving their natural environment and recommending their use as recreational areas for the city's residents to enjoy on weekends. Furthermore, it was proposed that the stone quarries in the area be relocated outside the city limits, as they were considered to damage the natural texture of the region. Recommendations were also made regarding the use of the Roman dam and the river (Figure 3.17), supporting the public utilization of the area (Jansen, 1927).

Contrary to the Jansen plan, the Bentderesi region has become another reality over time. The sudden population increase, which was not foreseen in urban planning, began to reveal a situation that contradicts the principles and land uses determined for the city. By 1945, 70,000 people lived in informal residences in Ankara, where approximately 226,000 people lived (Url-12). In the city, which was not planned against this sudden population increase, the immigrant population began to establish settlements in the peripheral areas close to the city center. The migration situation seen on a map of 1944 (Figure 3.18). shows that the immigrant population settled in the northern parts of the city, especially around Bentderesi, which were left as green areas in the city plan and were not considered suitable for settlement. Informal housings were settled in the quarries that Jansen moved to the city surroundings on the grounds that they threatened the stream (Figure 3.19).

Nowadays, when examining historical photographs or postcards, a different reality emerges, making it difficult to connect with the past of these areas. Multicultural neighborhoods, wooden and stone bridges, mills, picnic areas, green texture and the most important, stream of Bentderesi have disappeared. Consequently, neither its "bent" nor its "dere" remained, a new reality which is based on violence and violent relationships has emerged (Figure 3.20-21).



Figure 3.18: 1/8000 scale Ankara map from 1944 (Mihçioğlu Bilgi, 2010)



Figure 3.19: Photograph from 1954 showing informal housings (Url-13)



Figure 3.20: Photo of Bentderesi recreation area in the 1920s (Tamur,2012).



Figure 3.21: The current state of Bentderesi (Derived from Google Earth)



4 CASE STUDY: RE-READING OF BENTDERESI

According to David Riches (1992), professor, anthropologist and socialist, the understandability and the nature of violent acts can be interpreted differently from different perspectives. According to these perspectives, violence can develop different definitions. Riches has suggested 3 perspectives to understand violence and its impacts. Those perspectives underline that the action of violence can be understood in different ways according to the different focuses on the actors participating in the violent event. The term actor can represent the performer of a violent act, either the victims or the witnesses during the violent action.

The first perspective is from the “performer’s” view, focusing on the person committing the violence. In this perspective, violent events can be seen by the performer as normal actions without aiming harm or injure. This perspective tries to understand why the performer chooses violence by focusing on practical or symbolic reasons. While it can be argued that the performer chooses violence as a tool for achieving specific goals, instead, Riches evaluates the performer's achievements with the concepts of "meaning" and "strategy". This strategy has as purpose, to reveal the “core purpose” of the violent action.

The second perspective is the perspective of the victim, the person who experiences the violence directly. This perspective considers violence as illegitimate regardless of the performer’s core purpose. Even when the performer does not intend to harm or injure, such as in cases involving jokes, rituals, or other purposes, all actions are seen as illegitimate from the victim's perspective. This includes both legal and illegal acts of violence. In this case, the perspective is focused on the impacts of the violent action for the victim(s).

Third perspective is the perspective of the witness. The role of the witness can be significative on the legitimacy and illegitimacy of violence because they can influence the social and cultural perception of violence. Therefore, its presence is crucial for the definition of violence. Witnesses can support either the performer or the victim or remain neutral. When witnesses support victims ideologically, they can affect the actions of the performer, because their opinions can sometimes lead to the end of the violent action in order to protect or defend the well-being of the victim. On the other

hand, witnesses may agree with the performer ideologically and they may support the action of violence as a legal situation. Witnesses can also be indirect victims. They don't experience physical harm directly nor are they target of violent action, but they can understand and empathize with the victim, feeling victimized themselves.

In these three perspectives, the actors of violence are human beings: the performer, the victim, and the witness. Each aims to understand and interpret intra-species violence differently.

When investigating the relationship between space and violence, it is essential to consider the space where violence occurs. Therefore, space itself can be seen as a performer, victim, and witness in the context of violence. By evaluating space in those roles, a deeper understanding of the different forms of violence and how they display in various environments can be gained.

4.1 Focus of David Riches Theory on Bentderesi

Bentderesi serves as an area where we can exemplify three perspectives on violence. However, to develop these perspectives, component spaces are necessary. Deleuze and Guattari (1994) argue that just as each concept is formed from the association of components and achieves new meanings, the perspectives are examined through different component spaces that adjacent to Bentderesi (Figure 4.1).

The performer's perspective includes regions with informal housing. This perspective will explore the spread of informal housing, the relationship between crime and space, the process of urban transformation, and how natural disasters create violence in these areas.

The victim's perspective includes various states of Bentderesi (the stream and the street phases), ancient ruins, and public buildings constructed through urban transformation. This perspective will investigate the consequences of violence in these areas.

Witness' perspective includes Ankara Castle, the stream, and the prison. This perspective will examine how space is indirectly involved or affected in forms of political violence such as war and military coups.

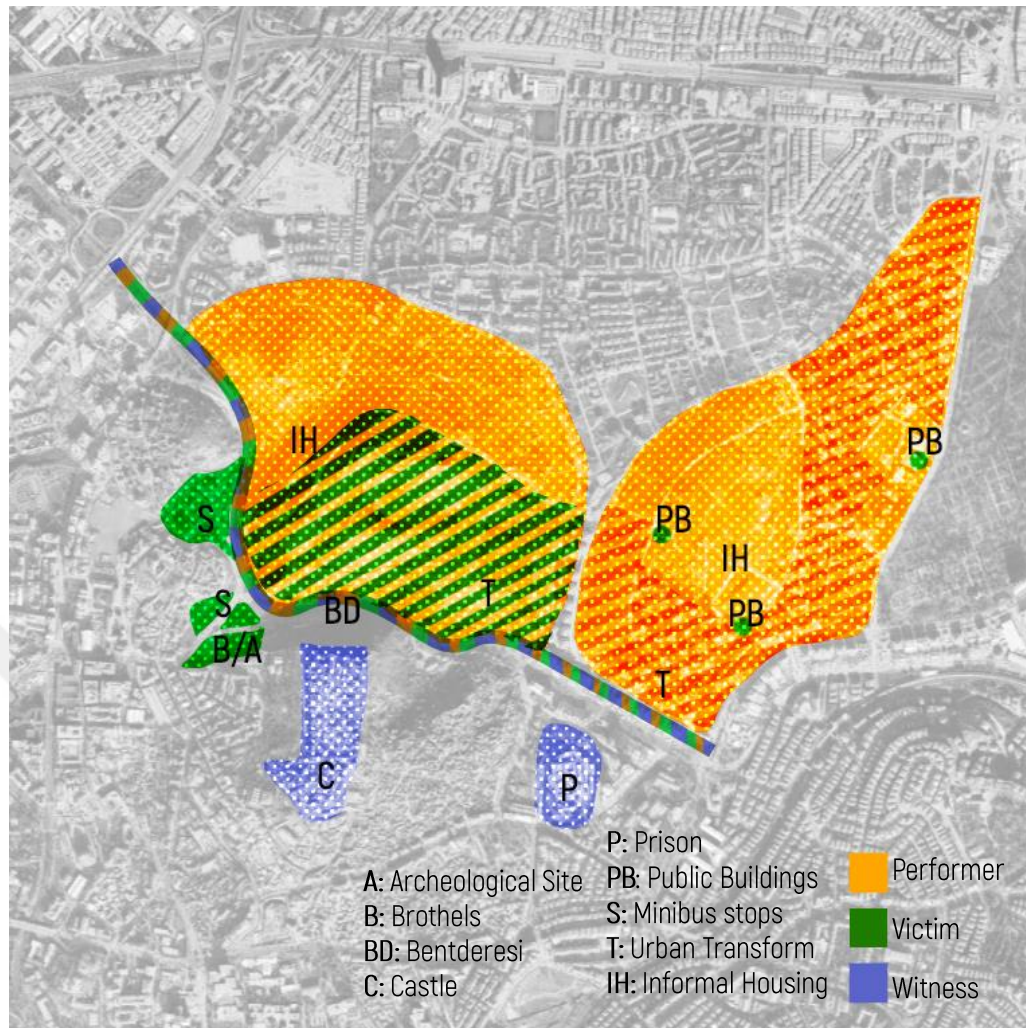


Figure 4.1: Map showing the perspectives of violence in Bentderesi

4.2 Space As a Performer of Violence

By examining the focus areas from this perspective, space is considered as the performer of violence and the focus is on the reasons behind it rather than the consequences of it. The point of interest is how the perception of space and the geomorphological and sociocultural conditions of it could affect violent events in a way that if the same events were produced in another place, they wouldn't provoke the same consequences. Practical and symbolic goals of space as indicator are examined.

4.2.1 Informal housing

In Bentderesi, there are numerous informal housing areas². In that example, the space itself is responsible for violence against the city and its inhabitants, who are perceived as the victims of the violent events. The most important informal housing area of Bentderesi is Çinçin district, considered by the citizens of Ankara as the most violent and risky³ area of the entire city.

The United Nations (UN) defines informal housing areas as "illegal land occupation or shelters built by low-income individuals". In other words, informal houses are residential areas that lack formal planning and infrastructure, developed outside of official regulations. From a legal perspective, these structures are considered a violation of private land ownership.

The Çinçin region is currently located in the Altındağ district of Ankara province, between the Hacettepe, Kale, Hacıbayram, and Örnek neighborhoods (Figure 4.2). Situated within the Atıfbey and Gültepe neighborhoods, this area encompasses three hills - Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan Hill, and the hilly part of Çinçin Bağları - all sharing the same valley. The region is bordered by Cebeci Asri Cemetery, Babür, Altındağ Streets, and Bentderesi Street (Aykaç, 2020).

According to James Holston, those places are the spaces of insurgent communities. Through these spaces, new identities and actions that disturb the existing and established history of the city are distributed. When the concept of rebellion is combined with the city and its inhabitants, it turns into a constructive and productive concept, as can be understood from the definition of informal housing.

² In Turkey, informal housing is called "gecekondu." The word "gecekondu" is a compound word formed from two words. The first word is "gece" (night), and the second word is "kondu," which comes from the verb "to settle." The term was integrated into everyday language around 1940-1950; it was not introduced by cultural institutions or a specific organization, but rather emerged from society due to the act of building (Yasa, 1968; Çakır, 2011).

³ The term "risk" used here is closely related to how this urban area is perceived by its inhabitants. In this context, labeling the area as a "risky" region is not an observation made by the researcher during fieldwork; rather, the area had already undergone transformation from its former informal settlement (gecekondu) state by the time this thesis was written. The term "risk" is not a neutral one, and its use to describe this area is subject to debate. However, interpretations drawn from the reviewed articles and online news sources have led to this characterization. Although the area may create and maintain a sense of safety for those who use it, making it a risk-free zone for its inhabitants, for the rest of the city, this area is perceived quite differently—described as risky and associated with danger for those who enter or pass through it. Consequently, in this thesis, the Çinçin region is also characterized as a risky area, and the factors that contribute to the formation of this risk are thoroughly investigated.



Figure 4.2: Boundaries of Çiğir area

John Friedman and James Holston proposed the concept of “insurgent citizenship” for this segment of urbanities who seek their own rights and are productive at the same time. The insurgent citizen is an opposition to the spaces of modernism that dominates cities; In addition to the rebellion against the modern city, it is also a rebellion against the definition of modern citizen because it establishes itself from a position of demanding rights (Friedmann, 2002; Holston, 1998).

Informal housing in Çiğir area is an interesting example of many types of violence because of the marginalization of the population. According to Robert Park, a marginal person is a cultural hybrid who shares the cultural life and traditions of two different communities. This person is unable to fully break away from their past and traditions, and at the same time, is not fully accepted by the new society due to racial prejudices (Park, 1928). Marginal groups may be excluded or separated from society for social, economic, political, or cultural reasons. Eric Wolf describes marginality as a process shaped by economic and political structures, noting that marginal groups have limited

access to economic resources and lack political power (Wolf, 1969). Similarly, Loïc Wacquant views marginality as a result of neoliberal policies and economic transformations, arguing that changes in the labor market and the weakening of the welfare state lead to the emergence of marginality. According to Wacquant, marginal groups face unstable job conditions, low incomes, and limited social protection (Wacquant, 2008).

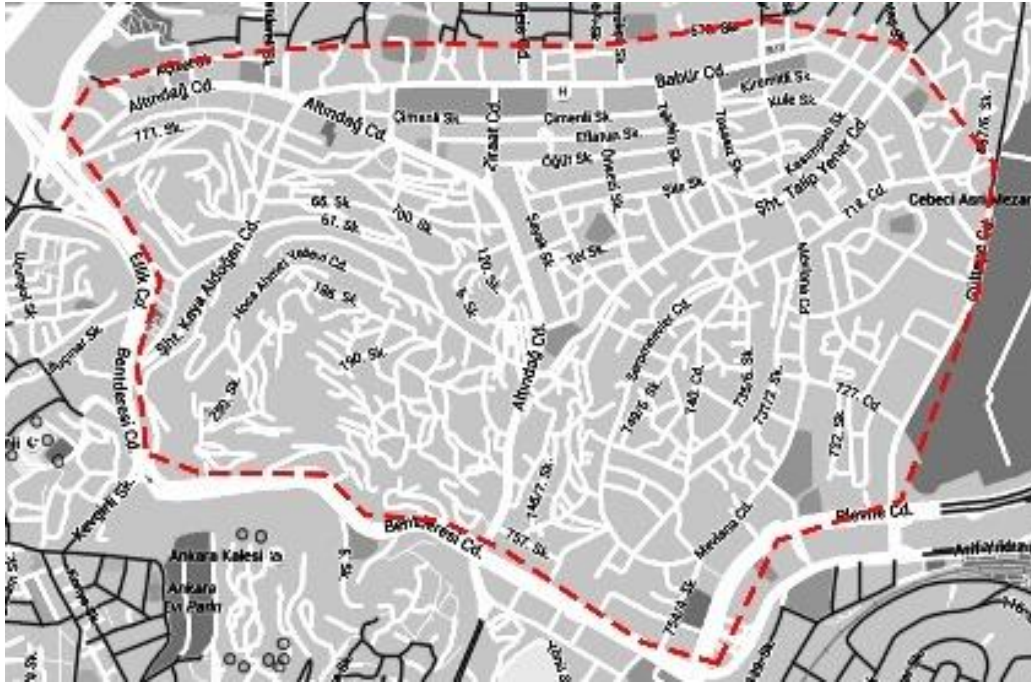


Figure 4.3: Map image from 2015 showing Google Street View accessibility of the Çiğir region

The Çiğir area, from the perspective of urban dwellers, is seen as a perpetrator of violence and a place where violence is legitimized. In the media, the notorious reputation of the Çiğir area is often highlighted by police raids and dawn operations, depicting it as a dangerous place shrouded in legends, where those brave enough to venture in never return, and controlled by criminal organizations (Bayraktar, 2021). It is noteworthy that the area, physically inaccessible to city dwellers, is also inaccessible in the virtual realm; in 2007, news sources reported that the Google Street View team was prevented from entering the Çiğir area by armed groups (Url-14). Related to this news, until the onset of the urban transformation process and demolition activities, the Çiğir area remained an "offline" zone (Figure 4.3).

Before becoming stigmatized by crime, Çiğir was an empty area located north of Bentderesi, considered unsuitable for settlement according to the Jansen Plan Report,

which once housed the Hıdırlık tomb. Altındağ, which includes Çinçin and is situated north of Bentderesi, met the residential needs of the increasing rural-to-urban migrant population in the 1940s due to its proximity to the city center and road connections (Şenyapılı, 2004; Tekeli, 1997). From the 1940s onwards, the district's neighborhoods, including Aktaş, Hıdırlıktepe, Atıfbey, and at that time, Yenidoğan and Telsizler, experienced population growth with migrants from Central Anatolian cities such as Yozgat and Kayseri. These communities formed support networks based on regional solidarity (Erman, 2007; Bektaş & Yücel, 2013).



Figure 4.4: 1932 Jansen Plan showing the topography lines of Çinçin region (derived from TU Berlin Architekturmuseum archive).

The contour lines seen in the 1932 Jansen plan refer to the rugged topography of the Çinçin area. Çinçin generally has a highly sloped topography (Figure 4.4). The slope on both sides of Altındağ Street, which runs between the northern part of the terrain and Hıdırlıktepe and Gültepe, is suitable for settlement (0-15% incline). As shown on the 1944 map, the first settlements in the area, which started to become an informal housing region with the influx of migrants, were positioned in these regions. However, after the edges of the hills were filled with structures, settlements began to spread onto the hilltops (Figure 4.5).

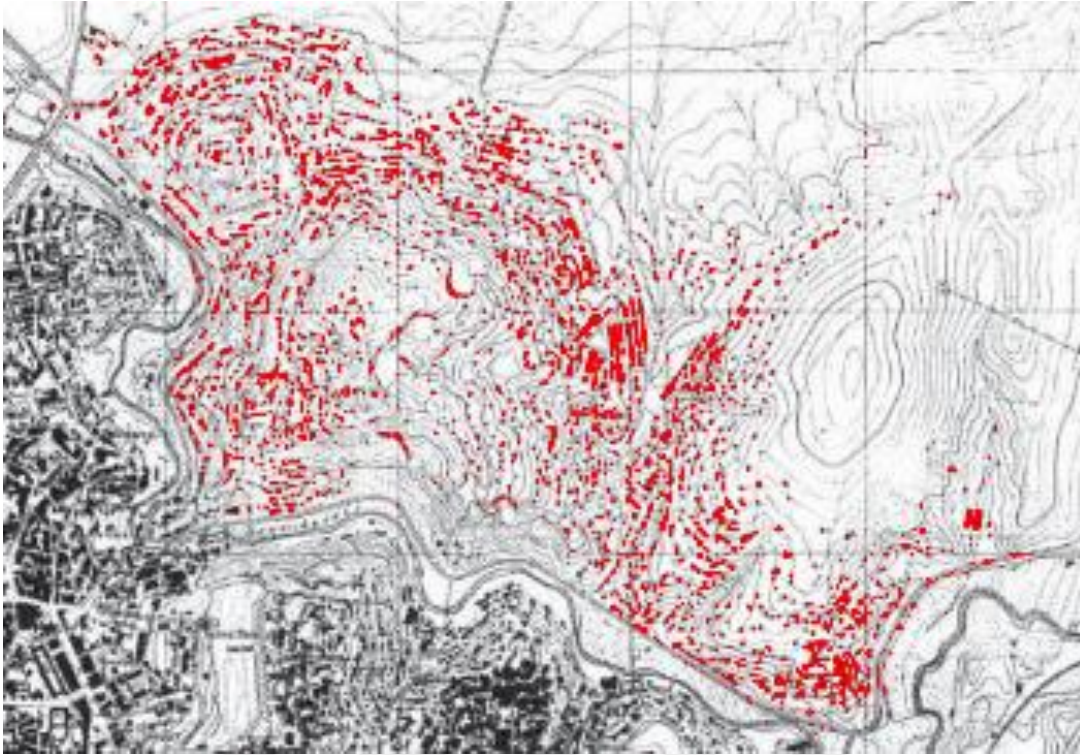


Figure 4.5: 1944 map showing the settlement of informal housing in the Çiğcin region

In Çiğcin, informal settlements exhibit a combination of houses with French tiles and small gardens alongside more deteriorated houses. These areas are marked by dense topographic obstacles, featuring tin-lined huts and burrows dug into the ground. One side of these burrows is buried and sealed off from the land, while the other side opens onto the street. Constructed by leveraging the ground's slope, these structures use upside-down gas cans or perforated boxes as makeshift skylights or chimneys. Inside the slums, rainwater pits collect water leaking from various parts and ceilings, and in the absence of proper sanitation⁴, human-sized tin-covered toilets are often found on the streets (Aygül, 2014).

⁴ Access to water in the region has been significantly problematic. Until 1979, the area lacked communal neighborhood fountains, resulting in severe hygiene and clean water deficiencies. This scarcity led to outbreaks of infectious diseases and an increased prevalence of malaria among children (Aykaç, 2020; Aygül, 2014).

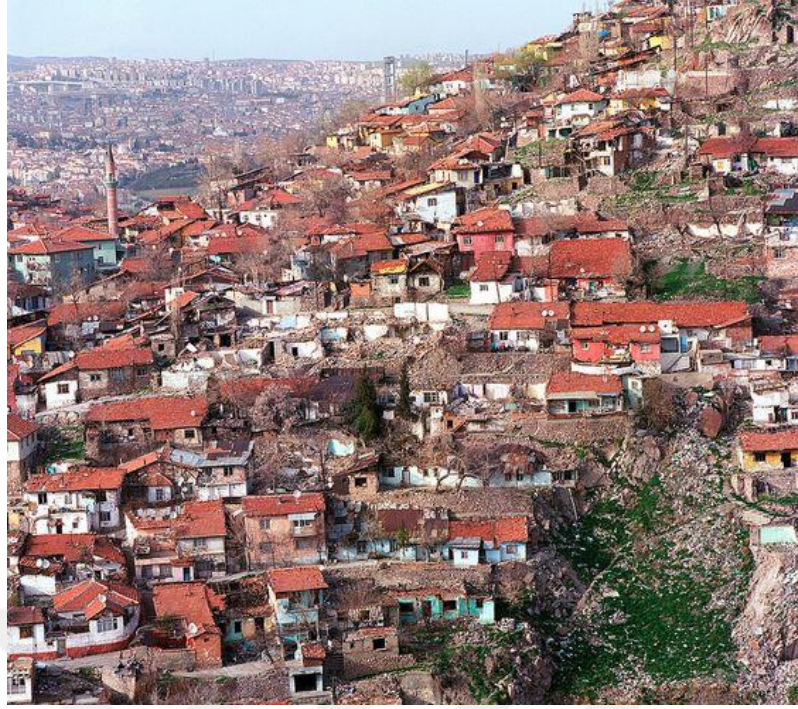


Figure 4.6: Photograph showing the spread of informal housing over the topography in the 1990s (Url-13)

Those informal settlements are connected by narrow, winding roads, with few asphalted roads at higher elevations (Figure 4.7). Built on hills and steep slopes, these houses experienced significant delays in accessing urban services such as roads and public transportation⁵.



Figure 4.7: Çinçin street photo from 2011 (derived from Yandex Maps)

⁵ The first asphalt road leading to the hill was constructed by the Altındağ Municipality between 1989 and 1994 (Aykaç, 2020).

Due to the increase in informal housing, the government aimed to prevent this formation and rehabilitate the areas with legal regulations. In 1948, to address the problem of informal housing, Laws No. 5218 and 5228 were enacted to identify structures settled on state land and to prevent illegal settlements due to internal migration. The theoretical framework includes policies aimed at preventing the proliferation of informal housing, such as the production of affordable housing, the provision of land to those who would build their own homes, and incentives to reduce construction costs. It also mentions the organization of those without homes and land into cooperatives and the allocation of land to these cooperatives. However, this solution proved insufficient, and informal housing areas became vulnerable to overpopulation.

This legal regulation marks the starting point for seeing informal housing as an actor of violence, particularly in the context of Çiñin today. After this period, urban transformation projects aimed at improvement have been observed in informal housing areas. However, due to fractures caused by steep rocks and slopes, Çiñin is a region with occasional rock falls and landslide risks, making it unsuitable for construction. Consequently, it has remained outside the interest of contractors. Nevertheless, due to its proximity to the city center, it is still a suitable area for immigrant groups (Erman, 2007; Bektaş & Yücel, 2013; Aykaç, 2020).

With the rapid population growth in the region and the relocation of local residents who improved their financial means, the safe and supportive identity within the Çiñin area began to fade. Ethnic-based violence emerged between Kurdish immigrants from Erzurum and Aksaray and the Roman groups living in the higher parts of the region. In the documentary "X" by Özgür Arık (2008), the stories of poverty, crime, and marginalization in the Çiñin area are conveyed through interviews with the residents. A striking aspect of the documentary is the contrast between the elderly, who were the first to settle in the area and still live there, emphasizing the deterioration and importance of solidarity and neighborly relationships in the region, and the younger people who moved in later, highlighting the crime situation in the area. These younger residents adopt a criminal identity, feeling compelled to engage in criminal activities as a means to earn money and gain acceptance in society (Arık, 2008).

With the changing demographic structure in the 1990s, Çiñin became an attractive place for crime centers due to the limited accessibility of land, and it became an unsafe

place where drug sales took place and criminal gangs began to shelter, resulting in endless police operations (Erman, 2007). Poverty and marginality have created socioeconomic conditions that push individuals to commit crimes, and when efforts to achieve social goals through legitimate means fail, individuals resort to illegal methods (Merton, 1938).

The potential for crime in a location influences the relationship between violence and space. As neighborhoods age and deteriorate, they can become associated with crime, making illegal behaviors more appealing and giving rise to a culture of crime and violence. This environment may lead to residents engaging in illegal activities to make money. As more people willing to engage in criminal activities move into the area, those who do not want to be involved start leaving the neighborhood. This leads to stigmatization of the neighborhood and its residents, resulting in a loss of job opportunities and the chance to make friends outside the community. This, in turn, draws more individuals into criminal behavior. This ongoing cycle results in the neighborhood becoming a intersection of violent activities, perpetuating crime and the emergence of criminals.

4.2.2 Urban transformation

There are two distinct realities for Çiğir. The first is the informal housing area based on social and cultural solidarity, where Central Anatolian immigrants settled in the 1940s. The second reality emerged after the 1990s, when the original settlers began to leave, and the area started receiving intense immigration from eastern regions according to the Chapter 4.2.1 Informal Houses of Çiğir. This led to an increase in the number of tenants and squatters, and the district became known for its high crime rates and concentration of illegal activities.

Therefore, the impact of crime originating from the Çiğir area on the city must be mitigated. However, rather than being approached as a space for improvement and rehabilitation, this area has been perceived and portrayed to the urban population as a zone of conflict against crime and the local community. Within this context, the primary goal of the transformation in the Çiğir region has been urban clearance⁶. In

⁶ Urban clearance, often referred to as slum clearance, involves the systematic demolition of substandard, overcrowded, and deteriorated housing and infrastructure in urban areas. This process is aimed at eliminating blighted neighborhoods, which are seen as centers of crime, disease, and poverty, to make way for new development and urban renewal projects (Shaw, 1965).

2005, TOKİ⁷ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) and the Altındağ Municipality⁸ reached an agreement, leading to the initiation of a four-phase urban transformation project in 2006⁹ (Figure 4.8). These projects have subsequently given rise to social and economic-based instances of violence.



Figure 4.8: Map showing urban transformation areas in Çiğir region

⁷ TOKİ, founded in 1984 by the 8th President of Turkey, Turgut Özal, stands for the Housing Development Administration of Turkey. The institution's primary objectives include meeting the housing needs of low- and middle-income citizens, promoting the production of social housing, supporting the housing construction industry and its workers, and implementing profit-oriented projects to provide funding for the institution. Additionally, TOKİ is responsible for urban transformation projects aimed at modernizing and redeveloping urban areas.

⁸ The Altındağ Mayor at 2005, Veysel Tiryaki, emphasized that the area could not be improved through small construction groups and individual methods, as construction firms were unable to cope with the region's socio-economic structure. He underscored the necessity of a state-supported urban transformation project (Url-15).

⁹ In the Çiğir region, the demolition of informal housing began, followed by the construction of mass housing in Yenidoğan Hill in 2006. The 1st Stage in the Gültepe neighborhood was completed and delivered in 2008, the 2nd Stage in 2011, and the 4th Stage in 2014, while the 3rd Stage remains a slum and has not been demolished. In 2006, the slum transformation project in Yenidoğan and Aktaş neighborhood was completed, and homeowners began settling in the houses (Bektaş & Türkün, 2017). However, in the Atilla neighborhood, the demolition was left unfinished, and the transformation project has not been realized to date.

Urban transformation in the Çinçin area, viewed as a battleground, performed physical violence. News reports highlighted tensions and armed attacks between local residents and municipal demolition teams (Figure 4.9). To protect their homes and postpone the demolitions, residents engaged in violent actions. In response, police units, armored vehicles, special operations teams, and riot control vehicles (TOMA) were deployed to the area to quell the conflict and ensure the construction continued (Url-16).



Figure 4.9: Acts of violence during urban transformation (Url-17).



Figure 4.10: Damage to gated community walls (derived from Google Earth)

The urban transformation applications in different stages resulted in a mix of transformed buildings and informal housing in the area. During the Gültepe 2nd Phase urban transformation process, local residents vandalized the surrounding walls of the buildings under construction, damaging them with graffiti (Figure 4.10). In response,

the boundaries of the transformed buildings were surrounded with barbed wire, leading to physical tension demonstrated through spatial environment.

The urban transformation process not only performer of physical violence but also performer of economic violence on the local population. In the process that began in 2006, 2,342 housing units were built in exchange for 1,256 informal housing units. Of the new housing units, 892 were given to rightful owners, while 364 informal houses were not allocated to anyone due to the lack of rightful owners. The remaining 1,400 units were sold to middle-class individuals to finance the urban transformation project. Renters living in informal housing were displaced outside the area, followed by those who were entitled to new housing but lacked the financial means to incur debt. Some rightful owners who moved into their new homes eventually left the area due to the economic burden of the new living conditions. Many rightful owners, who previously relied on social assistance for living, found themselves unable to access such benefits after moving into their new homes, further exacerbating their economic difficulties. Those who left the area continued the cycle of poverty by relocating to other parts of Ankara, such as Hüseyingazi, Ayvalı, and Sincan (Erol & Koçak, 2018; Mercan & Şen, 2020; Hatiboğlu Eren, 2014).

Economic violence not only affected the rightful owners in the area but also indirectly impacted local tradespeople, street vendors, peddlers, carpenters, and other informal worker groups. The changing social infrastructure, brought about by the development of gated communities, exerted economic pressure on these informal worker groups, leading to their displacement from the area as well (Gedikli, 2021).

As a result of urban transformation, the space has performed violence in social forms. The newly constructed buildings disregarded the old habits of the residents, leading to practices incompatible with apartment living (Figure 4.11). Residents, lacking gardens to continue activities like washing carpets, barbecuing, wool beating, and making tarhana, have carried on these habits in the common areas of gated communities and children's parks (Açıkgöz, 2014).

Eliminating crime, which was shown as the main reason for urban transformation, was unsuccessful at the end of the process. Since the region has not been completely cleared of slums, the criminal population continues to live there. In addition, urban transformation inflicted economic violence on lower-class citizens and tradespeople in

the region. It was the reason for social violence and vandalism during the transformation.



Figure 4.11: Wool occupying the parking area

4.2.3 Natural disasters

Natural disasters may be observed all around the world, and some of those disasters are harmful to build environment and people themselves. Throughout history, many settlements have been damaged or destroyed due to natural disasters, and some civilizations have disappeared in a similar way. The degree of severity of natural events is related to the position people take towards nature and whether they prepare themselves for this situation. The natural hazard – the earthquake, windstorm, or flood – is only half the picture. Disasters occur when the natural hazard meets vulnerability, which in the case of the built environment is largely human made. Decisions which affect vulnerability within the built environment such as where to site a settlement and how to manage it are within the purview of societal choice (Sanderson et al., 2022).

It is seen that the biggest natural disasters experienced in Ankara in the history of the Republic were related to the city's rivers¹⁰. Failure to control the streams and combating floods were one of the important problems of Ankara between the 1950s and 1960s. Bentderesi has experienced the most catastrophic flood disaster in 1957,

¹⁰ Ankara's streams have experienced numerous flood disasters over the years. According to reports from the State Hydraulic Works (DSI) concerning the Hatip Stream, located in the Bentderesi basin, the first officially recorded flood in this area occurred on May 4, 1946, resulting in the loss of one life. Subsequent flood events impacted various parts of Ankara on May 22, 1951, and certain districts on July 9, 1950. Between June 12 and 15, 1951, the Dikmen and İncesu Streams overflowed, followed by a significant flood in Kayaş from July 20 to 23, 1952. Additionally, the Varlık Neighborhood was submerged after the Çubuk Stream overflowed on February 17, 1953. Urban flooding occurred in the city center due to rain and hail on May 1, 1953. Further heavy rains on June 19, 1954, caused significant inundation in several districts (Göztepe, Bahadır, & Şen, 2022; Alyanak 2021).

causing the death of 165 people and causing economic damage of over 20 million liras (Alyanak, 2021). Therefore, the flood of Bentderesi is violent on the human being and devastating on the built environment so flood provoked physical violence. Rehabilitation of the flood area needs economical support, so flood provoked economical violence.



Figure 4.12: Flood disaster in 1957 (Alyanak, 2021).

There are several ways to understand why space and natural disaster based on space is the performer of the violent acts except for economical and physical or mental consequences of violence. To understand Bentderesi as a violence performer, it is better to examine old maps of Bentderesi area to understand morphological changes of the area during the time.

When Ankara was planned by Carl Christopher Lörcher and after Hermann Jansen, Bentderesi was considered as urban green area and recreation area of the city. Before planning, Bentderesi was used as an area for picnic events by the citizens on weekends. After the planning, the Bentderesi was designed as a modern public space, as well as having the characteristics of a traditional recreation area. According to Lörcher, Bentderesi's topography naturally limits the city's growth, defining a green belt and serving as a recreational area for low-income groups (Cengizkan, 2004). Jansen's 1937 Ankara development plan builds on this, proposing pools and recreational spaces for middle-income groups and suggesting the closure of nearby quarries damaging the stream, as well as the reconstruction of the Roman dam (Jansen, 1937). Additionally, Jansen envisions the stream as part of an irrigation network for surrounding gardens.

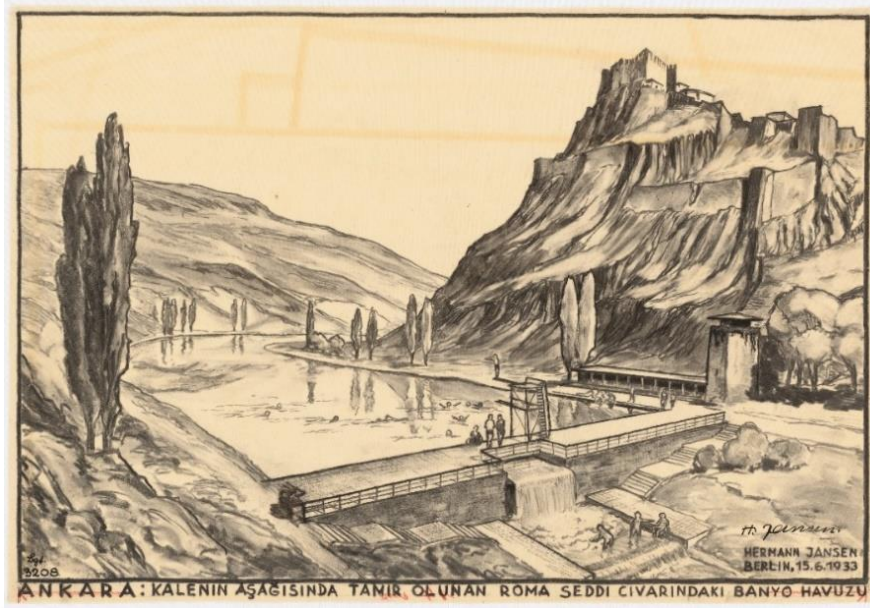


Figure 4.13: Bentderesi designed by Hermann Jansen in 1933. There is a bathing pool around the repaired Roman wall below Ankara Castle (derived from TU Berlin Architekturmuseum archive).



Figure 4.14: Bentderesi designed by Hermann Jansen in 1933. Republic garden design in the west of Ankara Castle, in front of Bentderesi (derived from TU Berlin Architekturmuseum archive).

Contrary to the planned situations, the fact that the Bentderesi has been an informal housing area under the influence of rural-to-urban migration since the 1940s was stated in the previous chapter. These informal settlements prevented the implementation of decisions taken in urban planning. Therefore, Jansen's prediction of the Bentderesi was

limited to plan drawings and perspective drawings depicting the designed state of the area, and the reality of the Bentderesi shaped an unpredictable formation.

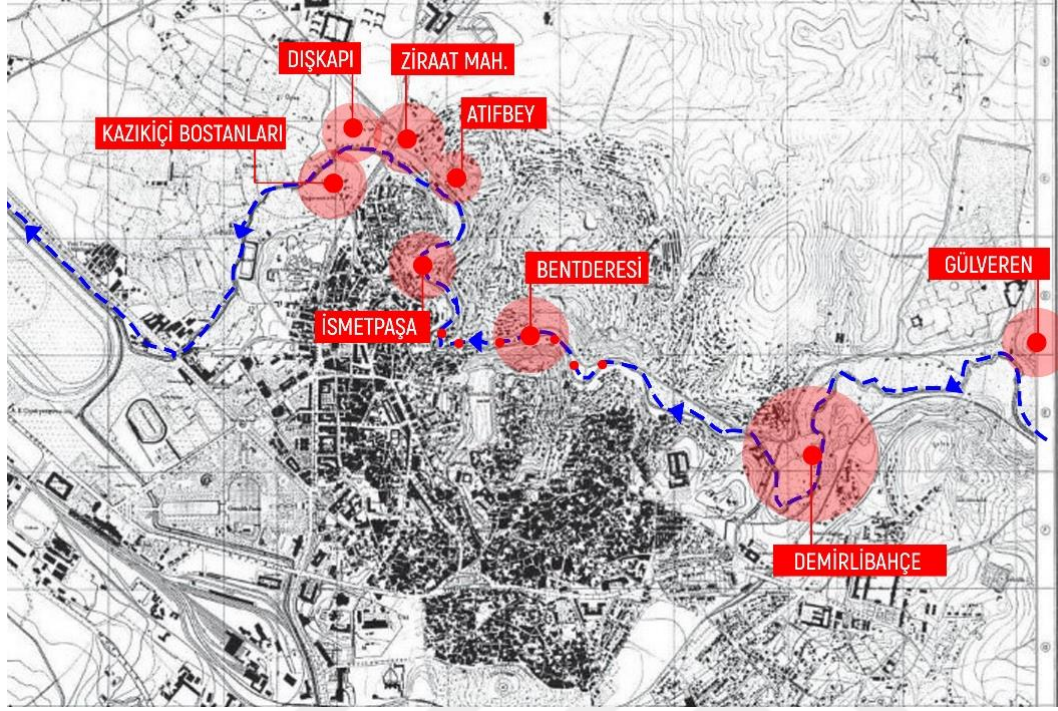


Figure 4.15: Representation of the areas affected by the flood on a 1944 map

On the map above, the places affected by the flood in 1957 are shown on the map of 1944 (Figure 4.15). It can be seen on the 1944 map that the stream and green areas planned by Hermann Jansen were taken over uncontrollably by informal housing. This flood was effective in the direction of the Hatip stream in the direction of Kayaş, Üreğil, Mamak, Saimekadın, Gülveren, Bentderesi, İsmetpaşa neighborhood, Atıfbey neighborhood, Dışkapı neighborhood, Kazıkıçı Bostanları and Akköprü. The flood was divided into two branches after the Saimekadın neighborhood and, apart from the direction of Bentderesi, Demirlibahçe neighborhood also affected. Especially due to the cavity structure of the land, the houses in Demirlibahçe neighborhood were submerged under flood waters. In the Bent stream, bridges that had remained intact until then were destroyed due to the flood. Dışkapı Square and Buluş Cinema in Ziraat neighborhood are also places affected by the flood. (Alyanak, 2021).

In the map below, the relationship between the flood-affected areas and the green area following the Bentderesi and Hatip Stream, which were designed in the Jansen Plan but could not be implemented, is examined.

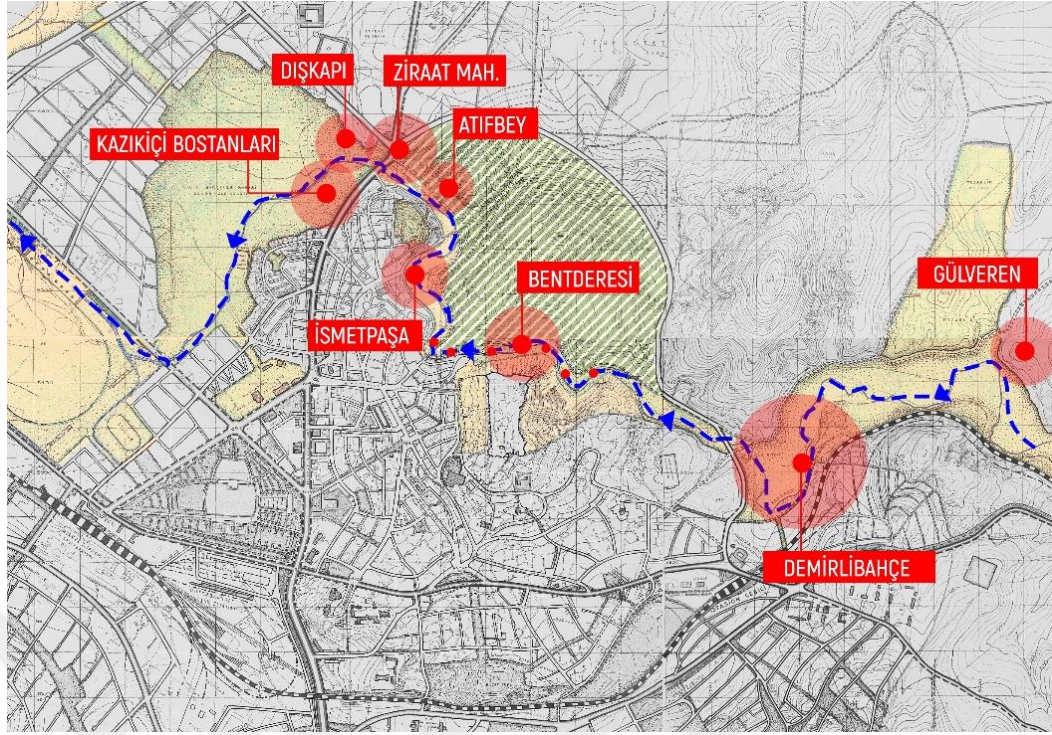


Figure 4.16: Display of flood-affected areas on the Jansen plan

Figure 4.16 shows is that unplanned settlement by the stream and the uncontrolled increase in the population of the region make the stream an actor of violence within the framework of natural situations such as heavy rain. When the areas where the flood occurred intensely are shown on the Jansen map, the striking situation is that only the İsmetpaşa neighborhood, as a planned residential area, was damaged. The green corridor specified in the Jansen plan also widens the stream bed and defines an area where the flood in the Demirlibahçe region, which is most affected by the flood in the possible flood of the Hatip Stream, can be taken under control and stopped naturally. However, on the contrary, the narrowing of this green corridor and the approach of the construction to the stream made it difficult to control the stream and caused the planned residential areas to be flooded and become victims of violence due to floods.

The spatial quality of informal housing in stream beds has been mentioned in the previous chapter, and the fact that the places whose foundations are not solid and are quickly produced with light materials are very close to the stream border, are inherently vulnerable to water threats, and the lack of spatial policies against informal housing, turn a natural situation into violence performer (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17: Tabakhane neighborhood was flooded during the floods that occurred in the 1930s (Tamur, 2012)

Another reason why this incident is the performer of violence is that the improvement policies for informal housing are perceived as "insecure" by the residents of the region. Some informal housing dwellers who had left their houses by complying with the Municipality's notification were saved from this disaster, which occurred while the Municipality carried out the stream improvement and expropriation works. In contrast, those who did not leave their houses believed that the low-flying planes on the day of the flood warned, "the flood is coming, leave your houses," which was a false alarm of the Municipality trying to leave the houses (Kaynar, 2017). Therefore, the fact that people do not leave this place despite flood warnings is also related to the violence of political discourses.

4.3 Space As a Victim of Violence

By examining the focus areas from this perspective, space is regarded as the victim of violence, with attention given to the consequences of violent actions. This approach, therefore, analyzes the impact of objective and subjective forms of violence on space, exploring how these effects materialize in socio-economic forms, causing direct and indirect harm to the environment and social structure. This perspective also investigates how space is influenced and transformed by these violent interactions.

4.3.1 Programmatic contradicts

After the Republic of Turkey was declared and Ankara became the capital, the programmatic change of Bentderesi continued uninterrupted. During these changes, Bentderesi was constantly reshaped. However, because of informal settlements,

Bentderesi has taken on a different structure from the neighborhood organizations based on recreation areas and historical commercial functions defined in the Jansen plan. A program based on historical and geographical features has not been created.

This spontaneous construction due to economic conditions and the violence it creates have been examined in the previous sections of the thesis. However, the political decisions taken to combat this violence have constantly changed the spatial programs of Bentderesi, and because of urban policies, Bentderesi has become a victim of violence in various aspects.

4.3.1.1 From stream to street

Following the flood disaster in 1957 mentioned in chapter 4.2.3 Natural Disasters, studies were carried out by the State Hydraulic Works (DSI) to rehabilitate the stream and control floods. However, these studies are important for the relationship of violence that is examined spatially, because they contain examples and practices that we can examine as victims of violence as well as places as actors of violence.

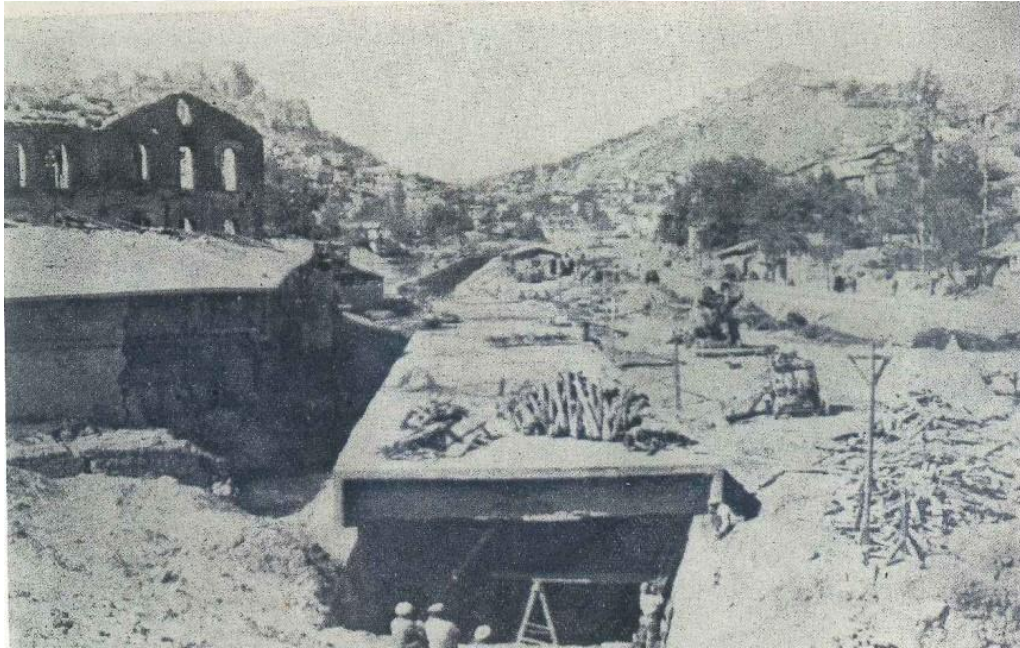


Figure 4.18: Construction of Bentderesi Street (Tamur, 2012).

In 1958, flood traps were built on the stream branches feeding the Hatip Stream and Bent Stream, but these flood prevention efforts were not successful, and floods continued to occur. As the floods continued, different reclamation methods were applied and the practices of enclosing the streams in concrete blocks, which will completely change the relationship of Ankara city with water, started and Bentderesi

Street was the first of these applications (Figure 4.18). By changing the bed of the Hatip stream, it was enabled to flow into the Ankara stream in a short way, and the Roman Dam located at the foot of the Ankara Castle was demolished and the Bentderesi asphalt road was taken under (Göztepe, 2022).

However, these harsh and severe measures were not sufficient to prevent floods, and floods occurred in the Hatip stream in 1961, 1963, 1968, 1981 and 1988. Since the Hatip stream is fed from the valleys in its basin, the flow regime of the water is not regular and human measures were not sufficient to control the water (Göztepe, Bahadır, Şen, 2022).

The destruction and concreting of green areas in the city center to prevent floods is not just a physical/spatial transformation. This metamorphosis creates a situation in which the water flowing on the surface with the deterioration of the river system and the loss of the impermeable surface in the city with sudden heavy rains caused by climate change collects toxic and polluting substances in the environment (Çetiner & Şahin, 2020). For that reason, the removal of the stream makes the region a victim of violence in ecological ways.

The damage caused by this process is not limited to the ecological dimension alone. Particularly, the water canals and streams, lateral roads, paths with low usage, and roads important for nature conservation are areas that, when structured, are not heavily used by the public but allow for the recognition of the area's features and attractions and enable informal recreation (Bell, 1995). Not only does the use of the waterfront diversify, but the use of water also offers different recreational opportunities; activities such as swimming, fishing, sailing, and canoe trips, which vary depending on the ecological system of the region, are potential areas for entertainment (Williams, 1993). Therefore, waterfront areas are significant places that offer urban residents various activity opportunities and meet the need for urban open spaces, allowing residents to use them freely and experience different activities. The elimination of these areas in cities constitutes a form of social violence.

Water plays a significant role in shaping the dynamics of development processes, including geography, defense, economy, technology, transportation, social and cultural life, and ecology, in the establishment of cities. Therefore, based on the mutual relationship between land and water, different functions develop, affecting the city's

development over time, defining its role, and integrating with the city to give it identity. It is an element that determines the development of neighborhoods, streets, and avenues. Thus, the removal of the water element from Bentderesi, which is shaped by water, ensures the continuation of violence in different forms.

On the other hand, the transformation of the stream bed from a landscape area into a transportation artery has been attractive in terms of meeting the logistics needs of the transportation sector. Public transportation stops were chosen in this area due to its location close to dense informal housing areas such as Ulus historical city center and Hıdırlıktepe-Atıfbey, and its advantages such as accessibility to other parts of the city.

With the increase in transportation opportunities, just as the marginal segment created informal housing to stay in the city, an informal transportation network¹¹ has been established for these regions where transportation services cannot be provided. With the population of Bentderesi growing due to migration, the lack of adequate public transportation infrastructure has become a pressing concern. The emergence of minibus groups, operating on specific routes but without fixed schedules, have started to transform Bentderesi into a boulevard with endless traffic and chaos.

Figure 4.19 shows that the hill on the left side is Hıdırlıktepe and the hill on the right side is the foothills of Ankara Castle. Bentderesi is covered with asphalt. In this photograph taken from Hacı Bayram Veli Hill, the empty land on the right side of the street, which is visible in the photograph, has not yet been defined and appears as an empty area where citizens can walk. Figure 4.20 shows the connection of Kevgirli street to Bentderesi Street. It is understood that this street, which is not visible in the 1961 photograph, started to connect the Bentderesi area with the city center. In order to meet the public transportation needs in this region, where informal housing areas are common, minibus stops started to settle near the Hacı Bayram Veli area of Kevgirli Street, the old Tabakhane District (the area where brothels were located after the 1930s) and the street intersections.

¹¹ The term "dolmuş" is used to describe an informal transportation system in Turkey, consisting mainly of minibuses. This system, also known as a shared taxi or taxibus, operates without fixed stops, allowing passengers to get on and off at any point along the route based on customer demand. The word "dolmuş" derives from the verb "dol-" which means "to fill" or "to stuff." The suffix "-muş" in Turkish signifies 'apparently' or 'must be.' Consequently, these transport vehicles wait until they are filled with passengers before departing, often carrying more passengers than their official capacity. Compared to other public transportation systems, taxibusses are generally more affordable (Tekeli & Oktay, 1981).



Figure 4.19: Bentderesi Street photo taken in 1961 (Url-13).

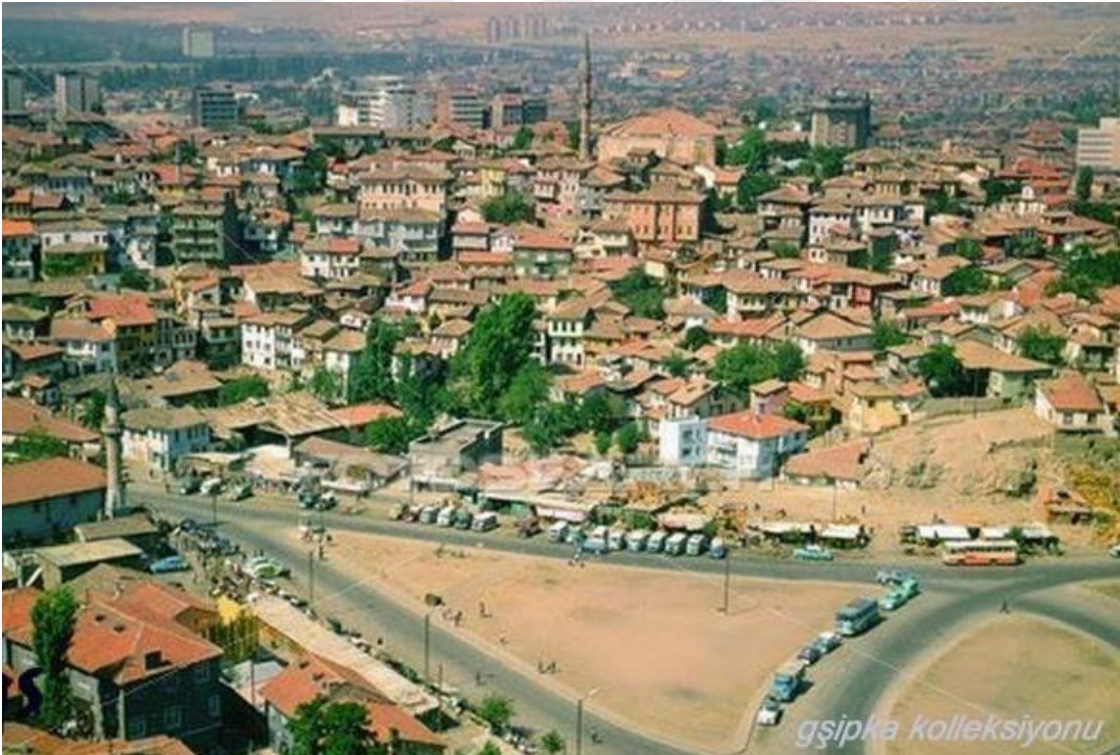


Figure 4.20: Bentderesi Streer photo taken in 1970 (Url-13).

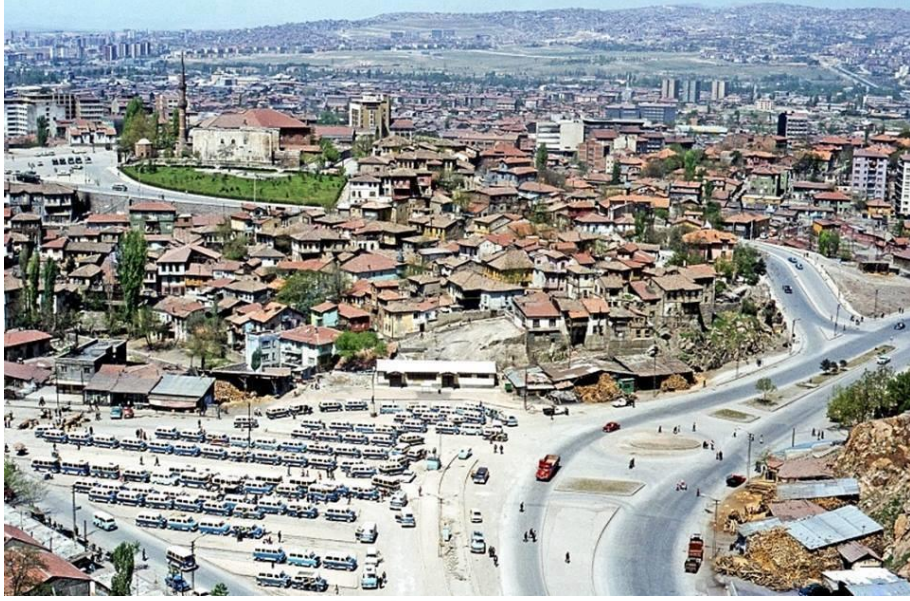


Figure 4.21: Bentderesi Street photo taken in 1980 (Url-13).

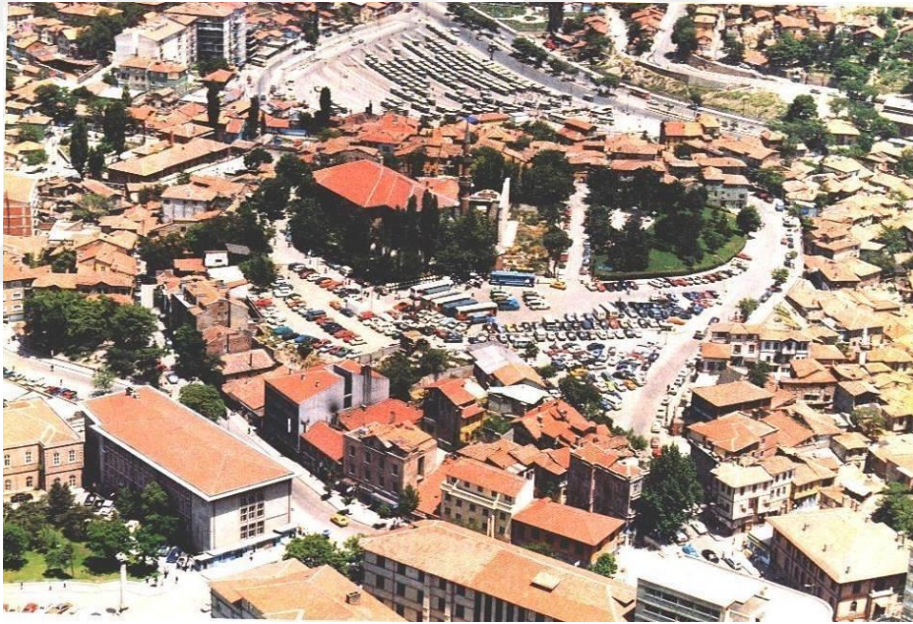


Figure 4.22: Photograph taken in 1980 showing the surroundings of Hacı Bayram Veli on Bentderesi Street (Url-13).

Figure 4.21 shows that Bentderesi has become a place where minibuses stop temporarily, not where they stop temporarily, and where they begin to disperse throughout the city. Therefore, it can be said that Bentderesi Street has become an important transportation link for the city. Similarly, not only the area where Kevgirli Street connects to Bentderesi Street has been transformed into a minibus stop, but also Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque and its surroundings, located on the north side of the street, have been transformed by minibuses (Figure 4.22). In the photograph taken in 1980,

Bentderesi Street is visible in the upper right corner of the photograph. There are minibus stops covering a wide area on the side of Hacı Bayram Veli hill close to Bentderesi Street. Minibus stops are no longer waiting on the sides of the streets in an unplanned manner, a mass stop program has been created by the bent stream in a planned framework.



Figure 4.23: Satellite image from 2010 showing minibus stops in Bentderesi

When we examine the Google Earth map image from 2010 above, we see that the minibus stops in front of the brothel area and near Hacı Bayram Veli Hill are active. Based on this map image, we can say that Bentderesi Street has become one of the important transportation links of the city and is supported by minibus stop programs.

When the Google Earth map image of 2024 above is examined, the minibus stops located in the north of the region were moved opposite the other minibus stop in 2010. Additionally, another minibus stop can be observed on the street, on the Hıdırlıktepe side. The minibus stops seen in the photo from the 80s appear to be a construction site.



Figure 4.24: Satellite image from 2024 showing minibus stops in Bentderesi (developed from author).

The process of covering the stream to prevent sudden floods following heavy rain in the region causes the basic needs and problems of the region to be discussed in a different context. Bentderesi is no longer on the agenda with its Roman dam and natural areas, but with the traffic problems that arise, and the solutions are directed towards this. Therefore, the street project implemented as a solution and the informal minibus stops that developed around it caused violence to the stream in ecological and social contexts and continued to create new problems.

Informal transportation vehicles have influenced the shaping of the new form of Bentderesi Street. Over time, this transportation network has been accepted, and new plans and strategies have been developed in urban policies and planning based on this reality. However, minibuses have been examined as a violent actor that makes Bentderesi -both stream and street phases- a victim of violence. Therefore, as long as minibuses exist, violence continues. Unless a more organized transportation system is

developed to replace them, any spatial improvements made might still lead to damage and problems due to the inherent disorder of the current system.

In conclusion, minibuses have become an integral aspect of the region's new reality. Efforts to improve these minibuses obstruct the restoration of the intrinsic relationship between the city and water, which constitutes the fundamental identity of Bentderesi. Consequently, the potential to reconnect the urban population with the city is compromised, giving rise to new problems.

4.3.1.2 From brothels to archeological site

The feature of Bentderesi as a common area identified with the sof trade, used for mohair washing and used as a picnic area by the citizens, has been deteriorated since 1930. According to the 1830 census, there were 3,200 Armenian, 900 Greek and 300 Jewish households in this region, along with approximately 3,000 shops, 12 baths, 21 inns, which has been a textile and leatherworking center for centuries and contains workshops processing leather, as well as a water mill and a tea garden. The branding of Bentderesi, which hosts places that urbanites can use such as cafes, taverns and casinos, as a brothel region dates to the Ankara fire that broke out in 1916 (Bayazoğlu, 2020).

The 1916 Ankara Fire started on September 13-14, continued for 3 days, burned half of Ankara, damaged 1030 houses, 935 shops, two mosques, six masjids, seven churches, three hospitals, two detention centers and a police station. It is an event that not only causes material damage, but also affects the ethnic structure of the city. The Armenian and Greek communities were severely damaged by the fire and the neighborhoods in which they lived were almost destroyed. In addition to the Armenian and Greek neighborhoods, Tabakhane mosque and Tabakhane neighborhood were also affected by the fire (Esin & Etöz, 2015).

Halide Edip Adivar, in her novel "Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı," recounts her observations regarding the entertainment activities of the era. Adivar noted that, starting from the 1920s, marginal people settled in the neighborhoods affected by the fire, and in the houses that they occupied, illegal prostitution took place. She observed that the high society people rented women from these red-light houses in the area for their own entertainment (Adivar, 1928).

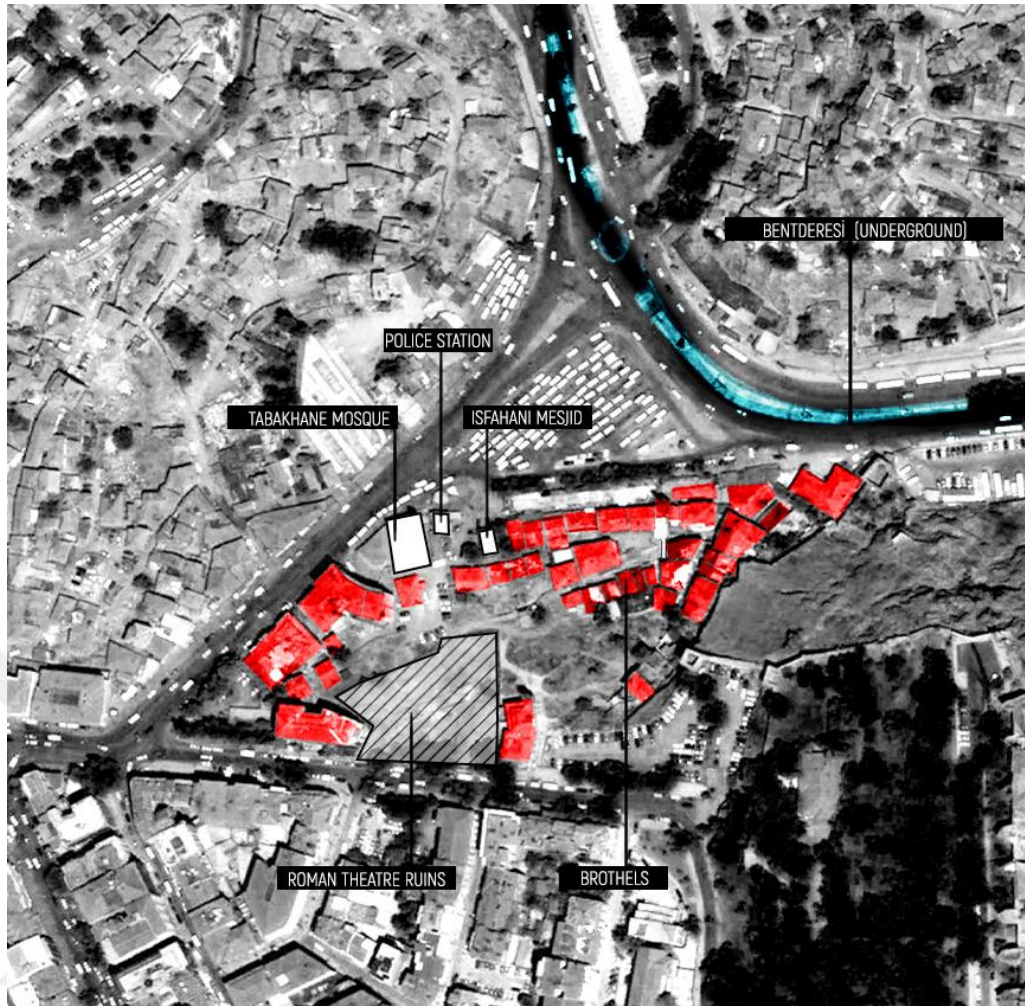


Figure 4.25: Satellite image from 2004 showing brothels and historical Roman ruins in Bentderesi (created by author).

Sex work became one of the most significant characteristics of this region. The first brothel in Bentderesi was established in 1925 near Kengri Gate (currently known as Çankırı Street). Although the exact date of the opening of the brothels on Bentderesi is not known, it is estimated that they were opened in the early 1930s. The 39 brothels, characterized by their green-painted walls and blue windows, employed around 400 women and remained active until they were demolished during the urban renewal process in 2005¹² (Evered & Evered, 2013; Egbatan, 2021; Bayazoğlu, 2020).

In 1982, a Roman Theater was unexpectedly discovered in an area previously occupied by brothels. This discovery occurred during the excavation to demolish the National

¹² After the closure of the brothels, the women who worked in these areas were displaced, socially marginalized, and had their movements restricted. They were subjected to constant police harassment through private security services and were pushed away from the city center. As a result, sex workers were forced into more insecure and dangerous working conditions, exacerbating their social and economic marginalization (Egbatan, 2020).

Education Directorate building and construct a new structure (Bayburtoğlu, 1987). A resolution passed on July 28, 1982, emphasized the disorder and disconnection between Ankara Castle and the city's layout, as well as the damage to the castle walls. Consequently, it was decided that structures conflicting with the historical integrity should be demolished, and the area should be reorganized (Tuncer, 2020). To continue archaeological studies, the expropriation of other buildings, including brothels up to Hisarkapı Street, was initiated. However, landowners filed lawsuits, and while awaiting the court's decision, the area remained an excavation site amidst the brothels (Oygür, 2019).

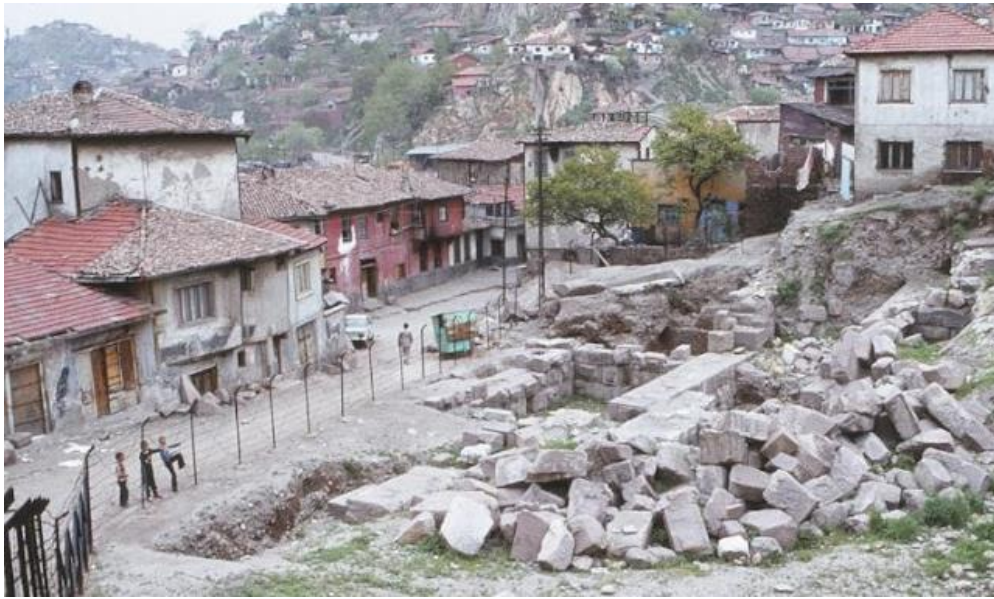


Figure 4.26: Photo from 1985 showing the ruins of the Roman theatre and brothels (Tuncer, 2020).

The brothels in Bentderesi were demolished in 2010. As a result of the demolition, another historical place was discovered under the brothels. Although it was known that there was only a Roman Theater in the area until then, ruins of baths from the Ottoman Period were found as a result of the demolition (Tuncer M. , 2020). It is estimated that the bath was built between the 13th and 15th centuries and was used between the 13th and 18th centuries After being cleared of brothels, the area began to turn into an archaeopark, which includes the Roman theater from the Roman period and the Tabakhane Mosque, Isfahani Masjid and Tabakhane bath from the Ottoman period (Tuncer, 2020; Çetinkaya & Şener, 2024; Tuncer G., 2023).



Figure 4.27: Tabakhane Bath, which was excavated after the brothels were demolished (Tuncer, 2023)



Figure 4.28: Material damage to the Roman theater ruins (Tuncer , 2020)(composed by author)

However, the area remained uncontrolled before work began as an archaeological site. Along with the brothel users, the surrounding slum people, especially the Roman theater excavation area, used alcohol and drugs as a place. During this period, the area was used as an area where garbage accumulated and fires were burned uncontrollably and in a way that damaged historical ruins. In the programmatic confusion of the brothel and the archaeological site, examples of vandalism have been seen in the area and the region has been the victim of physical violence.

4.3.2 Formal representation

The personalization of space by individuals leads to the space gaining meaning, and this meaning, together with communities, shapes the city. According to Kevin Lynch, people's attachment to a city occurs through well-designed spaces, environments integrated with nature, and preserved historical and cultural heritage; the prerequisite for this attachment is the presence of individuals who embrace and value the city (Lynch, 1960, p. 7).

In this context, the discourse of power on space and the spatial forms produced as a result of these discourses play a significant role in reshaping the meanings of space. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1991), language is a tool used by political actors to shape social meanings and norms. Language creates symbolic power, which in turn reproduces social hierarchies. Space and political power are two complementary factors in the formation of symbolic power. While spaces contain physical and symbolic representations of political powers, political powers shape social meanings and norms through these spaces.

Thus, the symbolic representation of political power, especially the discourses of those in power regarding spatial policies and the examination of the spatial forms of these discourses, can be understood within the context of violence. In urban transformation projects, the discourses used to legitimize the process form a crucial backdrop for the shaping of space. Specifically, the stigmatization of informal housing as "ugly buildings" and the commitment to construct higher-quality buildings through formal perception ultimately create a formal conflict between vernacular and transformation areas.

In urban transformation projects carried out under the monopoly of TOKİ, more houses than the existing number are built in the designated area to finance the project, and the revenue from the sale of these houses is used to cover the project costs. This leads to examples of social violence caused by demographic changes. In addition to the instances of social violence examined in previous chapters, this section will provide a detailed examination of the impact of economic and rapid production processes on the design quality of the space and its physical relationship with the surroundings.



Figure 4.29: Urban transformation of Çiğir Area (derived from Google Earth)

The photograph taken from Ankara Castle towards Bentderesi shows the mass housing constructed following the transformation of informal housing in Bentderesi (Figure 4.29). This photograph highlights the differences between local architectural practices and the architectural forms of mass housing, as well as their relationship with the surrounding environment. Although stigmatized as the "other" in political discourse, each structure establishes strong connections with its environment. Despite having certain patterns, each structure is unique and varies in size; however, they do not exceed human scale. Their interventions in the topography are limited, adapting to it rather than transforming it. Having existed in this area for a long time, they have become integrated with nature, and this integration supports social cohesion.

According to Heidegger (1971), space is not an abstract object observed from a distance, but something discovered through the experience and use of vital tools; thus, space finds its existence through human experiences. Building and dwelling provide experiential spaces for people. Spaces where urban transformation is deemed necessary are those where individuals have strong relationships with the place, and the form of the space is shaped by environmental conditions and acquired habits.

In TOKİ constructions, however, the result is more a product of negotiation and conflict with users rather than experience, and these processes often encourage violence which is examined in chapter 4.2.2. Urban Transformation. As a result of such

processes, the relationship established by quickly constructed spaces with their context is characterized by violence. The formal characteristics of the space impose this violence on the region. The scale and form of these structures, unlike local forms, are difficult to integrate with nature and restrict social interaction (Figure 4.30). They do not fit with the historical and cultural fabric, as they represent a typology and form that could belong anywhere. The forms and typologies applied in most urban transformation projects make the area "placeless" and impose violence on the spatial relationship. As a result, space loses the elements that Lynch mentioned that connect people to space; The scale and volume of these new structures exert pressure on the existing built environment, disrupting spatial harmony.



Figure 4.30: Urban transformation projects implemented by TOKİ in different regions (Url-18-19)

Political power's method of fixing these problem areas is urban transformation, and Bentderesi, which was a informal housing area, turned into a residential area with high-rise buildings through urban transformation. However, during this transformation, public buildings were also built along with residential buildings, and these public buildings contain examples where we can see the symbolic practices of power through architectural form.

Religious values and traditional views defended by political power are in conflict with the modern and statist idea of power. While one side adopts the traditions and views of the Ottoman state, the other side adopts the Republic of Turkey, founded by Atatürk after the Ottoman Empire, and its modern values. Therefore, libertarian Muslims basically tend to be against the statist Kemalist order (Silverstein, 2011; Peker, 2015). Thus, the government symbolically adopted a method of creating an architectural language called Ottoman-Seljuk in order to spread its own ideology to society. Through this language, it aimed to make conservative ideology visible in society and, by rejecting modern architectural style, impose a severance of the relationship with the modern and the Western on society.



Figure 4.31: Primary Schools constructed after urban transformation (Url-20-21).

It is possible to see references to the Ottoman - Seljuk architectural movement in the primary school buildings such as TOKİ Malazgirt Primary School¹³ and Şehit Arslan

¹³ Toki Malazgirt Primary School was constructed in 2008 as part of the Gültepe (Çinçin) Urban Transformation Project and opened in the 2009-2010 academic year after being transferred to the Ministry of National Education. In the 2012-2013 academic year, with the 4+4+4 Education System, it became both a primary and secondary school. In the 2014-2015 academic year, the secondary school department was transferred to Gültepe Secondary School, and it has since continued as Toki Malazgirt Primary School (Url-20).

Kulaksız Primary School¹⁴, produced by the state after the urban transformation in the Bentderesi region (Figure 4.31). The use of pointed arch forms, especially on the building façade, is important in representing this movement. Another important point is that although these two schools were in different places, the same plan type and the same formal language were copied. The traditional ideology that is tried to be represented by the arches tends to reference Turkey's traditional past with the Turkish flag mounted on the building facade. Additionally, the names of the schools reference parts of political violence such as war and acts of terrorism.



Figure 4.32: 100th anniversary of the Republic monument park in Hıdırlıktepe (Url-22)

Just as political power symbolizes tradition and past culture through space, it can also symbolize the ideology of the Republic and build it through public space (Figure 4.32). A recreation area project has been started to be implemented on Hıdırlıktepe, which will not be used as a residential area within the scope of urban transformation. However, this recreation area is a memorial park project and is being built to symbolize the 100th anniversary of the Republic¹⁵.

¹⁴ Şehit Arslan Kulaksız Primary School was built by TOKİ during the urban transformation of Ankara's Gülveren District and opened in September 2015. Named after Gendarmerie Major Arslan Kulaksız, martyred in July 2015, the school has 16 classrooms, a special education classroom, a multi-purpose hall, a gym, a biology lab, a support education room, and a library. Additionally, it offers various courses to students and parents through public education workshops (Url-21).

¹⁵ The aim of the project is to create a recreation area that will redevelop the idle Hıdırlıktepe, Atıfbey and İsmetpaşa neighborhoods. Within the framework of this project, programs such as endemic plants area, cultural terrace gardens, city archive and stone museum, handicrafts area, international youth



Figure 4.33: Spatial organization of the 100th anniversary of the Republic monument park in Hıdırlıktepe (Url-22)

The recreational use of this area, which has steep slopes and is unsuitable for settlement, is important. However, the ideological framework behind the design of this recreation project makes the area a tool of symbolic power, with each tree planted and each step stone added carrying symbolic significance. This manner of use and the concept of redesigning the hill as a memorial park contrasts with the informal recreation potential that waterfronts create for the city, as explained in Chapter 4.3.1 Programmatic Contradictions. Every program in the area and the activities that will develop around these programs are pre-planned, reducing the likelihood of spontaneous encounters and unplanned actions (Figure 4.33). Therefore, although the ideological background aims to transform the area back into a natural space, it indirectly perpetuates symbolic violence.

camp, amphitheater and Hıdırellez fire viewing area will reorganize the hill. At the top of the hill, structures with symbolic meaning were designed. These will be two towers, 65.5 meters high and 6 meters wide facing each other, whose inner surfaces will be constructed of red exposed concrete. These towers are intended to be visible from all over the city, and the distance between the two towers points in the direction of Anıtkabir, Atatürk's tomb. The staircase leading to the monument consists of 100 steps, symbolizing the 100th anniversary of the republic. Platforms located at different elevations in the southwest of the monument and connected to each other with ramps; It will also meet various needs such as commemoration ceremonies, exhibition areas, food and beverage venues and service areas. The outer wall, which will be wrapped around the outer wall of the circular platform, will be shaped with high and thin slits and will be the scene of light and shadow playing throughout the day. While the circular platform inside is approximately 5 meters high and designed as an exhibition surface about the hundred-year-old history of the republic, the gap between the outer perforated circular wall and the inner exhibition wall will form the open-air exhibition corridor (Url-22)

Ankara City Planners Chamber (ŞPO) reacted to this project. The reason for reacting is that the ongoing zoning problems, litigation processes and profit speculations in this area are not resolved by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and that these problems are ignored and only a monument park is built on the hill and that the problematic areas will be redeveloped with this project. In addition, ŞPO emphasizes that this project is not the result of a participatory process and that the project was not formed as a result of an architectural competition and argues that the spatial quality of the monument park, the Ankara skyline will be affected due to this project, and the view of the historical city center Ulus from Ankara Castle will be spoiled (Url-23).

As a result, regardless of the ideological view, the Bentderesi has become a political tool through the formal representation of architecture. Examples of the representation of the defended ideology through space have been presented through various spatial programs. Therefore, Bentderesi was exposed to symbolic violence in different ways through the symbolic representation of ideology and the place became a victim of violence.

4.4 Space As a Witness of Violence

From this perspective, the examination of focus areas considers space as a witness to violence, with an emphasis on the violent actions or memories of the victims who were violated within that space. The primary interest is not in the consequences or reasons for the violence generated by space but rather in how violence is created using space as a tool and how space indirectly affects or supports violence.

4.4.1 Battle of Ankara

War is large-scale violent organized armed conflict occurring between states or state-like organizations. According to Clausewitz's definition, war; The continuation of politics by other means is an action used to achieve economic or ideological goals, often resulting in destruction, death, and social disorder on a large scale.

Political violence includes any form of violence used to achieve a specific political goal. This includes forms of violence such as repression, forced migration and genocide by state actors, as well as violence by terrorist and insurgency actors (Galtung, 1969).

War is both a form and a mean of political violence. It is a tool of political violence in which a state aims to gain territory, change regimes and gain strategic advantage by attacking another state (Van Creveld, 1991). State interests, along with the discourses of freedom and sovereignty, are based on a legitimate ground, beyond being a crime (Keegan, 1993).

Sovereignty refers to the absolute authority of a state within its borders; It refers to the common legal area of the modern state defined by the written law area. In the pre-modern period, the concept of border was ambiguous and was shaped around hierarchical ties consisting of local ties and personal loyalties, as a reflection of local authorities and power relations (Agnew, 1994).

Castles were important in determining physical boundaries in the pre-modern period. In medieval cities, castles strengthened the defense mechanisms of the cities and at the same time enabled them to become the center of economic activities and helped local authorities to consolidate their power and thus protect their own areas of sovereignty (Uğurlu, 2010).

Within the framework of political violence, the place has exhibited a character that contains dilemmas that it has never completely lost. While combining the ability to provide maximum protection with aggressive behavior, it offers the widest freedoms and diversity; It also maintains economic and social hierarchical order along with military aggression and destruction.

Bentderesi has served as an important border for Ankara Castle and the city throughout history, and this border has become the center of war and conflict as a witness of spatial violence. Borders are places where war is staged as a means of political violence, and Bentderesi has witnessed this situation.

In particular, the Battle of Ankara, which took place between the Ottoman Empire and the Timur Empire in 1402 and caused the Ottoman Empire to enter the Interregnum Period¹⁶ shows the strategic importance of this border and how the Bentderesi was used as a war strategy.

¹⁶ The period known as the "Fetret Devri" in Turkish, which translates to the "Interregnum," refers to the half-century following the death of Sultan Bayezid I (Yıldırım Bayezid) after the Battle of Ankara. This period marked a time when the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of fragmentation. The central state faced significant threats of dissolution and disintegration, creating a prolonged era of instability

This battle took place in Ankara's Çubuk Plain on July 27, 1402, between the forces led by Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and Timur. Although the two armies faced each other in the Çubuk Plain of Ankara on July 27, 1402, the two armies were also prepared for war in other cities such as Kayseri, Kırşehir and Sivas.

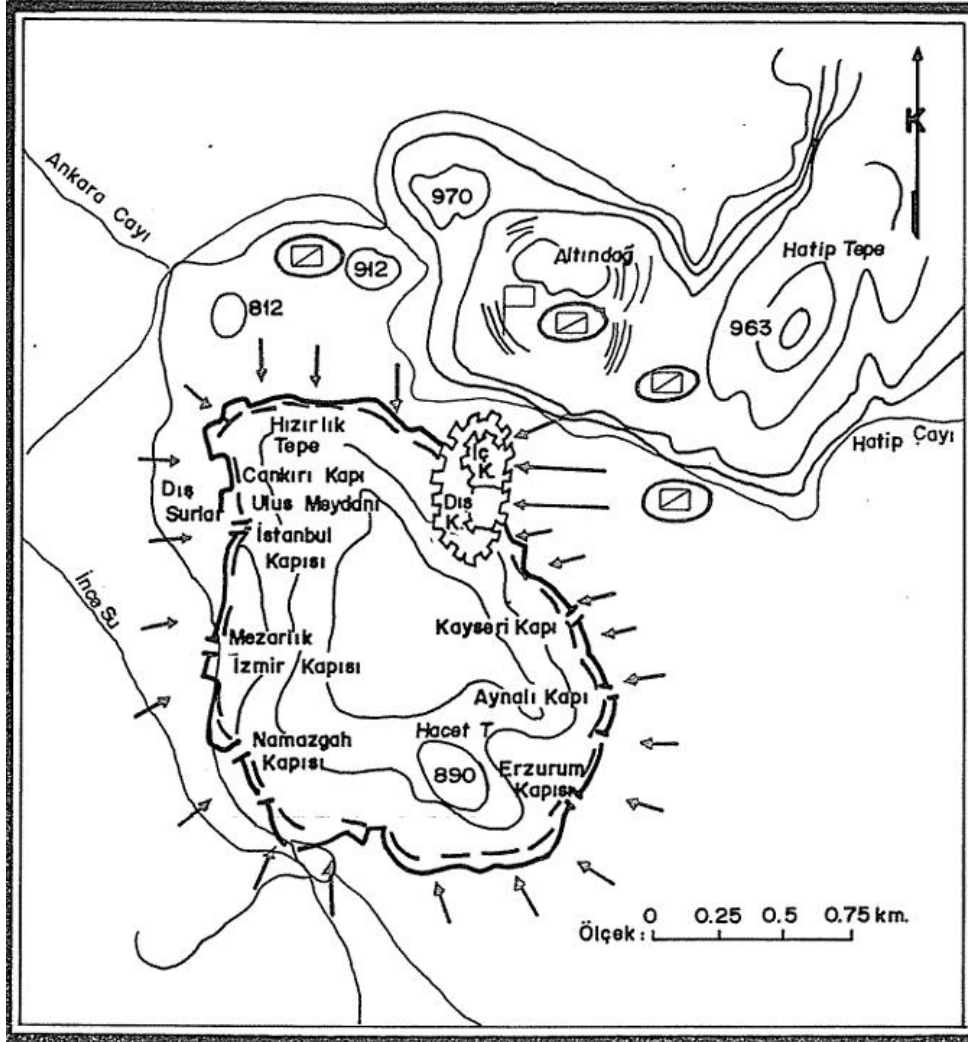


Figure 4.34: Strategic sketch showing Timur's armies' siege of Ankara Castle

In the History of the Turkish Armed Forces series published by the Chief of General Staff of the Republic of Turkey in 1995, the siege of the Ankara Castle by the Timur armies is described in detail. Timur asked the castle commander Yakup Bey to surrender the castle, and when he received a refusal, he immediately ordered the siege. First, he had tunnels dug under the castle walls and began to change the bed of the Hatip Stream, which provides the city's water. Before Bayezid arrived in Ankara with

and uncertainty. The Interregnum was characterized by internal strife, competing claims to the throne, and regional power struggles, posing a serious risk to the continuity of the Empire (Başar, 1995).

his armies, Timur's forces surrounded the walled city and committed violence. There is no information in the sources that the people of the city were harmed during the siege (Egemen & Orhon, 1995).

Timur's attacks targeted the castle walls and streams. In the history of the General Staff, Timur's attacks on Bentderesi during the siege are described as follows: During the siege, Timur wanted to deprive the Ottomans of water by pouring poison into the surrounding fountains, Ankara Stream, Kızılcağöz Stream, İncesu and Bentderesi. At the same time, he took control of Çubuk River to secure the water for his army (Egemen & Orhon, 1995).

The reason why Bentderesi is considered as a witness of violent acts is that the war was based on a legitimate basis and before the war, there was a debate between the castle commander and Timur to prevent violence and the conquest took place afterwards. In addition, there is no clear information about the damage done to the city and the place during the conquest, the siege failed and with the arrival of Bayezid's armies, the siege resulted in the castle not being captured. Therefore, during the readings, there was no incident such as urban looting or destruction that could be considered as an actor or victim of violent acts.

Bentderesi is a strategic tool in this war. The aim of breaking the resistance of the castle by mixing poison into the stream does not target the physical integrity of the stream, its relationship with the city and the surrounding ecosystem. Therefore, this action does not make the stream a victim of violence. It cannot be said that the stream harmed the city due to its own characteristics, because the force aiming to cause this damage was the military forces, not the stream. Therefore, Bentderesi witnessed different strategies of political violence in the Ankara war.

4.4.2 Military coup and attempt

The Ulucanlar Prison, located in the Bentderesi area, witnessed significant violence during the military coups of 1971 and 1980. This prison went down in history as a place where political detainees were subjected to severe torture, held under harsh conditions, and executed during military interventions. Notably, during the military interventions of March 12, 1971, and September 12, 1980, many revolutionaries and intellectuals suffered human rights abuses in this prison. Revolutionary leaders such as Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, and Hüseyin İnan were executed here. Similarly, during

the 1980 coup, socialist high school student Erdal Eren was executed in Ulucanlar Prison by court order, despite being under the age of 18 and thus legally ineligible for the death penalty. Ulucanlar Prison housed numerous revolutionaries and thinkers who were unjustly detained, tortured, and subjected to various human rights violations during the coup periods, bearing witness to the violence (Url-24).

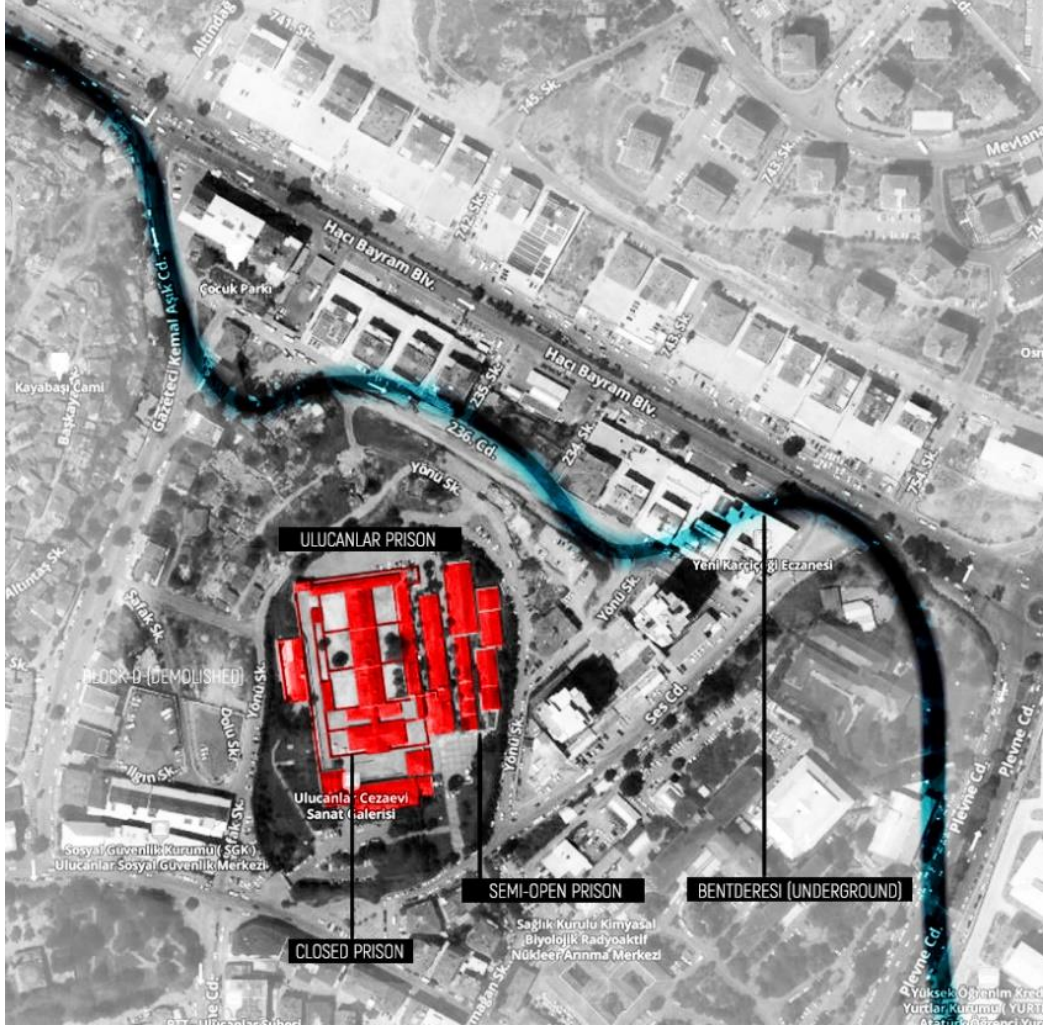


Figure 4.35: Aerial view of Ulucanlar closed and semi-open prisons

Ulucanlar Prison was built in Altındağ, the center of Ankara, during the Ottoman period. The building, which was initially used as a military warehouse in the south of Bentderesi, was converted into a prison for military and political criminals with the declaration of the Republic in 1923 (Arslan, 2012). The prison, which was planned as a public prison by Lörcher in 1925, expanded over time and was used for different purposes. It was aimed to integrate the prisoners into society by working in the surrounding agricultural lands. The prison grew with the additions made to the building, and a semi-open section was created in the east to facilitate the adaptation of

the prisoners to outside life. The prison, which was active until 2006, was closed when the prisoners were transferred to Sincan Prison and was restored in 2009 and opened as a museum in 2010 (Meral, 2015).

Punishment and penal systems are as old as human history itself. Sanctions such as deprivation of liberty, confiscation of property, and capital punishment, applied in cases of legal violations, are institutionalized and legitimized forms of punishment. Criminology aims to achieve justice by examining the violation of laws and the responses to these violations (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974). Laws serve as the framework for society, requiring corrective measures for maintaining order, including necessary actions to preserve peace and punish violators. (Beccaria, 2009).

Plato's philosophy envisions an ideal society where individuals assume roles based on their abilities. Justice sustains the interdependent relationships among these social classes, ensuring each fulfills its duties, maintains social harmony, and enables individuals to achieve the highest happiness (Platon, 1943; Toprakkaya, 2008). According to Plato, crime is a wrongful act that must be punished. He believes that punishment is a natural institution, and injustice must be addressed wherever it occurs. Punishment helps guide offenders towards righteousness and goodness, transforming them into better individuals. Thus, punishment benefits society by deterring crime and improving the moral character of individuals (Platon, 1934).

Historically, punishment included physical violence. Before the 18th century, methods such as flogging, hanging, and crucifixion was common. Public executions and torture were used to demonstrate the power of the state and provide deterrence (Foucault, 1977). But over time, public executions came to be seen as cruel and inspired empathy towards criminals, weakening the authority's control. As a result, punishment became institutionalized and prisons emerged as places of controlled and isolated punishment (Giddens, 1993). The first modern prison was the Rasphuis, opened in Amsterdam in 1596 (Foucault, 1977). In prisons, physical punishment gave way to psychological control, and the executioner was replaced by overseers, doctors, priests, and psychologists.

Panopticon is a notable example of this shift, where the architectural design itself exerts control over inmates. In space, power is visible through the central tower that allows constant observation, yet its presence is uncertain, creating a psychological

control over the prisoners. In the Panopticon, Power is visible, but its existence cannot be proven. The power is visible because of the central tower, in front of which the prisoner is constantly observed. It also does not prove existence; the prisoner will never know whether he is being observed at that moment (Foucault, 1977).

Prisons serve to isolate criminals from society, severing their external relationships as a form of punishment, thereby addressing the immediate need to protect the public from those who have violated societal norms (Wacquant, 2010). However, the role of modern correctional facilities extends beyond mere isolation; they also focus on the rehabilitation of offenders, aiming to reintegrate them into society as law-abiding citizens after their sentences are served. This rehabilitation process emphasizes the human aspect of the criminal, addressing underlying issues that may have contributed to their criminal behavior and providing opportunities for personal development and reform. Methods such as probation and conditional release are designed to facilitate the offender's adaptation to normal life, ensuring they receive support and monitoring during their transition back into society (Işıқтаç, 2013; Reckless, 1961).

Prisons embody a dual reality. On one hand, they are institutions designed to rehabilitate criminals and reintegrate them into society, aiming to promote good behavior and heal both offenders and the community. On the other hand, prisons can also be spaces of punishment, where physical violence, such as death and torture, is enacted, turning the criminal into an object of retribution. Ulucanlar Prison in the Banterman region, while associated with control and punishment, also implemented rehabilitation programs, positioning it as more than just a site of violence.

Nonetheless, Ulucanlar played a critical role during periods of political unrest, particularly during military coups, becoming a witness to political violence. In this sense, the prison is not only a penal institution but also a space that reflects the broader societal harm inflicted by military interventions and the processes of political violence.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Violence is an increasingly widespread concept across the world and in all fields, which has led to extensive research and interpretations on the subject. Literature reviews and research conducted for the conceptual framework of this thesis reveal that violence is addressed in different ways by various disciplines. From the perspective of sociology, violence is associated with power imbalances within social relationships and structures, and it is examined as a tool of oppression and domination between individuals and groups. Particularly, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence demonstrates how violence is shaped through cultural and linguistic pressures. In the field of law, violence is defined as illegal assaults on individual rights, and it is argued that the state can exercise violence legally to oppose it. In political science, readings based on Hannah Arendt show that violence is a concept evaluated within the framework of power relations and considered as a phenomenon opposing power, often discussed in relation to terrorism, rebellions, and wars. Readings based on Slavoj Žižek and Jean-Michel Salanskis refer to the philosophical dimension of violence, showing that this concept not only encompasses its forms of application and ethical consequences but is also considered a condition embedded in social structures, in addition to overt physical actions.

The insufficient in-depth examination of the concept of violence within the discipline of architecture has led to its understanding indirectly through other disciplines related to architecture and its interpretation within the context of various situations mediated by space. The works of Simon Springer and Carter Wood approach the relationship between space and violence through the lens of other disciplines, focusing on multidimensional perspectives such as neoliberal policies, social relations, and political decisions, which are foundational to spatial production. These studies highlight how the interplay of various disciplines, including politics, sociology, and economics, forms the basis of spatial dynamics, illustrating that the production of space cannot be disentangled from broader political and social contexts. The ways in which space poses threats to both the human body and the built environment, including cities, demonstrates in both physical and psychological dimensions. While acts of physical harm, such as vandalism and arson, are directly associated with space,

psychological effects emerge through individual and societal issues such as agoraphobia and claustrophobia as Antony Vidler mentioned. Although these situations are not explicitly labeled as violence, they are processes intertwined with the broader concept of violence.

David Riches' threefold perspective method provides an important theoretical tool for understanding violence not only as an interpersonal phenomenon but also as a spatial one. Riches emphasizes that violence is not merely an action occurring between individuals but is also directly linked to social structures. This methodology, used to systematically classify the various definitions and ambiguities related to violence, allows for a broader examination of violence within a spatial framework.

Riches' threefold perspective suggests carefully examining the relationships between the performer, victim, and witness to understand how violence is perceived and interpreted in violent events. This tripartite structure provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing how violence is perceived, shaped, and interpreted socially. The performer, as the individual enacting the violence, attempts to control or reorganize power, while the victim, as the direct target, experiences the most intense physical and psychological effects of the violence. The witness, on the other hand, observes the event and plays a crucial role in shaping how the violence is perceived and evaluated on a societal level. The witness's interpretation determines how the violent act fits within social norms and whether it is legitimized or condemned.

Incorporating Riches' theoretical model into the discipline of architecture strengthens the thesis by providing a comprehensive framework that is rarely encountered in architectural studies. However, this model was predominantly developed within the contexts of law and social relations, rather than being directly linked to architecture. Therefore, adapting Riches' model to the field of architecture not only aids in understanding the spatial dimensions of violence more clearly but also necessitates a reconstruction of the theoretical framework. This adaptation involves reshaping the model to fit the unique dynamics of space, architecture, and the built environment.

Applying the theoretical framework to space has created a new platform for discussing how a phenomenon related to human beings and interpersonal relationships can be evaluated from a spatial perspective. When a sociological theory is transformed into a method of spatial theory, it inevitably alters the way space is perceived. This shift

challenges conventional approaches by integrating social dynamics into spatial examination, suggesting that space itself is not just a passive backdrop but an active component in shaping and reflecting social interactions, including violence.

The examined cases demonstrate that space, in its purely physical existence, cannot be considered a direct actor of violence. There exists a powerful world of actors who shape and transform space. Therefore, rather than attributing anthropomorphic meaning to space when associating it with violence, it is necessary to analyze the different perspectives of violence through the various actors involved in shaping space. Our interventions in space and nature play a decisive role in the formation of social relations, and the subjects of these relations are, ultimately, us humans.

This dynamic can be clearly observed in examples where space is considered an actor of violence. For instance, although the Çinçin area is often viewed as an illegal land occupation, it emerged as a response by urban residents to the housing problem that the state failed to address. Over time, however, demographic shifts, urban transformation processes, state control efforts, and political pressures led to the area, initially safe within itself, resorting to violence as a means of self-defense against external threats. The local population began using violence as a defense mechanism, seeking to assert their existence. While Çinçin is not inherently synonymous with violence, the relationships between the area's actors and the space have contributed to its being labeled a "risky area."

Similarly, in cases where Bentderesi is associated with floods, the perception of the natural element as a performer of violence has actually emerged as a result of the relationships established by spatial actors with the area. Natural disasters or spatial arrangements are not the sole source of violence; these events are a product of processes shaped by human interventions, socio-political dynamics and social relations.

Although these spatial examples allow violence to be categorized according to its different effects and consequences within Riches' theoretical framework, it is not always possible to clearly separate violence. The concept of violence on a spatial level is not separated by sharp boundaries as it is in the triple perspective defined by Riches. Different dimensions of violence develop in conjunction with each other, and permeable structures emerge in which the roles of performer, victim, and witness are

intertwined. Therefore, the violence of space is also variable; an actor can suddenly become a perpetrator of violence while being a victim.

In the case of Çinçin, while the delay in municipal services in the early stages of settlement made the region a victim of violence, the municipality's later interventions and demolition processes turned the region into a performer of violence. Similarly, the flooding incident of Bentderesi and the interventions that followed turned the region into both a perpetrator of violence and a victim. In this process, new spatial arrangements such as minibus stops established after the floods were examined again as perpetrators of violence. These examples show that violence takes on quite variable forms in space and can be evaluated from different perspectives.

The intertwining situation can also be observed in the areas examined in the thesis and the concept of space itself used to define these areas. The spaces examined in the thesis describe a permeable concept that refers to different scales, such as the Bentderesi itself, the Çinçin region, which describes an urban area within that region, and a prison building.

However, the common feature of the spaces examined in the thesis is that they are mediative for violence. Space is in a position to facilitate the actors who shape the space for violence and the violent relationship that these actors establish with the individual and society. Sometimes, space is in a position to mediate different forms of violence implemented by different actors for different purposes with its geographical structure and morphology, sometimes with the inaccessibility and secrecy of its institutional identity, and sometimes, on the contrary, with its visibility for the city.

Restoring the ecological, economic, social, cultural, and historical values of the space, which have been lost over a long period, and developing a proposal for this is a challenging process. This difficulty arises from the region's constant redefinition through ongoing construction and demolition. The examination of the violence-space relationship from different perspectives through Bentderesi demonstrates that each form of intervention introduces new problems, leading to the emergence of various forms of violence. This study reveals that attempts to revert to the past by rejecting the reproduced realities and definitions of a region can, rather than providing a solution, generate new forms of violence.

Spatial violence often goes unnoticed but has profound impacts. Beyond the visible outcomes of physical attacks or social uprisings, spatial violence is shaped by complex processes involving dynamic interactions among multiple actors. These processes may not make violence immediately visible, but they can lead to significant social and spatial problems in the long term. Therefore, addressing violence requires a multi-actor approach, where each actor's role in the process is carefully considered. Such an approach not only fosters spatial recovery but also has the potential to enhance political, economic, and social well-being.

In this context, violence can also be seen as an opportunity for recovery. Spaces that have witnessed acts of violence hold an essential place in the collective memory and have the power to bring people together and unite them around a common value. Remembering and keeping these events alive in the social memory is essential for avoiding similar incidents in the future. Thus, adequately addressing the issue of violence can strengthen social solidarity.

To sum up, this thesis shows that viewing spatial violence merely in terms of crime and physical damage often leads to transformation projects that perpetuate rather than alleviate violence. Therefore, rather than focusing on gentrification, transformation efforts should prioritize local residents' economic, cultural, and social needs within a multidisciplinary framework. Remedial suggestions developed within a planned framework can preserve the social solidarity observed in informal housing, make the area more controllable, and support it with infrastructure services. However, given that current methods are insufficient to reintegrate areas marked by violence back into the city and society, it is clear that to effectively combat spatial violence, intervention methods such as transformation, revitalization, resettlement, and renewal need to be re-evaluated and redefined.



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