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A positive conception of diversity for an adequate mediation of "distant" suffering.

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Table of content

a) Title 1
b) Abgabeformular für schriftliche Arbeiten 3
c) Acknowledgements 5
d) Table of content 7

1 INTRODUCTION ... 9

1.1 LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH ... 11
1.2 GENTRIFICATION IN ISTANBUL ... 12

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ... 20

2.1 AGENCY AND SUBALTERNISM ... 21
2.2 AGENCY AND PERFORMATIVITY ... 23
2.3 MEDIATING DISTANT SUFFERING ... 28
2.3.1 MULTIMODAL APPROACH: TEMPORAL MODE ... 30
2.3.2 MULTIMODAL APPROACH: AGENCY AS A MODE ... 31
2.3.3 MULTIMODAL APPROACH: SPATIAL MODE ... 32
2.4 NEWS DISCOURSE ON DISTANT SUFFERING ... 37
2.4.1 ADVENTURE NEWS ... 38
2.4.2 EMERGENCY NEWS ... 39
2.4.3 ECSTATIC NEWS ... 39
2.5 VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS ... 40
2.5.1 VIOLATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS IN ISTANBUL ... 41
2.5.2 MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN TURKEY ... 46
2.5.3 RIGHT TO EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION ... 50

3 MATERIALS AND METHODS ... 52

3.1 METHODOLOGY ... 53
3.2 METHOD ... 56
3.3 EKÜMENOPOLIS – FILM SYNOPSIS ... 58

4 EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH DESIGN ... 59

4.1 INTERVIEWING EXPERTS AND AFFECTED PERSONS ... 59
4.1.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ... 60
4.2 SEQUENCE AND SHOT PROTOCOL ... 61

5 CASE STUDY RESULTS ... 62

5.1.1 EKÜMENOPOLIS ... 62
5.2 SHOT PROTOCOL ... 64
5.2.1 SUFFERING WITHOUT PITY ... 67
5.2.2 SUFFERING WITH PITY ... 71
5.2.3 SUFFERING WOMEN AND THEIR AGENCY ... 73
5.2.4 SPECTATOR AS PROTESTER ... 78
5.2.5 OTHER VULNERABLE GROUPS ... 79
5.3 MEDIA ACTIVISM IN TURKEY ... 80
5.3.1 PRODUCTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY AND MEDIATING PEOPLE IN NEED ... 80
5.3.2 IMPACT AND RECEPTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY ... 81

6 CONCLUSION ... 83

e) Bibliography **p.86**

i. Websites p.94
ii. Documentaries, videos or films p.97
iii. Pictures, images and photographs p.97
iv. Figures and tables p.97
v. Case law p.98

f) Appendices **p.99**

i. Appendix A – Interview with Imre Azem (2015) p.99
ii. Appendix B – Interview with anonymous woman (2012) p.120
iii. Appendix C – Interview with Safak Velioglu (2012) p.122
iv. Appendix D – Interview with Safak Velioglu (2016) p.126
v. Appendix E – Interview with Tugba and Tugce (2015) p.142
vi. Appendix F – Guided expert interview p.162
vii. Appendix G – Shot protocol p.164

g) Curriculum Vitae **p.178**
h) Abstracts **p.179**

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1 Introduction

This work tries to demonstrate the policy of silencing displaced dwellers or residents, who fear an upcoming eviction, in Istanbul. State-sponsored gentrification is often accompanied by stigmatization and silencing of vulnerable groups, such as ethnic and religious minorities (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). However, it appears that in the case of Istanbul tenure rights endowed some of the residents with a voice, whereas others with fewer rights had no chance to represent themselves (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). Due to this fact, regular tenants, informal tenants, squatters and some of the property owners were forced to migrate to another area, in which they "had to pay much higher prices for much less attractive locations" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1376). Only some of the property owners were allowed to stay. According to Herzczeg (2012, p.61) "media activism addresses social justice issues". A strong oppositional media should emancipate the voiceless and stigmatized groups who have inferior housing rights or hardly any tenure rights at all.

The human right to an adequate standard of living also implies the right to adequate housing, which "[...] includes various components, such as legal security of tenure (protection from forced evictions), habitabiliy (adequate space and protection from the elements), a safe and healthy location, economic and physical accessibility, cultural acceptability and access to adquate infrastructure, such as drinking water, sanitation and washing facilities" (Lukas, 2012, p.318). Therefore, I want to take a look at how oppositional media activists tried to restore the humanity and reputation of people affected by gentrification in Istanbul. In this case study, I will take a greater look at the various mediations of people in need in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012).

Reporting on people in need is a quite challenging task. On the one hand, portraying suffering requires a "certain distance from which spectators are invited to reflect on sufferers and their historical contexts" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.102). On the other hand, the "Others" should have the possibility to act and to talk for themselves in order to overcome hegemonic power discourses. Emancipating "distant sufferers" through mediation is no easy undertaking insofar as it seems to be accompanied by a loss of

power. According to Chouliaraki (2006) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) the suffering other is often mediated as being distant to the spectator's social environment. This is established through mediations, in which the others are represented as distant and inhumane (Chouliaraki, 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Chouliaraki (2006) emphasizes in her book *Spectatorship of Suffering* that the portrayal of distant sufferers in television should provoke a shift from "voyerism" to "cosmopolitanism". The distinctive moment here is the suggestion to act on the misfortune of other, this suggestion may or may not lead to action. Nevertheless, the demand for action is essential in order to establish a communication of diversity, where others are not oppressed or dehumanised but acknowledged as someone worth acting on.

> "Diversity means that each human being is characterised by a multitude of different features and group belongings. This means that each and every person has a certain skin colour, gender identity, ethnic affiliation, sexual orientation, age, religious affiliation or not, social and educational background, family status and different physical abilities" (Wladasch, 2012, p.309 f.).

A communication of diversity therefore means that "barriers and structural discriminations" should be obliterated in order to emancipate vulnerable and marginalized groups (Wladasch, 2012). Reality, however, is in fact often the exact reverse. Thus this process of othering the Other is at the centre of this research. Although there has been a great tradition of postcolonial studies investigating distant suffering, it appears that previous researches focused mainly on the agency of the subaltern. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Spivak, 2006). However, Lillie Chouliaraki (2006) draws more attention to the agency of the spectator, in other words on how the portrayal of distant suffering may or may not affect spectators and therefore cause action. These two different ways of examining the problem of agency are not opposing each other, but their intersection sheds light on the blind spots of previous observations. The ethical question whether such a portrayal of the Subaltern is adequate, was raised, but never answered satisfyingly. The main reason for this failure, which I will explain later, is that the discussed mediations rarely entail or even establish new infrastructures for an emancipation of the Subaltern.

> For Chouliaraki "[t]he main reason for social theory on the media having so far failed to adequately address the question of cosmopolitan spectator, [...] is precisely because of its inability to think of media texts as something more than an image." (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.46)

In addition Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), too suggest a multimodal analysis. Against the background of the acknowledgement of the other as a subject worth acting on as well as being able to act, I will emphasize the emancipative characteristics of this research and current mediations of suffering. This study is relevant insofar as it seeks to try to overcome hegemonic power constellations by establishing new infrastructures for the Subaltern to perform new categories of representation.

1.1 Limitation of the Research

To ground the research I formulated the following research question and seven subquestions.

- How does the documentary *Ekümenopolis (2012)* counteract the attempt to emancipate people in need?

    - What are the contexts of historical and political power relationships of viewing and representing with regards to the mediation of gentrification in Istanbul?
    - Which Human Rights were violated during the gentrification in Istanbul?
    - How does the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) about gentrification in Istanbul violate social, human and communciation rights of the suffering other?
    - How does the documentary try to emancipate subaltern groups?
    - How does the documentary mediate people in need?
    - How can represenations of distant suffering establish what Chouliaraki (2006) calls ‘cosmopolitanism‘?
    - How can we emancipate what Spivak (2008) refers to as “subaltern groups“ through mediation? What is an adequate mediation of “distant suffering“?

1.2 Gentrification in Istanbul

The documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012), which I will analyze later, deals with gentrification in Istanbul. For a better understanding, this chapter will give a historical overview about urban transformations and developments in Istanbul and the social consequences of these changes. With an estimated population of 14,377,018 in 2014 (turkstats, 2015) Istanbul is the biggest city in Turkey. Istanbul is a transcontinental city. The commercial and historic center is located in Europe while the rest of the city is located in Asia. Istanbul was once home to large groups of various ethnic and religious minorities, such as Armenians, Greeks, Roma, Jews and others. The reasons why there live nowadays fewer groups of ethnic and religious minoritities in Istanbul differ. Several academic scholars withhold important information about the reasons why these groups had to leave or left and even the Turkish government neglects the genocide against the Armenians, which played an important role in the history of the Byzantine capital – Constantinople. This view has been supported by Thelen (cf. Thelen, 2011, p.38) and I will now briefly scrutinize the reasons why the demographics of Istanbul changed over the past years.

Gentrification is definitely one of the reasons for demographic changes in Istanbul, but migration movements also played a crucial role in the history of Istanbul. Now what exactly is gentrification? It is "[...]the unit-by-unit acquisition of housing, displacing low-income residents by high-income residents." (Ergün, 2004, p.391) The article *Gentrification in Istanbul* by Nilgün Ergün provides a great overview of the historical urban developments from the 1920s until the beginnings of the 21st century. However, Ergün (2004) fails to supply all the relevant information about the gentrification processes in Istanbul. For a more detailed historical picture I will deal with the article *Gentrification in Istanbul* and add left out informations where necessary.

Several reasons for gentrification processes in different areas of Istanbul were mentioned in Ergün's article. The three main areas where gentrification took place regarding Ergün (2004) were the Bosphorus neighborhoods (Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy), the Beyoglu neighborhoods (Tünel, Cihangir and Galata) and the historical peninsula neighborhoods (Balat) of Istanbul. Several sources verify that the gentrification processes in the above-mentioned areas and in some other areas in Istanbul, such as Tarlabasi, have their roots in

the migration of Jews, Greeks and Armenians (Ergün, 2004; Islam et al., 2010; Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). I will introduce other areas undergoing gentrification into this work later. Furthermore these migration movements (1) provoked several years later gentrification processes, due to the rapid growth of the city amongst other things.

> "After the minorities [sic] communities of Jews, Greeks and Armenians left Turkey in the 1960s, many of the settlements along the Bosphorus were abandoned, only regaining their popularity in the 1980s when they began to accomodate higher-income families intent on escaping the city's increasing traffic problems and the resulting pollution." (Ergün, 2004, p.393)

Ergün (2004) fails to mention throughout the article that not all of the Jews, the Armenians and the Greeks left voluntarily. The population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, the wealth tax in 1942, the Istanbul riots in 1955 and the Armenian Genocide during and after World War I played an important part in the migration processes of the Jews, the Armenians, the Greeks and other minority groups (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014; Powell, 2014; Kreiser and Neumann, 2006). The statement above is certainly insufficient to explain the migration movements in Istanbul.

Many sources confirm that some Jews migrated to the newly founded Israel in 1948, yet the wealth tax levied on the non-Muslim citizens of Turkey in 1942 and the emerging anti-Semitism must have motivated many of them to leave (Kreiser and Neumann, 2006, p.393f.). The wealth tax for non-Muslim citizens, though abolished in 1944 was ruin to many non-Muslim citizens, who had to move and sell their houses. "1229 Menschen, welche die willkürlich festgelegten Summen nicht aufbringen konnten, wurden ins Landesinnere deportiert" (Kreiser and Neumann, 2006, p.394). It happens mostly in cities that people are deprived of "their right to the city" in other words of their property rights (Harvey, 2013).

The displacement of inhabitants is a well-known strategy for aquiring land and maximizing profit. Then as now, people are deprived of their rights and pushed to city limits or even moved out of the city to the rural areas. Many of these resettlements take place under the guise of migration. The run-down, abandoned houses (2) in Kuzguncuk attracted artists, architects and authors, which caused a delayed gentrification of this area in the 1980s. "The interest shown for this ancient Bosphorus village increased in step

with the process of gentrification, resulting in an increase in the price of land and property“ (Ergün, 2004, p.394). Similarly, major ‘migration’ movements occured in Ortaköy, which is located on the other side of the Bosphorus. The term migration, of course, is still problematic in this context, because it “tends to obscure the fact that our firms and government agencies and those of our allies may have contributed to expulsions“ (Sassen, 2013). I want to point out that many inhabitants migrated involuntarly. In Ortaköy whith many Armenians, Jewis and Greeks living who had to leave due to a worsening of their life situations, gentrification also took place.

> “As the Greeks, Armenians and Jews who lived in the historical houses of the Ortaköy Square left or moved to the other districts of Istanbul, Muslim families from lower-income groups settled in these residences. During this period, the village became run down as the maintenance and repair of the houses was not carried out as desired.“ (Ergün, 2004, p.394)

Again Ergün (2004) withholds important information about the reasons for the migration of the Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Ergün (2004) mentions only two reasons for the migration movements in her article *Gentrification in Istanbul*: one of the reasons was the foundation of Israel in 1948 and the second reason, which was mentioned by Ergün (2004) in the article *Gentrification in Istanbul* were the riots in 1955. “Due to the tragic political actions directed at the Greeks in the 1955, this community abandoned Beyoglu and so the coffee houses, patisseries and centers of recreation owned by them were closed.“ (Ergün, 2004, p.396) Beyoglu is located in the city center and still famous for its recreational centers and coffee houses.

Due to the designation of Ankara as the new capital of Turkey in 1923, many ambassadors and embassies moved to Ankara. I have previously described that many citizens moved away from the city center and that the abandoned houses found new owners, but the rent for the deserted houses in Beyoglu first decreased and attracted many migrants from rural areas. We can deduce that the migration of the Jews, the Armenians, the Germans, the Italians, the Russians and the Greeks caused a dilapidation of the areas in Beyoglu, Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy and the old peninsula which resulted in a delayed gentrification of the area. It was mostly migrants with low-incomes from rural areas and from Anatolia who settled in Beyoglu, Cihangir, Galata or Tünel. Governmental (Balat) or residential (private) initiatives (Cihangir and Ortaköy) transformed the districts and

gentrified some of the old desolated houses (Ergün, 2004). “Contrary to the Bosphorus [Kuzguncuk and Ortaköy] and Beyoglu [Tünel, Galata, Cihangir and the city center around Taksim] neighborhoods, the population of foreigners in the historical peninsula of Istanbul was around 1.5%.“ (Ergün, 2004, p.400) Although there were fewer minorities living in the historical peninsula, again the migration of the Jews in the 1940s for the above-mentioned reasons caused a gentrification by the restoration work which was financially backed by the UNESCO and the European Community.

Another mentioned reason for gentrification in the 1980s are the construction of the second Bosphorus Bridge (3), the highways next to it and the mushrooming of multi-storey buildings close to the brigde (Ergün, 2004). These newly built high-rise buildings accomodated new businesses. According to Ergün (2004) this is the reason why higher-income citizens moved away from the center and closer to their new workplaces.

> “The gentrification process has started at residential areas far from the historical city center, because the Bosphorus is one of the most valuable places in Istanbul in terms of its location and view. And finally, gentrification in Istanbul has so far taken place in areas previously occupied by foreigners or minority groups, that were either empty or have become occupied by migrants from the rural parts of Turkey.“ (Ergün, 2004, p.403)

The next reason Ergün (2004) detected was the earthquake in 1999 (4). Istanbul is located in a seismically sensitive area, after the earthquake new houses were built which tend to be earthquake-proof. Furthermore Ergün (2004) also reflects on the role of the municiplality and concludes that the municipality has a great impact on the gentrification (5).

I will summarize the five reasons that caused gentrification processes in Istanbul according to Ergün (2004).

- The migration movements (1) of the Jews, the Armenians and the Greeks and the abandonment (2) of their residential houses went hand in hand and provoked a dilapidation of the areas, which was later followed, due to their vicinity to the city center or the new business centers, by a delayed gentrification.
- The construction of the second Bosphorus Bridge (3) led to another gentrification in the 1980s.

- Due to the earthquake (4) in the 1999, several citizens moved away from the city center.
- Lastly, it was mentioned that the municipality elections (5) slowed down gentrification processes in Balat and in Ortaköy, which is why the municipality plays an important role for Ergün (2004), when it comes to gentrification.

Gentrification processes, expulsion and migration in Istanbul did not of course end in the early 2000s. On the contrary, we can detect a proliferation of urban transformations in big cities around the globe (Sassen, 2015b). Also in Istanbul an accelerated urban transformation is detected by Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) and Tolga Islam (2010). But in order to understand the here and now we have to take one more look at the past. Nowadays the largest ethnic minority in Istanbul are the Kurdish citizens, who migrated from the east and southeast of Turkey to Istanbul. Years of suppression of the Kurdish minorities in Turkey led to heavy conflicts between the Turkish government and Kurdistan's Workers' Party causing migration and uprooting from their homeland (cf. Thelen, 2011, p.54).

"As a consequence, 3 million Kurdish residents have transformed Istanbul into the world's largest Kurdish city." (Nachmani, 2003, p.90) Many people were forced to migrate to bigger cities because of better job situations. This is in line with the findings of Saskia Sassen (1991), who detects that two developments facilitate the growth of global cities: firstly, the requirement for a vast supply of low-wage jobs and secondly, it is the downgrading of the manufacturing sector. Both these developments can be detected in the history of Istanbul, where the migrants from the southeast of Turkey, who were forced to leave, found new jobs in bigger cities, such as Istanbul or Ankara. But yet again these people, who settled in old, abandoned houses that are now situated in the city centre, are facing possible expulsion by the government and by residents willing to pay more rent for these central houses. Saskia Sassen (1991, p.12) supports this view and concludes that nowadays inhabitants of global cities are "attracted to the amenities and lifestyles that large urban centers can offer and [that people with a high income] are more likely to live in central areas rather than in suburbs", which causes another gentrification. The pictures below (figure number one) represent the ongoing urban transformations in Istanbul.

Figure number one

(© Mariacher, 2015a)

Urban developments continued further within the last fifteen years. New areas in Istanbul have been transformed and gentrified. Tolga Islam et.al. (2010, p.60) deduced in the article *Current Urban Discourse – Urban Transformation and Gentrification in Istanbul* that "[...] what makes this era different is the scale of change that casts past experiences into the shade." Within the past fifteen years, constructions of new transport systems, such as the underground tunnels for new metro lines, the undersea rail tunnel Marmaray under the Bosphorus and the third Bosphorus Bridge called Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, have taken place. Saskia Sassen (2015, p.1) too comes to the conclusion that "[w]e are witnessing an unusually large scale of corporate buying of whole pieces of cities in the last few years."

Moreover, not only high-rise buildings have been constructed on vacant land, but simultaneously, existing buildings have been demolished and transformed within the past years.

> "The policy rhetoric surrounding it is quite persuasive, promoted as it is to the general public as a solution to almost all of the city's ills: it helps to avoid earthquakes, reduces crime, decreases segregation, removes stigma, increases poor living conditions and even combats terrorism!" (Islam, 2010, p.60)

According to Tolga Islam (2010) and Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) this propaganda is the reason why the projects enjoy great popularity, but as I will lay out later, the projects were also heavily criticized. Still it appears that the supporters of these urban transformation projects outnumbered the critics: the destruction of the so-called

gecenkondu areas ("[huts] constructed over night": translated by the author) was welcomed by a vast majority. These huts used to be located at the city limits, but as Istanbul grew, the huts acquired centrality. As the property rights are very diverse in those Gecekondu areas new bills (laws) were presented.

> "Two local municipalities, Beyoglu and Fatih, lobbied for a new legislative framework to gain powers to intervene, and in June 2005 Code 5366, ´Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use', was passed in the Grand National Assembly, providing the local municipalities with new powers of expropriation to implement renewal projects within historical sites and abolishing the need to obtain the consent of the property owners" (Islam, 2010, p.61).

Despite all efforts of former municipalities to restore the old ottoman houses, a cultural heritage, the present municipalities preferred in some areas to renew and reuse those buildings. This at first led to a drastically deterioration in some areas, but a large support afterwards. Gentrification again takes place in central areas, with mostly ethnic and religious minorities being displaced and disowned. But as Harvey (2012) concludes rightly, "the lack of democracy in this process is the thing that is most troubling."

These processes can be seen, for example, in Sulukule, which is well-known for its Romany population or in Tarlabasi, where lots of "Kurdish immigrants, informal workers (including mussel sellers, transgender sex workers, recyclers), and other impoverished and stigmatized groups" live (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). The gentrification in Tarlabasi did not take place overnight, but the government addressed and informed the residents at different times and under different conditions. "The main line of differentiation was between stakeholders with and without formal tenure rights. Only porperty owners were formally recognized as stakeholders" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1374).

This inequity was amplified by a stigmatization and unjust mediation of the various vulnerable groups living in Tarlabasi (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). Furthermore the study regarding *The symbolic politics of gentrification: the restructuring of stigmatized neighborhoods in Amsterdam and Istanbul* by Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) revealed that although residents in Tarlabasi resisted against the stigmatization of their neighborhood at first, their resistance was broken after some time. These findings can be

attributed to the fact that the "[...] inequalities of class power that underpin gentrification also involve control over time – those in power generally have greater endurance and the ability to let others wait or to rush them" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1383). Several areas where gentrification and therefore eviction and displacement of marginalized groups took place could be detected, but not all the areas of expulsion are mentioned here. This short introduction to the topic aimed at giving a great overview by mentioning the most prominent cases of gentrification in Istanbul.

> "So let us agree: the idea of the right to the city does not arise primarily out of various intellectual fascinations and fads (though there are plenty of those around, as we know). It primarily rises up from the streets, out from the neighborhoods, as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed peoples in desperate times. How, then, do academics and intellectuals (both organic and traditional, as Gramsci would put it) respond to that cry and that demand." (Harvey, 2013, p.xiii)

This is why I will intend to scrutinize the way in which the director of the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) and other grassroot media activists responded to this cry for help. In Tarlabasi, for example, the resistance against renewal originated from a small group of property owners of Turkish descent (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). Their cry for help was heard by journalists, lawyers, Amnesty International and even the European Court for Human Rights (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1377). But as I already mentioned above, solidarity among the residents faded over time. A fragmented opposition was easily removed. The lack of support by the Tarlabasi Association for tenants caused a weak and small opposition, with only few owners remaining left in Tarlabasi (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014).

It also became clear that the media and the government represented "[...] only the past population [...] as having cultural diversity, while the diversity of the present population is ignored; the reputation of the area as a crime zone is adopted and amplified while the sense of security it offers to many of its residents is ignored" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1374). This biased mediations stigmatized not only the neighborhood, but also the people living in Tarlabasi. In the next chapter I will therefore outline theories on representation and mediation of marginalized groups.

2 Review of the Literature

The agency of human beings is determined by the acknowledgement of society (Butler, 2009). The following chapter tries to demonstrate what kinds of determinations, in terms of becoming the Other, people in need have to face. The theoretical underpinnings of this work lie in a critical analysis of the process of othering the Other. Therefore, a de/constructive approach and philosophical assumptions about the process of othering, deriving from a postcolonialist point of view, shall be taken into account.

The core concepts for this paper are contradicting each other prima facie on whether a subaltern person can be emancipated, heard and understood or not. I will take a closer look on the concept of subalternism. Some scholars, such as Spivak (2006) tend to neglect the emancipative moments which can occur through mediating cultural differences. Hence, I will try to complement Spivak's (2008) concept of subalternity with Butler's (2009) concept of performativity.

Although I can agree with Gayatri C. Spivak's concept of subalternism on many levels, she provides a very pessimistic view on the possibilities of subaltern groups to 'speak'. Speaking in this case means more than just uttering words. According to Spivak speaking in this case also implies performance. Her justified objections regarding the agency of the subaltern form the starting point of my theoretical investigations. Spivak (2008) rather neglects the agency of subaltern groups when she states that the subaltern cannot speak, whereas Butler (2009) sees the agency of subaltern groups in new performances confirmed. Agency appears to be the crucial point of this research. Firstly, I will therefore discuss the two conflicting but not excluding ideas about subalternism and performativity.

Secondly, I will introduce to this paper an optimistic analysis of Lillie Chouliaraki on mediating distant suffering. Following Chouliaraki (2006) I will briefly discuss another concept of spectatorship and mediation. In addition, I will examine different ways of mediation viewed in the context of performativity. It is the discourse on documentaries in Turkey that concerns me here, because, as I will outline later, the Turkish media has to deal with democratic deficits.

2.1 Agency and Subalternism

The mediation of distant others was and has most of the time been a representation. Edward W. Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak take Marx's conclusion that "[t]hey [the small peasant proprietors] can't represent themselves- they must be represented." as starting point of their postcolonial studies. (Marx, 1973, p.239 cited in Spivak, 2006, p.29) According to Spivak (2008), agency lies in the principle of responsible reasoning.

> "Die Idee der Handlungsfähigkeit entsteht aus dem Prinzip der verantwortlichen Vernunft: dass man verantwortungsvoll handelt, dass die Möglichkeit einer Intention angenommen werden muss, ja dass man sogar die Freiheit der Subjektivität annehmen muss, um sich als verantwortlich zu erweisen. Hierin ist die Frage der Handlungsfähigkeit angesiedelt." (Spivak, 2008, p.130)

First, the subaltern's personhood must be acknowledged, in order for them to be able to act. The current power constellations of mediating and watching are dominated by a Western mediation of the other and this other is considered as the Orient (Chouliaraki, 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). "In a quite constant way, Orientalism [and therefore mediatisations of subaltern groups] depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand" (Said, 2006a, p.26). Therefore we can conclude that the subaltern's alterity is not always recognized by the hegemonic power constellations of the West and if it is recognized it is only recognized as the other to the West. Their alterity is determined by the West through representation and therefore mediation. This process of silencing and constructing determines the possible outcome of their alterity, although these determinations "have more to do with us than with the oriental other" (Said, 2006a, p.27). But who are they and how many different subaltern groups are there?

> "Eine emotionale Antwort auf diese Diskreditierungen ist also verfehlt, besonders dann, wenn die Arten von Gruppen, von denen behauptet wird, sie seien subaltern, einfach Gruppen sind, die sich auf irgendeine Art und Weise untergeordnet fühlen. Ich glaube, das Wort >>subaltern<< verliert hier seine Definitionskraft, weil es zu einer Art Schlagwort für jede beliebige Guppe geworden ist, die etwas will, was sie nicht hat." (Spivak, 2008, p.123)

Spivak concludes in her article "Can the subaltern speak?" that the subaltern subject cannot speak. She argues further that every attempt of experts to let "the Others" speak for themselves is just another representation of the Subaltern, i.e. the experts represent this "speaking for themselves" for the Others. (cf.Steyerl, 2008, p.11) This speech is a possible speech, because it resembles a dualistic Otherness; the counterpart to the dominant discourse. But de/constructivistic approaches suggest that we should overcome this dualistic worldview.

Spivak (2008) denies subaltern groups the possibility to assert their class interests, because they are not heard by the dominant group. Consequently, the concluding remark should be attributed to the following sentence: The Subalterns are not heard. "The Others" do not resemble possible ways of living. Their interests are not recognized as possible interests. But are human beings who lost their housing due to gentrification processes subalterns? The term subalternity is attributed to Antonio Gramsci, who refers to groups which are heterogenous and socially not represented. (Steyerl, 2008, p.8f.) Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak follows a similar approach of the subaltern as Gramsci. (Spivak, 2008, p.49) However, Spivak appends the approach of the subaltern with postcolonial concepts of power, following Ranajit Guha.

> "In dem Aufsatz stellte ich klar, dass ich über den Raum der Subalternen so sprach, wie er von Ranajit Guha definiert wurde, als Raum, der in einem kolonisierten Land von den Mobilitätslinien abgeschnitten ist. Es gibt eine fremde Elite und eine indigene Elite. Unterhalb dieser finden wir die Vektoren einer Aufwärts-, Abwärts-, Seitwärts und Rückwärtsmobilität vor. Aber dann gibt es auch einen Raum, der praktisch in jeder Hinsicht außerhalb dieser Linien liegt. [...] Die kulturellen Konstruktionen, die innerhalb der – von anderen Mobilitätslinien abgeschnittenen – Subalternität existieren dürfen, werden in Militanz transformiert. In anderen Worten, jeder Moment, der als Fall von Subalternität bemerkt wird, ist unterminiert. Niemals sehen wir die reinen Subalternen. Es gibt folglich etwas von einem Nichtsprechen, das im Begriff der Subalternität selbst liegt." (Spivak, 2008, p.121)

The subalterns are divided by the fact that they do not speak the same language and that they are not heard or in other words acknowledged by the hegemonic power discourses. The problem of giving voice to the voiceless or representing the unrepresentable is not settled by simply denying their agency. But the consideration that the hegemonic power

establishes itself again through the representation of the other as the other should be kept in mind.

> "Das Problem dabei ist, wie das ethno-zentrische Subjekt davon abgehalten werden kann, sich selbst zu etablieren, indem es selektiv eine/n Andere/n definiert." (Spivak, 2008, p.68)

But what is the possible solution in order to avoid a solidification of hegemonic power according to Spivak? Or is the subaltern doomed to be silent?

> Spivak concludes with recourse to Derrida that "eine[...] Neuschreibung des utopischen strukturellen Impulses als Impuls, >>die innere Stimme, die Stimme des anderen in uns, delierieren [zu] lassen.<<" is a more adequate solution to this problem. (Spivak, 2008, p.106)

Judith Butler takes this concept of recognition further. Butler (2009) states that there are human beings who are prima facie not able to represent their own interests. They are somehow impossible and therefore not capable of even being represented. The otherness of the Others, their alterity, is somehow oscilating between annihilation and acknowledgement (Butler, 2009). The word "subaltern" describes, in my understanding, precisely a process of acknowledgment and annihilation. Even though Spivak conceptualizes subalternism slightly differently, these two concepts do not exclude each other. There is a general equivalence between the two concepts, in as far as they agree on the assumption that subaltern people are not heard. Their alterity is not recognized, which causes a dehumanisation of marginalized groups, distant others. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak scrutinizes that subaltern groups have "no lines of social mobility" (Spivak, 2006, p.28). In the mediation of subaltern groups, Spivak sees their agency negated. The main reason for the missing lines of social mobility stem from the already mentioned problem that the discussed mediations rarely entail or even establish new infrastructures for an emancipation of the Subaltern.

2.2 Agency and Performativity

The reason that mediations deny agency to the subalterns resides in the neglect of the emancipating moment. Spivak (2008) denies subaltern groups the possibility to speak or, in other words, to act, whereas Butler (1990, p.192) constitutes, in the "failure to repeat, a

de-formity, or a parodic repetition that exposes the phantasmatic effect of abiding identity as a politically tenuous construction“, a possible way to emancipate subaltern groups which establish new ways of social mobility. Iteration is always necessarily an iteration of already existing performances. The performativity is determined by the dominant discourses (cf. Butler, 1990). We can even read Spivak’s article “Can the subaltern speak?“ in a different way: the suicide of the Bengali woman, who Spivak refers to, was heard by Spivak herself, thereby refuting the claim that she cannot speak and was not heard. The woman’s attempt to prevent iteration by committing suicide while menstruating, performed and established a new form of protest. “The displacing gesture – waiting for menstruation – is at first a reversal of the interdict against a menstruating widow’s right to immolate herself; the unclean widow must wait, publicly, until the cleansing bath of the fourth day, when she is no longer menstruating.“ (Spivak, 2006, p.34) Although the Bengali woman was not a widow, this act referred to the religious ritual of sati. The very performance was heard and could be understood; nevertheless, this performance provoked new silence. At the same time her message could not have been clearer, her performance not more vehement.

The earlier version of the article *Can the subaltern speak?* by Spivak (2008) found that the Bengali woman was a subaltern, but the later version of the article, again by Spivak (2006) stated on more than one occasion that the Bengali woman she was talking about was not to be defined as a subaltern. Furthermore, Spivak represented this subaltern performance to the dominant discourse, even though she constituted before that every attempt to let them talk for themselves is another representation of the representor representing them (cf. Steyerl, 2008, p.11). Through this representation, Spivak emancipated the impossible performance. She admits this incident later on in an interview: “In einem bestimmten Sinn ist also auch mein Text ein Text der anderen Seite“ (Spivak, 2008, p.144 f.). But she also emphasizes that the Bengali woman she was referring to was not a subaltern.

> “Der Fall dieser Frau implizierte also, wie mir schien, aufgrund der eingeschränkten narrativen Autorisierung über die sie verfügte, eine Kontamination der Idee der Subalternität“ (Spivak, 2008, p.122).

Moreover, Spivak accepts Busia's critique, which first and foremost demands an adequate reception rather than an adequate representation of the subaltern (Spivak, 2008, p.155). This confession does not reduce the importance and the brisance of Spivak's considerations on subalternism.

Now, if Spivak was not referring to the Bengali woman (called Bhubaneswari Bhaduri) as a subaltern, then who resembles what Spivak calls "the real subaltern" and why do I insist on using this term? First, the concept of subalternism challenges previous considerations about the representation or mediation of others; second, this challenge is the crux of the introduced problem. Moreover, the term subaltern is highly appropriate to represent capitalistic socialization as a consequence of economic influences and power constellations. Hence, Spivak's concept of subalternism should be broadened by including various forms of contamination of subalternity and their rebelling militancy against the hegemonic norms. At the same time I want to point out that there is no such thing as "the real subaltern", individuals who are not or never have been heard and cannot speak. There is no original, in other words: there is no subaltern per se. There are contaminations of the subaltern, who might be heard, which is why I take the view that the subaltern are oscillating between recognition and annihilation. There is a thin line between acknowledgement und neglect.

> "Die Identität als Praxis, und zwar als Bezeichnungspraxis zu verstehen, bedeutet, die kulturell intelligiblen Subjekte als Effekte eines regelgebundenen Diskurses zu begreifen, der Bezeichnungsakte des sprachlichen Lebens einschreibt. Abstrakt betrachtet bezieht sich die Sprache auf ein offenes Zeichensystem, das die Intelligibilität fortwährend schafft und zugleich anficht" (Butler, 1991, p.212).

Regardless of that we should also focus on the moments of silence and the things which are not said or can not be said (cf. Steyerl, 2008, p.16). Against the background that the acknowledgement of the Other as a subject worth acting on and being able to act, I will emphasize the emancipative characteristics of this research and current mediations of suffering. Helen Tiffin 2006 states that

> "{t}he operation of post-colonial counter-discourse is to evolve textual strategies which continually 'consume' their 'own biases' at the same time as they expose and erode those of the dominant discourse {...}" (Tiffin, 2006, p.99).

Hence, we can classify this research as a postcolonial counter-discourse, where strategies are developed which try to consume their own biases. A dualistic perception of social categories is necessarily accompanied by a belittling of one of those categories. However, human beings are not constituted by a single social category, but by a set of categories. This might lead to the assumption that one person is more capable to act and to speak than another person. It has also been stated that social categories, such as education, age, ethnicity, religion and gender interfere with each other. Distinguishing an ethnic minority from a local majority is often accompanied by a devaluation of one of those groups. This communicative process of devaluation not only occurs with Diaspora, but with all constructed dichotomies.

The idea that the encounter of different ethnic groups automatically leads to conflicts among them is very common (cf.Jäger, 2006, p.327). Ethnic groups are often problematized as a consistent threat to Western civilization. An examination of the structural preconditions for social categories requires a deconstruction of these categories and an exposition of powerful norms which constitute these social categories. The oppressed individuals symbolize the Other or the Subaltern to the Western hegemonic state and are thus incapable of speaking and overcoming predominant power imbalances. Establishing social lines of mobility for subaltern positions is one of the main goals of this research. This idea has been taken further by Judith Butler (2009) who proposes that in order to be oppressed as a human being ones way of living has to be acknowledged as possible. Possible ways of living are performed over and over again. These performances reincorporate social norms, which again determine them. As I already mentioned above change can be provoked by new performances and by a denial of the iteration of already existing possible ways of performance.

In view of the fact that there is a tendency towards sensationalising reports on suffering by depicting the sorrow in great detail, journalists and especially media activists need to establish new ways of mediating distant suffering. The following questions should be faced while engaging with vulnerable groups: Which performances should be changed? Should reports on the misfortune of others renounce the use of dramatization and sensationalism? What happens to the spectators if they are not confronted by alarming pictures of people in need? What happens if spectators are confronted over and over with

pictures of suffering human beings? The concept of *compassion fatigue* is all too well known. Susan Sontag states in her book *Das Leiden der anderen betrachten* that the viewers of pictures showing suffering are voyeurs and she rightly asks who has the right to view the misfortune of others.

> "Aber in die Erschütterung beim Betrachten der Nahaufnahme eines wirklichen Schreckens mischt sich Beschämung. Vielleicht haben nur jene Menschen das Recht, Bilder eines so extremen Leidens zu betrachten, die für seine Linderung etwas tun könnten – etwa die Chirurgen des Militärhospitals, in dem die Aufnahme gemacht wurde, oder Menschen, die aus ihr etwas lernen könnten. Wir anderen sind, ob wir wollen oder nicht, Voyeure." (Sontag, 2013, p.51)

A story that deserves to be highlightened such as the gentrification and displacement of citizens, could restore to a certain point the agency of the disowned people through mediation, but it could also provoke a negative reaction of other citizens due to a certain type of mediation. Following Sontag I deduce that we should ask ourselves: For whom is this picture or mediation produced? How does it affect the spectator? What are the aesthetic principles that underlie this mediation? What are the possible ways of mediating and viewing? Some images manage to affect the spectators and even invite them to react to the depicted misfortune. Chouliaraki (2006), too, gives raise to similar questions, but she focuses more on the question what the mediation of distant sufferers demands from us and this us is considered to be the West, a safe zone of watching. Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) deduces that there exists a hierarchy of human lives.

> "It follows from this {hierarchy of human lives – note I.M.} that the spectators are more likely to speak out about the suffering they are watching if the sufferers are construed as being like 'us' and, in reverse, the spectators are more likely to switch off if the sufferers fail to appear like 'us'" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 88).

The possibility to speak and to be heard, which Chouliaraki (2006, p.106) describes as 'appelative power', is based on proximity and therefore on the relevance to the spectators lifeworlds. Silencing the Subaltern is accompanied by a certain inability of the hegemonic class to represent others as subjects of their own class and therefore as human beings (Spivak, 2006, p.30). Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) on the other hand takes this idea further and claims that the spectators could act and care for the suffering other given that the distant sufferer is construed as a human being worth acting on.

> "The symbolic conditions for cosmopolitanism lie, first and foremost, in a break with the current politics of pity on TV. This is because pity produces narcissistic emotions about the suffering 'other' that can't move the spectator beyond the reflex of caring only for those like 'us'" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 13).

This break with current politics of pity on TV, is a break with current mediatisation and established performances. It appears that the missing link between the *prima facie* opposing concepts on subalternism and performativity derives from Chouliarakis concept of cosmopolitanism. It is Chouliaraki who talks about various ways of portraying people in need. Therefore her analysis of mediation should provide greater insights on how the subaltern are mediated and how those various mediations could affect the spectators.

> "It is the interplay between the visibility of the 'other' and the reflexive action of the spectator in response to the 'other' that contains the promise of cosmopolitanism" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.28).

Following this idea I will delineate Chouliaraki's thoughts on mediating people in need in the following chapters.

2.3 Mediating distant suffering

I will examine the portrayal of marginalized groups in Istanbul, the largest city of Turkey. The ongoing deterritorialisation of subaltern groups in Istanbul is the starting point for a discussion on subalternism and its mediation. The starting point of this consideration is the following question: Who is referred to as the Other and how? Chouliaraki scrutinizes how the news discourse construes suffering as worthy or unworthy to relate to, using a practical approach which is inspired by what Aristotle calls phronesis, a "universal principle of what is the right thing and the wrong thing to do" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.7).

My study differs from Chouliaraki's analysis in two ways. Firstly, I will analyse a documentary and not the news. This is because, as I will explain later, freedom of speech in Turkey is restricted. Secondly, the distance between the suffering people on the screen and the viewer is at least spatially not the same, because some of the viewers live in the same city, some of them in the same country and others in cities where gentrification is also taking place. It is the question of how the mediation of suffering manages to

humanize or dehumanize people in need and therefore cause reactions by the spectators, that is of interest.

> In her book *The Spectatorship of Suffering* Chouliaraki concludes that "[...] the spectator of ordinary television news can be at worst, an indifferent listener of distant suffering and, at best, a potential activist, subtly encouraged to relate to the cause of suffering" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.12).

Although pity plays a crucial role when it comes to the perception of distant suffering, it is only the contextualizations and further opportunities for action that cause, regarding to Chouliaraki (2006), the necessary conditions for cosmopolitanism. There are two dimensions I will pay attention to, following Chouliaraki (2006). The first dimension is the dimension of **proximity – distance**, where distance is not only regarded as a spatial distance, but also as a moral distance. Similar assumptions on mediating distance have been made by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). An adequate mediation of the first dimension requires a proper distance from which the sufferer appears as human being.

> "The humanness of sufferers demands that we neither zoom too close up to assume that they are like 'us' nor zoom too far out, reducing them to dots on the map. The demand for historicity requires that each instance of suffering is placed in a meaningful (though not tiresomely exhaustive) context of explanation and understanding that addresses the question of why this suffering is important and what there is to do about it" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.43).

The second dimension I will introduce into this work is the dimension of **watching – acting**, where western spectators watch the scene of suffering on the television at home, while the people on the screen either act on their needs or they are deprived of their agency through a mediation that silences and dehumanizes them. The mediations appear to contain two different types of participants, who might be active or not.

> "First, agency refers to how active sufferers themselves appear on screen and, second, it refers to how other actors present in the scene appear to engage with sufferers" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.85).

As a result, these representations demand - at best - a reaction from the viewer. Considering Chouliaraki's (2006) study, the news discourse reports in three different ways on suffering people. Chouliaraki (2006) calls these three different modes on representing people in need "adventure news", "emergency news" and "ecstatic news". Emergency news, on the one hand, enables a cosmopolitan spectatorship; adventure news

and ecstatic news, on the other hand, deny public action for suffering others. Adventure news refers to the norm of communitarianism, where suffering is represented as too far away to act on (Chouliaraki, 2006). The spectators are not able to feel pity for the suffering Other, because they are dehumanized through mediation. On the other side of the coin, and of equal importance, is a communitarianism that also provokes pity which is reserved for people who appear just like us. These humanized individuals suffer, and their suffering appears as our own suffering (Chouliaraki, 2006). In this case the spectators pity only people who are represented as western humans.

> Pity in this case "(...) is a public disposition that incorporates two demands. On the one hand, pity incorporates the political demand for television to function as a public sphere and, hence, observe a measure of objectivity in its representations of suffering, while, on the other hand, it incorporates the ethical demand that television should report on the suffering of the other with a measure of sensibility and emotionality." (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 91)

Ecstatic news is news about September 11th or the recent attacks in Paris. The following categories, regarding Chouliaraki (2006), form the news discourse on suffering people, and construe them either as human beings or as distant Others, i. e. subalterns. A multimodal approach requires first an analysis of two key modes – the **verbal** and the **visual** mode of representation. Moreover, other categories, such as the temporal or spatial mode and the mode of agency should be considered. Therefore, the following categories (time, space and agency) are mediated and will be analysed verbally and visually. They might contradict each other or complete each other, which is the reason why their interplay is of interest to this research.

2.3.1 Multimodal approach: temporal mode

An important mode of representing people in need and therefore construing them as human beings or not is time. The verbal use of the past tense or the present tense and other temporal adverbs frame the event on a temporal axis and therefore the possibility to do something about the event or not (Chouliaraki, 2006 and Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Visually, time is referred to via the use of archive films or live footage and their combination. Chouliaraki (2006, p. 87) calls this combination of video material visual intertextuality. These considerations should be accompanied by a reflection on political

power discourses, because whose suffering we recognize or act on is a political question, which represents cultural difference.

2.3.2 Multimodal approach: agency as a mode

As already mentioned agency refers to either the mediated agency of the suffering other or the mediated agency of other actors in the scene. These other actors are, according to Chouliaraki (2006), either benefactors or persecutors. The agency of the sufferer is verbally constructed through narration and lexicalizations in order to characterize the sufferer (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.89 f.). Visually, the agency is determined by camera angles and juxta position (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

In this chapter I will try to explain how social actions can be produced in images. Social actions appear in pictures as vectors. These vectors might depart from an outstretched arm, an object, a look or any other possible depicted gesture. "The Actor is the participant from which the vector emanates, or which itself, in whole or in part, forms the vector [...]" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.63). The vectors narrate a story, which is located in a contexutalized setting, i.e. the surroundings. Furthermore, these various actions might have a goal, which is also visualized in the picture, or a goal that is not depicted within the image. "A depicted person may be shown as addressing viewers directly, by looking at the camera. This conveys a sense of interaction between the depicted person and the viewer" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.43).

In addition to these explanations I record the fact that actors, who are represented in an image, can interact with each other by looking at each other, touching each other or simply just pointing at each other. Sometimes the image represents only the goal, but not the actor him- or herself. If only one hand or a foot of the actor is portrayed, the actor stays anonymous. Kress and Leeuwen (2006, p.79) also state that images may classify the role of the participants as either subordinate or superordinate, but in this case the participants do not necessarily need to act on one another. If there is no action or taxonomy of elements depicted, then the viewer is confronted with features and characteristics of the participant. The viewer is invited to contemplate on the portrayed participant and to analyse his or her visually represented qualities. This can also result in

the representation of temporal analytical processes, where participants are situated on timelines.

> "Yet these lines are not vectorial and, rather than representing history as a gradual unfolding of events, they analyse it into successive stages with fixed and stable characteristics, stages which can then be treated as though they were things" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.94).

Nevertheless, we should also take into account that the producer of an image speaks through this image and therefore interacts with the viewer of the same image. As already mentioned above, this leads to different relations between different participants. The represented elements relate to other depicted participants within the image, but the producer and the viewer of an image also relate to each other, and in addition, the producer and the viewer seperatly relate to the depicted elements on their own.

But Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) mention, however, that readers do not necessarily have to accept the intended visualisations of the image producer, even though they do understand the proposed meaning of the image. While producing an image, the producer imagines a specific viewer, for whom he or she is producing the image. Another striking aspect is that "[] whether they are human or not, by being represented as looking at the viewer, they are represented as human [...]" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.118). In order to analyse pictures, the actors and the participants who have been the goal to the actions need to be detected. With regard to the previous claims, it is also necessary to examine the suggested relations between the participants of an image (producer, viewer and portrayed elements). In the following section I will illuminate the different ways of depicting social distance, namely the spatial mode of representation.

2.3.3 Multimodal approach: spatial mode

According to Chouliaraki (2006), the news deals either with spaces of danger or with spaces of safety. On the one hand, we have the safe space of watching, and on the other hand, the dangerous space of suffering. Moreover, the reports also present various safe spaces such as the studio where the anchorman announces the news, whereas the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) presents safe spaces of business districts and nature on the one hand, and dangerous places in which evictions and suffering are going on. But

we have to keep in mind that the inversion of the argument is also suitable. David Harvey (2012) deduces in this case "that actually those gated communities are [...] full of criminals, they are white collar criminals. They rob the world when they went to work on Wall Street." However, the distinction between safe and dangerous spaces is necessary for the analysation, but well-known concepts of safety and danger shall be critically questioned throughout the analysation. According to Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) Tarlabasi, a dilapidated district in Istanbul, was experienced by its residents as a safe space. Again two modes come into play relating to the mediation of suffering the **verbal** and the **visual** mode. Space also signifies, as already mentioned above, distance or proximity to the portrayed person in the scene. Visually, the camera positions people as either close or far away from the spectator. Verbally, spatial referrences occur as either names of locations or linguistic adverbs.

The concept of different depictions of social distance is dealt with extensively in the book *Reading Images – The Grammar of Visual Design* by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and in the book *The Mediation of Suffering and the Vision of a Cosmopolitan Public* by Chouliaraki (2006). In this chapter, I will relate to their considerations on different possibilities of portraying social distance in order to develop an adequate method for analysing the produced images in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012); I will also return to this analytical framework in the section on methodology and methods. The size of the frame, the depicted human being and the viewer's gaze measure the vicinity or distance of the portrayed participant. Thus if somebody should be depicted as close to the viewer, only his or her head and shoulders would be represented within the frame. This is also called a close shot. A very close shot, for example means, that only the nose or the face is visible.

> "The medium close shot cuts off the subject approximately at the waist, the medium shot approximately at the knees. The medium close shot cuts off the subject approximately at the waist, the medium shot approximately at the knees. The medium long shot shows the full figure. In the long shot the human figure occupies about half the height of the frame, and the very long shot is anything `wider´than that." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.124)

Corresponding to the type of the shot, it has greater or different effects on the viewer, if the portrayed person is glancing at the percipient from far away or from very close. The

different ways of distancing portrayed individuals follows sociohistorical traditions of mediation. Distance on the one hand signifies respect, but on the other hand distance also disconnects us from the portrayed person and therefore provokes less empathy for the depicted others, with whom we can barely identify or relate to. The distance to depicted objects is also measured by the distance within the frame and to the viewer. If the object is represented as if the viewer is using it, it is at close distance. If the object is reachable for the viewer and if it is fully depicted, the object is at middle distance. Further if the object is out of reach for the viewer, the object is at long distance. At this distance, the object is represented as to be looked at.

But not only the distance to objects and persons is an important stylisitic device, the angle from which the story is told is significant, too. Different angles tell different stories. The camera can be shifted on every axis of the three-dimensional room and therefore express different relations to the depicted participants. "The horizontal angle encodes whether the image producer [...] is `involved´with the represented participants or not." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.136) If, for example, a depicted person is represented from an oblique angle, the viewer is not addressed by that participant. Whereas if a depicted person is portrayed from the front, the represented person is addressing the viewer or even demanding something from the viewer, given that he or she is looking at the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The important point is that if the participant is presented from an oblique angle, the viewer feels detached; if the participant is presented from the front, however, the viewer gets involved (Chouliaraki, 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). In addition also shifts on the vertical axis cause different relations to the represented participants.

> "If a represented participant is seen from a high angle, then the relation between the interactive participants (the producer of the image, and hence also the viewer) and the represented participants is depicted as one in which the interactive participant has power over the represented participant, the represented participant is seen from the point of view of power." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.140)

In line with this, a low angle provokes a relation in which the represented participant has power over the viewer and the producer. If the participants are depicted at eye-level, however, "there is no power difference involved." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.140)

In light of these different possibilities of representation I will examine how people are represented in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012); in other words whether they are depicted as actors, from a socially distanced perspective and from an oblique angle or not. This analysis provides insights about the process of deprivation from lines of social mobility and the process of othering the other as already discussed in the previous chapters.

Beyond that, other categories come into play when images are de- and encoded. In order to analyse pictures it is important to acknowledge where the elements are placed within the picture, which element is bigger, more colourful or brighter and set in the foreground. "Contextualization, a scale running from the absence of background to the most fully articulated and detailed background." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.161) Other visual components are, for example, the saturation, the brightness, the purity or the modulation of colours (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Notably, the conscious use of colours in a certain way to signify certain meanings is defined by the socio-historical use of colours. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also suggest that what is positioned on the left of an image belongs to the well – known hemisphere, while new participants or messages are positioned on the right hand side of the image.

> "If, in a visual composition, some of the constituent elements are placed in the upper part, and other different elements in the lower part of the picture space or the page, then what has been placed on the top is presented as the Ideal, and what has been placed at the bottom is put forward as the Real." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.186)

I have now described with great detail how to analyse an image, but as already mentioned in the beginning, when it comes to films and documentaries not only the images should be taken into account but also other elements, such as sounds and time. Therefore, let me now come back to the verbal mode of representation. A movie is an accumulation of several images, which narrate a story through time. The combination of images and athmospheric sounds, music and/or spoken words is a multimodal form of communication, which deserves separate attention. I will hence try to complete this concept of reading images with further insights from current film analysis studies. Moving images are, as their name already suggests, not static, and due to their dynamic

representation the depicted relations also become dynamic. For this reason, social relations can change throughout a movie.

> "[...] [T]he moving image can represent social relations as dynamic, flexible and changeable. Distance and angle can be dynamicized, and this in two ways: subject-initiated, with the represented participants initiating the change, or camera – iniated, with the image maker initiating the change [...]." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.261)

To do justice to the material, I will examine how the different participants were represented in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) in section five, case study results, through an analysis, which follows a multimodal analysis of film. For this purpose I will present the considerations of multimodal communication to the six levels of analysis by Rick Iedema (2001) in order to establish ties for an apt method of analysis and expand the toolbox for discourse analysis that I have introduced in the previous chapter by adding specific work-steps:

> "First, there are six levels of analysis: frame, shot, scene, sequence, stage and genre. Second, there are three metafunctions governing meaning: representation, orientation and organization. Less a tool than an interpretative principle, redundancy, or the question as to how patterns amplify one another through likeness, enables us to make inferences about specific camera and editing choices." (Iedema, 2001, p.201)

The point is that images and other communication modes transport discursive meanings. In order to critically analyse those meanings an approach which includes a mulitmodal literacy is needed. The difficulty lies in the multitude of communication modes involved in an analysis of film. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) explain in their book *Multimodal Discourse – The modes and media of contemporary communication* that meaning is made in discourse, design, production and distribution.

> "In trying to demonstrate the characteristics of these multimodal ensembles we have sketched a multimodal theory of communication which concentrates on two things: (1) the semiotic resources of communication, the modes and the media used, and (2) the communicative practices in which these resources are used." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p.111)

Apparently, some people attach significance or meaning to a certain smell. Other people understand the semiology of clothes, whereas still others understand the design of films.

It depends therefore on whether we use these resources for communication or not. It can be noted that moving from one mode to another mode of representation seems to generate real consequences, because the different modes vary in different possibilities of expression.

> "In the linguistic modes action as movement in various forms dominated, by contrast in the visual mode of the map, action was less in focus – other than in the linear layout of the elements, which however needed the support of written labels to make their meaning clearer." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p.132 f.)

Following this explanation, it might be the case that the images in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) are capable of representing something which is hardly or not at all represented through language. Moreover, it might occur that the spoken words relate to a different discourse than the images do. The images could contrast the music, sounds or languages presented at the same time. In other words, the different modes of communication may transport different meanings, contrast each other or accentuate different aspects of the same discourse. This applies especially to the media coverage on people in need. In the following section, I will discuss how the news broadcasts distant suffering.

2.4 News discourse on distant suffering

Couliaraki (2006) detected in her survey on the news discourse about distant suffering three different categories of news: adventure news, emergency news and ecstatic news. I want to examine the details of her findings and why they are relevant for the documentary – discourse. Chouliaraki (2006) defines 'cosmopolitanism' as an orientation, a willingness to relate to the 'Other'. This orientation can be established through contextualizing reports on distant sufferers, which examine the conditions of suffering and portray sufferers as agents who spectators can act on. In this chapter about the news discourse on distant suffering, three different types of mediation on distant suffering, following Chouliaraki, shall be explained, even though, as I already explained in the previous chapter, only one category of news enables cosmopolitanism. Saskia Sassen appears to relate to the same cosmopolitanism, when she states that "[i]f the current large-scale buying continues, we will lose this type of making that has given our cities their

cosmopolitanism“ (Sassen, 2015, p.1). The right to the city, in other words the right to property (United Nations, 2015, Article 17 HR) and the right to an adequate mediation, in which the dignity and humaness of the mediated individuals are preserved (cf. United Nations, 2015, Article 19 and Article 2 HR), are both essential human rights. The following chapters deal with the three different types of news discourses on people in need with regard to Chouliaraki (2006).

2.4.1 Adventure news

The first category is called adventure news. Here the spectators, as already expained, cannot feel for the distant sufferer, because the sufferer is dehumanized. Due to a certain type of mediation, the distant sufferer appears as deprived of his or her voice and his or her agency. On the level of the **verbal mode,** we can detect the following mediations that stand for what Chouliaraki (2006) calls ‘adventure news’:

- The sufferers are not allowed to talk for themselves. They are silenced.
- They are referred to in terms of numbers or other attributes.
- There are no reasons given for the occurrence of these tragic incidents.

Documentaries may also include sequences of “adventure news“. The question we have to ask in this case is whether these sequences outweigh the other sequences. Adventure news also unfold on a **visual dimension**. Chouliaraki (2006) claims that distant sufferers can appear as a mere dot on a map, a graphic or a satellite video. The previously mentioned constructions about distance also come into play within this type of mediation. People in need are not gazing at the camera, they are filmed as if they are a part of the ‘tableu vivant’, completely deprived of their agency (Chouliaraki, 2006).

The temporal mode suggests only one space and time (Chouliaraki,2006). This means that the tragic incident occurs as one without past and future effects. The **spatial mode** consists of abstract spaces (maps) and locations too far away. Beyond that, adventure news is void of agency. Neither the distant sufferers appear as being able to act, nor are there any other actors present in the scene. People in need are portrayed with their backs

to the camera, or from an oblique angle and in impersonal groups (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

2.4.2 Emergency news

According to Chouliaraki (2006) emergency news is visually and verbally more complicated than adventure news, and easily evokes emotions of pity. Moreover, emergency news are represented within multiple spaces and times. Nevertheless, the represented scenes are concrete and specific. Visually, the spectators are confronted with individualized images of sufferers with a face and a demanding look. Verbally, the spectators are informed about the concrete location, the names of the sufferer and so on. Safe spaces and dangerous spaces are connected via juxta-position. Sufferers appear as conditional actors. They either look at the camera or act in the scene of suffering.

> "They are sufferers caught in one or another form of ambivalent existence that simultaneously asserts and denies their humanity. The term conditional agency points to the inescapable duality of agency, a duality reminiscent of the conditional freedom of the spectator" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.124 f.).

Additional other actors appear in emergency news. These other actors are, as already mentioned, either benefactors or persecutors (Couliaraki, 2006). In the next chapter, I will briefly discuss the last category of news on suffering people.

2.4.3 Ecstatic news

The last category Chouliaraki (2006) mentions is ecstatic news. Ecstatic news invites the spectators to feel for people who appear like 'us'. Events that can be considered as ecstatic demand live coverage. The sufferers and the spectators recognize each other as sovereign actors, and the events are represented as being relevant for the world and as making history. The spectators are confronted among other things with verbal testimonies, references to the value of humanity and visualisations that render the scenery as an eternal present (cf. Chouliaraki, 2006, p.176). The questions that arise from these insights on the news discourse are whether the documentary offers a wider variety of mediations on suffering and whether the three mentioned versions of news can be found

in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012), and if so, to what extent. Do these three different types of reporting on people in need alternate? Which type of mediation outweighs the other types? Are there parallels between the news on suffering people and the documentary about gentrification in Istanbul? What is the abstract framework for an adequate mediation on people who are dispossessed? One abstract framework to report on citizens in need are the Human Rights. "Given the growing attention to cities and to globalization in cultural policy, we must continually remind ourselves of the significance of the national framework for cultural policy and of the international support for national systems of cultural governance" (Beale, 2008, p.60). For this reason, the international legal framework for human beings, and especially for vulnerable groups to participate in the polis and in the information society, will be discussed within the next sections.

2.5 Violated Human Rights

The aim of this chapter is to discuss an adequate mediation of suffering others, which has to face specific demands as laid out in the Human Rights declaration. Although this is a very obvious and logical claim, social injustice and violations of Human Rights are part of an ongoing mediation of oppressed minorities. Turkey has ratified several international human rights treaties (Unviversity of Minnesota, 2015) aiming for protection of all human beings, and especially vulnerable groups. But as the human rights foundation of Turkey (2006, p.7) claims in their human rights report "problems of internal displacement, harm to the environment, poverty, unemployment, health and accomodation have to be solved. Positive discrimination is needed for the region [...]".

Considering this demand, it can be safely argued that Turkey does not grant all citizens equal rights, because Turkey displaces and silences subaltern groups by means of gentrification. "The notion of 'voice' and legitimacy is what underscores 'communication rights' as a system of human rights provisions, including freedom of expression, access to information, the right to education and literacy, freedom of assembly, right to free movement and the right of dignity." (Sarikakis, 2012, p.802 f.) All these rights are supposed to be granted to all human beings regardless of their sex, gender, age, ethnicity or other categories. But, as will be shown, the practice of these rights in the Turkish society differs considerably from the laws (O'Neil and Toktas, 2014). The female

migrant, some ethnic minorities and the transgender sexworkers have to bear the brunt of these practices.

2.5.1 Violation of property rights in Istanbul

I will try to shed light on the process of silencing and annhilation of vulnerable groups in Istanbul. The female migrant suffers specially under several instances of deprivation of her voice. I am talking about female migrants already belonging to the Diaspora, i.e. female migrants who already settled in Istanbul (and not about migrants currently arriving). Similiarly to the female refugee who is silenced and annihilated (Sarikakis, 2012), the female migrant in the city also has to get by unacknowledged and deprived of her rights. Sarikakis (2012) diagnoses that female refugees are even more silenced and less heard than male refugees.

The imagery of affordable housing, cultural diversity and equal property rights concerns only some people, although it appears that property rights outweigh all other rights (Harvey, 2013). Female migrants are confronted with a process of "silencing and immobilization" (Sarikakis, 2012, p. 802), which is likely to be encountered again in the process of gentrification, where especially women - mostly belonging to an ethnic minority - are pushed to the outskirts of the city. During this displacement, the female slum dweller remains silent and is not heard. In the case of Istanbul, the government and other private construction firms present solutions which are in their own interests only (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). The interests of the dwellers are hardly acknowledged nor of real interest to the stakeholders. With regard to the rights of the voiceless other, Sarikakis hence concludes rightly, when she claims that "[s]ilencing produces a wrong" (Sarikakis, 2012, p.802). This wrong occurs in this case on several levels.

On the one hand, women are deprived of their property rights, which causes a growing urban poverty among women (Harvey, 2013). Globally, men tend to have more than women (Antonopoulos and Floro, 2005), which appears to be true for Turkey as well. Although Turkey has a secular law system and a secular constitutional framework, where equal rights for everybody are legally granted, there is still a gender gap when it comes to property rights (Lou O'Neil and Toktas, 2014). Amnesty International (2004) claims that men in Turkey own 92 per cent of all property.

In addition women face rigid gender roles, because they have less access to education, which leads to a higher number of women unable to read or write, and hence, in the long run to higher wages for men (Amnesty International, 2004). “While a right to property was contained in the Article 17 UDHR, there is still no binding treaty governing the protection of property at a global level“ (Kriebaum, 2012, p.401). Regarding the right to participate and communicate, during the process of gentrification, property rights come in handy. Property rights grant a say in the course of urban transformations and gentrifications. Nevertheless, not everybody in Turkey who owns property legally is protected from expropriation (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; cf. Harvey, 2013). Others, who are not able to prove their legal property rights, are depicted as thieves and crooks by the political discourse and the media (Harvey, 2013).

We can see how neglecting property rights is yet another form of silencing vulnerable minorities. Property rights can be used as leverage and in times of economical emergency they can be sold or pawned. “The owners categorized as ‘urban poor’ suffered a very different fate. They were initially shocked to hear that their porperties would be expropriated. Deception transformed into panic when municipality and the GAP started rushing the property owners to accept the offer“ (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1375 f.) Other owners, who did not want to sell, were “forced into tedious and costly juridical processes“, while those who sold their houses had to “wait for five years to get the monetary compensation“ (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p.1376). Some owners brought their cases to court with varying degrees of success. Internatioinal law defines that“[w]here there are unreasonable delays concerning the payment of compensation, the adequacy of the latter is diminished [...]“ (Kriebaum, 2012, p.405).

In addition to this, the Turkish media and the hegemonial power discourses dramatize the need of renewal and render it as an emergency that is of general public interest (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014; Appendices). Because of this discourse, it is hardly surprising that the majority of the population is in favor of the urban changes (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Safak, 2016, Appendix D; Islam, 2010; Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). This causes consequences similar to the silencing of refugees, namely “the abrupt break with normal politics, decision-making bypasses democratic processes and the

citizen is symbolically annihilated“ (Sarikakis, 2012, p.803). Vulnerable groups, such as women and ethnic and religious minorities in Istanbul are confronted with expropriation, displacement, annihilation and deprivation of their communication rights. These groups are represented by the media and the political discourses as pickpockets lacking private property rights, because they are not able to prove their longterm residence (Harvey, 2013). This practice also occurs in other cities around the globe, such as Mumbai, Delhi, Seoul, New York and others (cf. Harvey, 2013, p.17 f.; Azem, 2015, Appendix A). According to Harvey (2013) hardly any slum dwellers get compensation. In Istanbul, property rights were violated through a lack of compensation or through a delayed payment (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014; see also *Akkus v. Turkey*).

Installing property rights for slum dwellers or longterm dwellers of certain districts in Istanbul is no easy undertaking, because “[a] process of displacement and dispossession, in short, also lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism“ (Harvey, 2013, p.18). But the right to affordable housing and the pace of the clearance sell of the city should be discussed on a political level, and secure tenancy laws should be provided for everybody. The global city is more and more noticeably owned by private cooperations (Harvey, 2013; Sassen, 2015). And Sassen (2015) even detects that these cooperations are mostly foreign investors. So when the female dweller wants the street and the house she is living in to be renewed, but she does not want to sell it, the question that remains is whether and how she will be able to represent herself and her own interests to the foreign investors and the society. “Hoffentlich reißen sie es ab, dann kommt hier wieder Ordnung rein. Das möchte ich, aber verkaufen möchte ich nicht. Ich bin mit 19 Jahren hierhergekommen“ (anonymous woman, 2012, Appendix B). It is also questionable if she will be able to prove her private property rights. Female property owners, as already mentioned above, belong to the exception in Turkey. Through their lack of access to education, equal payment and the right to property, they are excluded from the ‘polis’, pushed out of the city.

> “The Greek city-state has been represented for centuries as the ideal model of democracy, with free and equal access for all citizens to decision making. Leaving aside, for the moment, the question of who was included and who excluded from this notion of citizenship, we can see the sense of place is fundamental to this model“ (Huws, 2008, p. 45).

Access to the city and a right to stay in the city are two essential rights vulnerable groups need, in order to be a part of the polis. But, as David Harvey (2012) suggests, security does not necessarily have to come from private property; it may also be installed through a "right to return". According to this, new ways of resistance and possible ways of shared ownership should be explored by the citizens in order to defend themselves from further deprivation, namely the deprivation of their social ties and their neighborhoods (Harvey, 2012; Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014, p.1371) contest this view of a collective solidarity and state, claiming that "[r]esidents often do not have a shared identity or mutual ties that facilitate coordinated collective action." Regardless of social ties, everybody deserves to have a shelter, because "[t]he right to adequate housing guarantees the right of human beings to live somewhere in security, peace and digntiy" (Lukas, 2012, p.318). According to this, tenants should also be protected from forced evictions, but "[t]he Turkish welfare state is weakly developed, informal solutions to housing problems are common, and tenant rights are weak" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014, p. 1372). People affected by gentrification also suffer from "structural disparities in economic and juridical power" (Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014).

How is it even possible to expropriate tangible, immovable properties, such as real estate porperty, houses, flats and other forms of housing? "For an expropriation to be justified, the deprivation of property has to be in the public interest, in accordance with national and international law and proportionate with regard to the public purpose to be achieved" (Kriebaum, 2012, p.403). But what is in the public interest? A democratic society has to balance different interests, and allowances should be made for the weakest link in the chain, the most vulnerable and the most silent groups. Three laws are mentioned by Imre Azem (2015, Appendix A) which enabled the expropriations and evictions in Turkey:

1. **The law for protection of historic and cultural places**

This law is also known as *law on the protection of deteriorated historic and cultural heritage through renewal and re-use*. "[...] Sulukule was demolished under this law, because it was built in a historic part of the city, near the city walls and the government claimed that to protect the historic sites that they have to demolish the neighborhood" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A). Under this same law, Tarlabasi is being renewed as well (Islam, 2009).

2. **Prevention of Gecekondus (informal settlements)**

The *Gecekondu Law*, which was enacted in 1966, aimed to demolish and prevent Gecekondus, and is still in use today (Demirtas and Sen, 2007). According to Demirtas and Sen (2007), the media representation of Gecekondus changed over the years due to changing politics of urbanization. For example, politicians granted the informal dwellers amnesty laws in order to get their votes (Demirtas and Sen, 2007). Depending on the government's interests, the definition and the media representation of the Gecekondus varied throughout the years.

3. **Disaster law**

The Disaster Law, law number 6306, was passed in 2012. The Ministry of the Environment and Urbanization now has the power to determine areas with high risk and to demolish, rebuild or to strengthen the buildings in this area.

> "Traditionally, the development juggernaut in Turkey has relied on empty lots and neighborhoods, which, in the eyes of the elite, "beg for gentrification" (such as Roma neighborhoods, areas populated by African immigrants or transsexuals or neighborhoods where just plain poor people live), as its fodder. With the Disaster Law, anything - including cemeteries and newly built apartment blocks - become a space to be transformed" (Altintas, 2013, p.1).

Another area where silencing in Turkey takes place is the media. The media hardly represents the interests of the minorities living in dilapidated districts (Sakizlioglu and

Uitermark, 2014; Demirtas and Sen, 2007; Appendices A, B, C, D). For this reason I will try to shed some lights on the current situation of the media in Turkey.

2.5.2 Media landscape in Turkey

The national media situation in authoritarian democracies is likely to cause a national media scepiticism, because fair and unbiased reporting is not guaranteed.

> "[In authoritarian democracies allegations] can easily be constructed: This leads from accusations of supporting terrorist organisations (e.g. when someone is reporting about cruelties against freedom fighters) to treason (e.g. if someone reports about problems in the army of a state)" (Herzceg, 2012b, p.389).

In Turkey, the number of imprisoned journalists rose from seven in 2014 to fourteen in 2015 (hurriyetdailynews, 2015). Due to the fact that the national media in Turkey is either state-owned or owned by few large media corporations that benefit financially from writing in favor for the government, journalists fear authority and censorship (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Veglioglu, 2016, Appendix C; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendix E). But a free media is essential for communication that fosters cultural diversity and inclusiveness.

> "Media and human rights stand in a dialectic relationship to each other. The right of freedom of expression requires free media and free media is a necessary precondition for a society committed to human rights" (Herczeg, 2012a, p.60).

The media landscape consists of the state television and radio broadcaster TRT, around 300 private television stations, 1000 private radio stations and around 40 major newspapers (BBC, 2013). One of the biggest media conglomerates was the Dogan Media Group, a former subsidiary of the Dogan Holding. In 2014, the Dogan Holding took over the Dogan Media Group with all its "assets and liabilities" (Doganholding, 2014). "However, commercial media are often only interested in producing mainstream information and less alternative news" (Herczeg, 2012, p.61). The Dogan Holding has several business areas, such as energy, media, retail, industry, real estate and others (Doganholding 2014). These other business areas may have an impact on the reporting of certain topics and especially on the reporting of urban transformations. With regard to the

media landscape in Turkey, "[s]ome critics point to a questionable relationship between media bosses and the government, via their activity in other industrial sectors" (Girit, 2013, p.1).

Hence, there are big media conglomerates with their private interests and ties on the one hand, while on the other hand, we find the government, which also tries to stay in power through profiting of an opportunistic mediation of their interests. The Turkish government often suspends television or radio stations, if they happen to publish delicate materials (BBC, 2013), which may lead to reporting that is neither reliable nor critical on the regime (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Veglioglu, 2016, Appendix D; Tugba and Tugce, Appendix E). Another example for this widespread self-censorship is the fact that during the outbreak of the protests on Istanbul's Taksim Square, Turkish media have barely covered the unrest (Hafezi, 2013). The present media situation in a country like Turkey, where journalists are imprisoned and censorship still plays an important role, violates the human rights of freedom of speech and freedom of press (cf. ORF online. 2015; Girit, 2013). In 2014, "the European Court of Human Rights found 94 violations of human rights by Turkey" (Sinclair-Webb, 2015, p.1).

After the Gezi-protests, the human rights situation has deteriorated and opposition is hardly tolerated. Moreover, the Kurdish people in the East of Turkey suffer from round-the-clock curfews and violence against protesters (the Guardian, 2015, p.1). The Kurds are a highly sensitive topic and it is not unusual that journalists are prosecuted or arrested, if they criticize the government for its actions against the Kurdish people (BBC, 2013; Velioglu, 2016, Appendix D). In this hostile environment, where oppositional media is threatened with suspension and journalists are imprisoned, alternative political discourses, including minorities, are hardly represented (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Veglioglu, 2016, Appendix D, Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendix E). However, not everybody, who criticized the government for its actions got persecuted or arrested (Veglioglu, 2016, Appendix D; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendix E).

Notions of self-censorship and fear of authority become apparent, when we take a closer look at some of the statements from the interviews I conducted. Safak Velioglu (2012, Appendix C; 2016, Appendix D) lived close to Tarlabasi and was the founder of a music,

art and performance hall close to Taksim square, called kooperatif. He had to move his business to a different place due to gentrification. “After the rent for the place quadrupled, he had no choice but to close the bar“ (Powell, 2014). Safak Velioglu gave an interview to the CNN (Powell, 2014) about this topic, and after complaining publicly about the ongoing transformations, he felt slightly scared. “But afterwards I thought: ‘Oh my god, I gave an interview about gentrification and using kooperatif and my name. So maybe they will fuck me next day.’ But nobody came, nobody gives a shit.“ (Velioglu, 2016, Appendix D) Similar experiences have been made by Imre Azem (2015), the director of the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). Imre Azem (2015) and Safak Velioglu (2016) were both hoping for a reaction from the government, but the government remained silent. “Like to us we didn’t see a reaction. Like we didn’t hear anyone talk about it on television or anything. No official reaction. It means we didn’t do something right. I don’t know.“ (Azem, 2015, Appendix A) Apparently, not every uttered accusation obtains a reaction from the government, even though the government seems to be aware of the accusations.

> “One of the journalists who wrote about our film in her newspaper. She invited, when it had the cinema release, she invited the mayor of Istanbul to watch the film with her in the cinema in her article and she said that after seeing, after reading the article the mayor called her and he said that he doesn’t have time to go to the cinema, but that he is aware of it and that he is following it [...].“ (Azem, 2015, Appendix A)

Community and grassroot media networks, such as sendika.org or Capul TV, try to give “voice to the voiceless“ (Sarikakis, 2012). But in addition to the threats connected with suppression of freedom of speech, there is also the fact that those media networks have to support themselves via donations and unpaid labour, which render them in precarious situations (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendix E). Documentaries from activist groups and free journalists can also serve the purpose of representing people in need and cultural diversity.

What concerns me here is the question of how the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) restored the humanness of displaced others, in other words how those mediations gave voice to the voiceless. Whether vulnerable minorities, subaltern groups, got sufficient chance to speak for themselves and how the documentary tried to emancipate the

expropriated, shall be analyzed based on a case study about the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). The documentary was screened on several festivals, in different neighborhoods, in universities and in cinemas all over Turkey as well as in other countries, such as Germany, Switzerland and Austria (Azem, 2015, Appendix A). The cinema release was in 2012 and the documentary was screened in Turkish cinemas for ten weeks (Azem, 2015, Appendix A). According to Imre Azem (2015) around 10.000 people watched the documentary in the cinemas.

> Nonetheless, for the director Imre Azem (2015, Appendix A) the most "effective screenings were the university and the neighbourhood screenings. [B]ecause those are the people we don't really reach by any of these mediums [...], because the only way to reach really, like truely reach a mass audience in Turkey is through television. Internet doesn't reach everyone, cinema you don't reach everyone, DVD you don't reach everyone and but we couldn't make it to mainstream television, but we tried to do some neighbourhood screenings. We did many, many of them. Perhaps we needed to do more of them, but those I found the most effective in what the film was trying to achieve. Neighbourhood screenings and university screenings, those were like our main target audiences, people who are living and experiencing this transformation for them to understand that this is happening not only to them, but this is happening as a general economic model to the whole city, like for them to understand that they are part of a much bigger plan. [...] So we tried to focus on these two things".

It seems that there is no counterdocumentary to the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). According to Tugba and Tugce (2015, Appendix E) from sendika.org and Capul TV, it is the advertisements by construction firms that form the counterpart to the documentary. Safak Velioglu (2016 Appendix D), too claims that the government advertises those forced relocations as necessary for the public good and that this counteracts the critical position of the documentary or other oppositional mediations. Nevertheless, the reactions to the documentary varied. From a lack of reaction by the government to several awards, such as the Human Rights Award, everything was represented (Hürriyetdailynews, 2012). The city planner Faruk Göksü mentioned that he was moved by the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) and demanded at the Turkish Real Estate Summit 12 that the social aspects of those rapid urban transformations should not be ignored any longer (Hürriyetdailynews, 2013). Therefore, it is safe to say that some of the people who watched the documentary did not watch it with indifference. Some of the viewers reacted, either by uttering their opinion at a summit or writing a newspaper article about this topic

and the documentary. Imre Azem (2015) was also confronted with very varied reactions from the audience:

> "When you show it in the neighbourhoods, some aspects they know better than the movie, because they live it, you know. So they can make the connection to their own life, to what's happening to their neighbourhood and erm I think we did succeed in having them understand, to see the bigger picture, with the transportation issue, with the housing issue, with the economic model. That what's happening is not an isolated thing of their neighborhood, but it's a citywide project. It helps them to make a connections between the third bridge and their neighborhood and between some shopping mall that is coming to a nearby neighborhood, thats the transformation is taking place in their neighbourhood. They can make those connections. So that was really good, to see those reactions. When we showed it outside of Turkey, it kind of shattered this rosy picture of Istanbul as this up'n'coming new hip metropolicy, you know. It was more like a wake-up call to a lot of people. So the reactions were different. At universities I was really glad to see that the students were really engaged with the issues, they were really concerned about their future, about the city they are going to live in and their willingness to really change things. So that was really good to see. I tried to attend a lot of screenings myself, at the universities and... It makes me hopeful to see that kind of reaction from students" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

The documentary was also criticized for its lack of detailed solutions and for being ideologically charged (cf. Koelemaij, 2014), although on the other hand, some assumed that the documentary foreshadowed the Gezi-uprisings in 2013 and that it played a crucial role in informing the society about the urban transformations in Istanbul (Hürriyet, 2013; Azem, 2015, Appendix A). Before I will elaborate on this topic with more emphasis in section 5.3.2, impact of the documentary, I will introduce into this work another human right that should be regarded while mediating vulnerable groups, namely the right to equality and non-discrimination.

2.5.3 Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination

A communication that fosters cultural diversity and inclusiveness, necessarily needs to alleviate "structural discriminations" and mechanisms of exclusion (Wladasch, 2012, p.310). In practice, many vulnerable groups are excluded inter alia from access to communication and mediation.

> "The right not to be discriminated against originates in the old idea that all human beings are equal before the law and should therefore also be treated equally. The principle of non-discrimination goes further than that, since it recognises the fact that human beings are not equal as such, that this can lead to discrimination and that therefore, in order to provide for full equality, more has to be done than treating people equally" (Wladasch, 2012, p.307).

Following this logic, vulnerable groups such as women, ethnic or religious minorities, people with different gender identies or sexual orientations, people with different social and educational backgrounds, family status or different physical abilities should be included through a mediation that represents all affected vulnerable groups. But, as Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) detected, the diversity of Tarlabasi was not represented in the media and in the political discourse.

Therefore a critical investigation of the material should bring forward whether the mediation of vulnerable groups is representative or does at its best even more for those marginalized groups. I will deal with further consequences of the documentary within the next chapters, where I will also scrutinize the encountered problems and challenges of mediating marginalized groups in Turkey by the director of the documentary and by grassroot journalists and activists in Turkey, but first I want to take a look at the methodological framework. In the next section, I will explain the methods for this case study and I will also describe the research materials.

3 Materials and Methods

The problem at hand demands an emancipating mediation of the subaltern aiming to change social inequalities. It is necessary to conceptualize a method of research in which subaltern groups are not only talked about, let alone silenced or dehumanized once again, but in which they are included and therefore talked with rather than about. This leads to the conclusion that a sphere where marginalized groups regain their appelative power should be created.

> "Community- or organization based research projects by local participants and university- based researchers seeking to transform social inequalities have been described as action research (AR), participatory research (PR), or participatory action research (PAR)." (Lykes and Coquillion, 2007, p.297)

The proposed research aims to achieve a transformation in the mediation of distant suffering by developing new frames of cultural orientation. The background for these cultural orientations are the Human Rights.

> "So the innovative (problem solving) and intrinsic rationality is a matter of communication. It is the competence focus to develop new frames of cultural orientation: which performance - in fact - diversity. The cultural rationality of communication is the resource (reservoir) to manage conflicts and crises." (Bauer, 2006, p.249)

Human Rights provide the communicative framework in which subaltern positions can be empowered and hence perform cultural diversity. This way, an enhancement in communicating diversity may provoke a system change and lead towards agency. The outline of this research consists of a critical discourse analysis of a documentary dealing with social issues, in this case gentrification processes in Istanbul, of interviews with the director of this documentary, and of interviews with people who are or will be affected by gentrification in Istanbul. This is a highly optimistic undertaking, trying to overcome hegemonic power constellations. Certainly this research is limited by a huge range of communication problems. The most obvious problem which occurs while thinking of engaging with people from another country is the problem of translation, a problem also addressed by Lykes and Coquillon (2007) who argue that

> "{...} we identify challenges facing those who seek to engage with communities and their indigenous knowledge systems and suggest that despite the best intentions, researchers nonetheless sometimes recapitulate systems of hierarchical power and inequality, in their interventions." (Lykes and Coquillon, 2007, p.300)

In a critical analysis of the outcome of this engagement reflecting on the limitations of this research the possible ways of interaction with subaltern groups should be generated. To clarify this, I will outline the methodological underpinnings of the research design in the following chapter.

3.1 Methodology

The previous considerations and the topic of this thesis per se demand a critical approach in which the material is not only analyzed but also evaluated and therefore criticized. Discourse analysis can be understood as "a broad category of approaches to communication" (Schneider, 2013). Keller (2011, p. 47) also states that "[...] the concept of discourse spread, causing a whole field of approaches to discourse[...], which, to be clear, do not all refer to Foucault." Nonetheless, I will briefly discuss the most significant tendencies towards discourse analysis in order to introduce the definition most suitable for this paper.

> Keller (2011, p.47) claims that "[d]iscourse theory as established by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe addresses discourse as political struggles for hegemony. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) represented by Norman Fairclough in the U.K., Ruth Wodak in the UK and in Austria or Siegfried Jäger in Germany, originating from within sociolinguistics, establishes a critique of ideological functions of language use. And discourse analysis in the tradition of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis addresses issues of the ordering of communication in interactional settings [...]."

Taking these three approaches into consideration we can ascertain that only slight differences can be discerned between different discourse analysis approaches. Reiner Keller (2011) developed a discourse analysis approach called "The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)".

> Keller (2011, p.48) argues that SKAD differs from critical discourse analysis by claiming that "[t]he approaches [...] cannot (and maybe do not aim to) account for the sociohistorical processings of knowledge and symbolic orderings in larger institutional fields and social arenas. This is particularly clear in research done by Critical Discourse Analysis, which implies that the researcher knows and unmasks the ideological and strategic use of language by 'those in power' in order to 'manipulate the people'."

I agree with Keller (2011) in so far as it is important to take into consideration "the sociohistorical processings of knowledge and symbolic orderings in larger institutional fields and social arenas", but with regard to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) and Jäger (2004), critical discourse analysis also considers social processes, because it occurs that these sociohistorical processes are themselves the result of discourse. In other words "CDA [critical discourse analysis] views language as discourse, understood as an element of the social process which is dialecticaly related to others." (Chouliaraki; Fairclough, 2010, p.1214) Therefore, it should be possible to unmask power relations and explore how dominance and resistance work through language and other modes of representation with critical discourse analysis.

Siegfried Jäger (cf. 2004, p.223) thinks critical discourse analysis ahead as he claims that every discourse analysis is already per se a critical discourse analysis. According to Jäger it lies in the nature of discourse analysis to criticize:

> "Solche Analysen können also bereits zeigen, mit Hilfe welcher Symbole, welcher Argumentationsstrategien etc. welche Inhalte in wessen Interesse im Diskurs verwendet werden. So weit kann man Diskursanalyse als per se kritisch bezeichnen." (Jäger, 2004, p.223)

Both approaches draw similar observations and equip to think critically. A thorough contextualization of the analyzed material is indispensable; it also helps to understand historical processes and contexts better. Nonetheless, even within critical discourse analysis the approaches slightly differ. Jäger (2004) criticizes that some approaches within critical discourse analysis tend to be biased. He argues that the tendency to partisanship for suppressed human beings should be avoided. (cf.Jäger, 2004, p.225) Jäger defines critical discourse analysis as following.

> "Es geht nicht darum, den Sinn der Geschichte zu entdecken, sondern tatsächliche historische Verläufe (Diskurse) und ihre Regularitäten, Formen, Strukturen und Akzeptanzbemühungen und ihre gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen in ihren jeweiligen Singularitäten aufzudecken oder allenfalls darum, >>die Sinne<<, die die Menschen ihrem Tun und Sein unterstellen und das jeweilige Bewußtsein und Wollen der Menschen zu entdecken" (Jäger, 2004, p. 225).

That is also the view of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010), whose idea of critical discourse analysis I broadly subscribe to.

> Therefore "a relational – dialectic conception of discourse that understands context in deliberately contingent and broad terms, as articulations of language with other 'moments' of social practice, and a [...] purposefully porous and integrationist orientation to research methodology that privileges trans-disciplinarity over rigour" form the basis of my methodological considerations. (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010, p.1218)

In order to analyze how different hegemonic discourses influence mediation, critical discourse analysis seems to be the right choice from methodologies available. There is no certain method to conduct a critical discourse analysis, but certain methods have been used successfully to conduct a critical discourse analysis. Most of the conducted studies have analyzed the use of language, but visual mediations and therefore multimodal methods become ever more important. Political discourses and hegemonic discourses are also apparent in films, documentaries, videos and pictures.

The way we visualize reality follows a certain tradition and certain ways of interpreting reality, i.e. different discourses. This visualization of various discourses provokes an iteration of already existing discourses and a combination of them with each single one following a specific sociohistoric tradition of visualitation. The aesthetic sense is socioculturally oriented. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p.14) also understand their book *Reading Images – The Grammar of Visual Design* "as a contribution to a broadened CDA." I already reflected on their grammar for visual design in order to introduce a method for analyising films, documentaries and discourses in images. In the next chapter I will complete the proposed research method with further relevant theoretical terms.

3.2 Method

The way different meanings are depicted in images always follows a sociohistorically tradition. Therefore the visualisation and depiction analyzed in this paper corresponds with a contemporary visual design of Western cultures. This is defined, for example, by reading images from the left to the right side and from top to bottom (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Due to an ongoing globalization and world wide connectedness images tend to express local and global visualisation forms. We can assume that a western depiction of different elements in the selected documentary are dominant, but that local visualisation forms may also come into play. In a simplified way the process of visualisation can be explained by a process where the sign-maker chooses to represent a certain element (person, object, etc.) through selecting an adequate and suitable sign. The chosen sign should therefore to some extent resemble the criteria of the element. Signs and representations become naturalized and conventional through their repeated use. Their use is governed by social constellations of power, i.e. they follow discoursive traditions.

Three different versions of signs are mentioned by Kress and van Leeuwen. The **icon** resembles the signified, which in other words means that the icon looks like the element it tries to depict. The **index** relates temporarily or spatially to the signifier. The **symbol** is a sign defined by social agreement. It appears that images become more and more important in mediated, modern societies. Also Alloa (2015) mentions that the pictorial turn which was detected in the 1990s is still going on. Following this notion, being able to read images is an essential aspect of media literacy.

> Nonetheless "[t]he problem which we face is that literate cultures have systematically suppressed means of analysis of the visual forms of representation, so that there is not, at the moment, an established theoretical framework within which visual forms of representation can be discussed." (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.23)

Images are sometimes still seen as subservient to the text, when in fact they do not necessarily have to be. Moreover, they are able to articulate meanings, which differ from the written text surrounding them. There are several criteria of visual components that can be analyzed. Images depict not only symbols, icons and indexes, but also relations between the different elements as well as with the producer of the image. With his

deptiction, the image's producer relates to the viewer by offering a set of narrative representations. In the table below, the six levels of film analysis as defined by Rick Iedema (2001) are shown in order to provide specific levels of analysis and worksteps.

Figure number two: six levels of anaylsis

Table 9.1 Six levels of tele-film analysis.

	Level	Description
1	Frame	A frame is a salient or representative still of a shot
2	Shot	In a shot the camera movement is unedited (uncut); if the camera's position changes this may be due to panning, tracking, zooming, and so on, but not editing cuts
3	Scene	In a scene the camera remains in one time–space, but is at the same time made up of more than one shot (otherwise it would be a shot)
4	Sequence	In a sequence the camera moves with specific character(s) or sub-topic across time–spaces; when it is hard to decide whether you're dealing with a scene (1 time–space) or a sequence (multiple time–spaces), this is because editors may render time–space breaks as either more obvious (-> sequence boundary) or less obvious (-> scene boundary)
5	Generic stage	Roughly, stages are beginnings, middles and endings; each genre has a specific set of stages: narratives tend to have an orientation, a complication, a resolution and maybe a coda; factual or expository genres may have an introduction, a set of arguments or facts and a conclusion, or an introduction and a series of facts or procedures
6	Work as a whole	Depending on the lower levels, the work will be more or less classifiable as a particular genre; the primary distinction is between 'narrative' (fictional, dramatic genres) and 'factual' (expository, thematic, issue-oriented genres); genres are predictable relations between social–cultural, industrial–economic and symbolic–mythic orders

(Iedema, 2001, p.189)

These six levels should be combined with three metafunctions, which are, as mentioned above, representation, orientation and organization (Iedema, 2001, p.191). I have already underpinned the term **representation** theoretically in chapter two. What Iedema (2001) describes as **orientation** is considered by Chouliaraki (2006) as the possibility of an image or a text to provoke a certain view. Both views agree on the essential meanings and functions of visual images and other multimodal texts. Therefore I can record the fact that various representations lead to different perceptions, but that they also position the viewers or readers in a certain way, i.e. they are capable of positioning the viewer or reader as a cosmopolit. The third metafunction, **organisation,** "concerns how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic text" (Iedema, 2001, p.192). I will therefore take a greater look at how the documentary and its stories unfold. A sequence protocol and a detailed shot protocoll of the documentary will serve this particular purpose.

3.3 Ekümenopolis – film synopsis

The award-winning documentary *Ekümenopolis* by Imre Azem (2015, Appendix) was published in 2011; cinema release and DVD release followed in 2012. The title of the documentary refers to the word Ecumenopolis, which was invented by Constantinos Doxiadis in the 1960s. Ecumenopolis means, according to Doxiadis, a worldwide city.

> "Da das Hauptmerkmal jeder menschlichen Siedlungsform ihr ständiges Wachstum ist, dürfen wir annehmen, daß diese Siedlungen wachsen werden, bis sie letzten Endes ein Netz von Ansiedlungen bilden, das sich über die ganze Erdoberfläche ausdehnt. Wir werden schließlich eine einzige, riesige Siedlung haben, welche die ganze Erde bedeckt und eine universale Siedlung sein wird; wir werden dann die letzte voraussehbare Stufe erreicht haben, die Ecumenopolis" (Doxiades, 1964, p.16).

According to Doxiades, the ecumenopolis is already becoming reality, and we should not neglect or question the existence of a worldwide city, but we should rather get prepared for it. The ecumenopolis represents the idea of an everlasting growth, expansion and interconnectednesss of cities. The documentary tells the story of Istanbul and its current urban developments; hence the documentary deals with the issues of city renewal, gentrification, environmental problems, urban design and further difficulties megacities and their inhabitants face due to the mushroom growth. In order to illustrate these developments, experts are interviewed, and families loosing their housing are accompanied in their struggle to fight the unpreventable gentrification. The documentary tries to depict the social consequences of urban construction, putting forward the argument that the changes Istanbul faces follow neoliberal policies. Gentrification not only increases the value of the properties, but also deprives poorer communities of affordable housing. This conflict of interests between the communities, who are displaced and disowned, and the urban planners and new property owners on the other hand, is at the core of the documentary.

I will scrutinize how people in need are visualized, and whether they have the possibility to talk for themselves or not. I will conduct a critical discourse analysis in order to examine the various ways of mediation of distant suffering. The research design stems from a multimodal approach developed by Günther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2001), and Lilie Chouliaraki (2006).

4 Experimental research design

The research design for my thesis comprises of a combination of methods; it includes critical discourse analysis – in this case an analysis of the seleceted documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) - and qualitative interviews with experts and affected habitants. I will start the analysis of the documentary with a sequence protocol and, in a further step, I will create a detailed shot protocol from selected relevant scequences. Drawing from the work of to Bogner, Littig and Menz (2014), I developed a guided expert interview in order to retrieve relevant background information from the director of the documentary as well as from grassroot media activists in Turkey. I also conducted interviews with citizens, who have been affected by gentrification in Istanbul. The research questions should be answered with this combination of complementing qualitative methods.

4.1 Interviewing experts and affected persons

First of all I want to contextualize the documentary within a broader framework through an interview with the director of the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). This broader framework stands for the documentary discourse on gentrification in Istanbul. The guided expert interview was developed following Bogner, Littig and Menz (2014). It consists of three to eight main topics and one to three main questions, and is supposed to take no longer than 90 minutes. I developed the following five main topics relevant for this study: **professional career**, **production of the documentary**, **impact and reception of the documentary**, **counter positions and opposing views** and the **evaluation of the interview**. The guided expert interview with all its questions can be found in Appendix F.

The questions were slightly adapted while talking with different interview partners; hence, the questions referred all to the same issues, but they varied depending on the interview partner(s). For example, the representatives of one of the grassroot media organisations in Turkey were confronted with slightly different questions than the director of the documentary. Furthermore the people who have been affected by the gentrification process in Istanbul have also been confronted with slightly different questions (Appendices).

Qualitative research samples tend to be small, because the phenomenon in question only needs to occur once in order to be part of the research. Some scholars also come to the conlcusion that data saturation can appear within the first interviews (Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006). In line with this and given that these interviews represent one out of two parts of the research method, a sample of four interviews seemed to be adaquate. Regardless of that I have to admit the fact that the sample does not satisfy all the requirements for a communication of cultural diversity, simply because of its size. I also tried to take into account demographical differences while engaging with participants, but the demographic variety is limited to the size of the sample and my limited Turkish language skills.

Although I managed to talk to one affected woman (in Turkish) and one affected man in Tarlabasi, no new interviews were initiated due to moral and ethical considerations. More interviews could have brought about visible benefits for the research and, in the long run, for the mediation of marginalized groups, but it would not have immidiately alleviated their misery. The interviews took place in Istanbul and were conducted in person, except for one interview, which was conducted online via Skype. Two interviews took place in 2012. At that time I interviewed Safak Velioglu and a woman who wants to remain anonymous in Tarlabasi. In 2016, I interviewed Safak Velioglu again in order to understand the consequences of the renewal of the house called *Rumeli Han,* in which his art and performance hall *kooperatif* used to be. The interviews were not a primary source for aquiring informations; I investigated and analyzed the issue through a dialectical approach of critically questioning exisiting materials, studies, documents, legal decisions and the documentary. The following ethical considerations were reconsidered before engaging with people in need and other interviewees.

4.1.1 Ethical considerations

Interviewers clearly have moral obligations while interviewing vulnerable people, who have been affected by gentrification in Istanbul. First, of all it is necessary to ensure the voluntary participation of all interviewees. Further the ethical considerations regarding interviews with people who have been or will be affected by gentrification, as well as experts, are to inform the interviewees about the research topic and to inform them about their right to stay anonymous. Beyond that, the participants should also be informed about

the right to delete their data. Additionally, only people capable of providing their full consent at all levels of the interview were interviewed. In line with this maxime, only healthy adults were interviewed. The interviewees were informed about the possibility not to answer unpleasant questions, which might cause psychological stress. The participating interviewees were informed about the fact that the data will be published. Some of the findings of the conducted interviews were already incorporated in other chapters of this work. The last remaining insights shall be presented within the following chapters. Another part of the research method is the sequence protocol.

4.2 Sequence and shot protocol

A sequence protocol tries to mark the important events in a film or a documentary, in other words it gives an overview of the different sequences in a movie or a documentary, whereas a shot protocol investigates more closely the various mediations. Therefore, I hope to achieve better insights with a detailed analysis of the shot protocol. Before that, I want to name the discursive participants as well as their professions of the documentary.

- Haluk Sur, Real Estate Investment companies
- Recep Tayyip Erdogan, former Prime Minister of Turkey
- Mücella Yapici, Istanbul Chamber of Architects
- Ali Agaoglu, Müteahhit (entrepeneur)
- Mustafa Sönmez, economist/writer
- Yves Cabannes, development planning unit, University College London, UN Habitat AGFE chairperson
- Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal, UN Habitat AGFE local consultant
- Kasim Aydin (affected person from Ayazma)
- Ömer Akvaranli (affected person from Ayazma)
- Tacettin Acar (affected person from Ayazma)
- Yildirim (Bakan)
- Oktay Ekinci, architect/journalist, former chairman, Chamber of Architects
- Kadir Topbas, Istanbul Büyüksehir Belediye Baskani
- Haluk Gercek, Istanbul Technical University - Director, 1996 Istanbul Transportation Masterplan

- Hüseyin Kaptan, architect/city planner – founding director of Istanbul metropolitan planning center
- Sükrü Aslan, sociologist at Mimar Sinan University
- Knut Unger, Witten Tenants Association
- Hatice Kurtulus, city sociologist at Istanbul University
- Levent Umac (affected person)
- Cafer Gitmez (affected person)
- Ömer Kiris, Tozkoparan Mahalle dernegi (Tozkoparan neighborhood organisation)

5 Case study results

I will start this analysis by providing a rough overview by a sequence protocol of the documentary. After introducing the different sequences, I will discuss the findinigs of the shot protocol and the conducted interviews. Next the different sequences of *Ekümenopolis* (2012) will be arranged.

5.1.1 Ekümenopolis

First sequence: A phantom ride through Istanbul. Mainly construction sites, high-rise buildings, shopping malls, streets and cars are visible. A woman who is not shown talks in the background. A child is shown in a poor home, but it is not talking.

Second sequence: Exposition: "Bir Istanbul hikayesi – Istanbul's history." The animation depicts former forced migrations in Istanbul and the historical background of the city developments. Hardly any animations of distant sufferers or benefactors. Workers and rich company owners or politicians are visualized differently. Some of the workers appear to look the same, whereas the company owners frequently smoke cigars, wear suits and are depicted chubbily.

Third sequence: "First chapter: The global city". Pictures of high-rise buildings, shopping malls and shanty towns in Istanbul are provided as a visual background to a series of interviews with experts. Followed by a long series of shots from people all over

the world being dispossessed and displaced. None of the displaced homeowners are talking.

Fourth sequence: Demolition of tents in Ayazma, Istanbul. The story of the affected persons begins to unfold. A commercial of the company owner Agaoglu is shown. A local consultant is talking. In this scene, expropriated individuals from Ayazma are talking to the camera; for the first time in the documentary, subaltern groups have the opportunity to talk. (Ekümenopolis, 2012, 22.53') While they are talking, different pictures of dilapidated neighbourhoods are shown.

Fifth sequence: "Second chapter: The dynamics of the system" The experts claim that the transformation processes provoke ghost towns and uninhabitable city parts for future generations. Experts are talking, advertisments by the construction firms are shown and audiorecordings from other sources (either television recordings or radio recordings) can be heard. In this sequence, no one belonging to the subaltern groups is represented.

Sixth sequence: "Third Chapter: The Third Bridge" New roads attract more traffic and new development. This will cause an ecological catastrophe. The government claims that it will ease the traffic problems in the city. Once again experts, politicians and construction workers are represented. Some visual graphics illustrate the urban growth of Istanbul.

Seventh sequence: Ayazma November. People from Ayazma are on a television show called Esra Ceyhan show – audiovisual recordings from that television show are shown. The families from Ayazma get their installments paid for one year by the mayor after they staked their claims in the televsion show. TOPLU KONUT İDARESİ BAŞKANLIĞI (TOKI, 2015), which stands for Housing development administration of Turkey, invites the families from Ayazma for a drawing of their new houses, which are still under construction. In addition, the new houses are far away and TOKI wants 15.000 Turkish Lira as a down payment.

Eighth sequence: "Fourth chapter: Anti-social housing." Experts talk about social housing projects from Hamburg in the 1960ies. The experts mention that those houses have been bombed down elsewhere. Y.C. incites the displaced tenants to stand up for

their rights by telling them that they should unite. Only one family remained in Tasoluk – the new home for the residents from Sulukule. People from Fatih, who are affected or will be affected by gentrification, are talking about their struggles. However, some of the depicted participants in the scene do not get the chance to talk for themselves.

Ninth sequence: "Chapter 5: Plan, Capital, Democracy." According to some of the experts the politicians build the city against all sientific plans. Again traffic jams and graphic visualization dominate the first minutes of this sequence. But also one of the families from Ayazma is filmed in their new house. The sequence ends with some people from Ayazma watching the U2 concert in the stadium, close to where they used to live, from a hill a bit further away from the stadium.

Tenth sequence: "The Neighborhood." The government demolished the houses of the dwellers in Tozkoparan, because they were not able to withstand an earthquake. Protesters are demonstrating for the restitution of their rights to the city. Experts and affected persons are visible and to a certain extent active. The film ends dramatically with pessimistic future prospects for Istanbul.

5.2 Shot protocol

Some of the important sequences shall be analyzed in greater detail. I chose to investigate two main sequences because, in my point of view, the selected sequences represent two slightly different mediations of people in need, and these scequences were also very important for the development of the story. The first sequence I will analyze is the fourth one shown. I chose this sequence because in this sequence one of the affected people from Ayazma was talking into the camera for the first time. The second sequence I will investigate in greater detail is the tenth sequence. In this sequence the dispossessed people from Ayazma fight for their rights to the city by protesting on the streets. This emancipative moment deserves to be looked at, because it is to a certain extent the counterpart of several previous sequences, in which disowned people had no possibility to talk for themeselves. These are the reason why the following two sequences were selected and analyzed with a shot protocol:

- The fourth sequence
- And the tenth sequence

Before presenting the findings of the shot protocol, I will briefly discuss the observations of the pretest. The categories I analyzed with a pretest were the following six categories: image, length (in seconds), camera, image content, acoustics and English subtitles. After the pretest, the following categories had to be added in order to find convincing answers to the proposed research questions: **space, time** and **agency**. By highlighting these three main categories, I expect to gain greater insights and collect more information on how the documentary tried to deal with the moral obligation of restoring or preserving the dignity of distant sufferers.

Moving on, I will analyze only shots in which people are represented or speak. If there are no human beings depicted or nobody is talking, the shots have been omitted from the material. Moreover, **job descriptions**, **names** and **other informations** about the people in the scene, which is provided in graphic visuals or mentioned by someone should also be taken into account. Other crucial categories which had to be added are **age** and **sex**. Hereby, the question of who is able to speak for themselves, for how long and with what kind of visual mediation must be considered in more detail. In the end, **eigth categories** had to be added to the shot protocol to do the material and the proposed research questions justice.

A full-length documentary lasts significantly longer than a news report, and as a result of that the documentary has more time to deal with certain issues, which does not necessarily mean that this is always the case. It may be more likely for documentaries to deal with the historical contexts of certain issues more precisely, because of their greater time horizon for the production and the length of the documentary. The stories have more time to unfold and to be put into a greater historical context. The presumption suggests that the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) mediated vulnerable groups, on the whole, as what Chouliaraki (2006) defines as emergency news. In line with this, the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) dealt with the question of why gentrification occured in Istanbul.

There is no clear-cut definition of what documentaries are or can be, but the similarities of various documentaries are easily detected. Firstly, of all documentaries tend to be

none-fictional and to deal with real events, told by real people and the producers of the documentary (Nichols, 2001). Further, Nichols' argument (2001, p.7) that "[t]he images, and many of the sounds, they present stem from the historical world directly" is in line with the afore-mentioned presumption, that documentaries tend to deal with the historical contexts of the issues at hand. Documentaries therefore deal with real people and real issues and try to promote their version of truth by honoring facts (Nichols, 2001). That is what discriminates documentaries from films. However, over the course of time different types of documentaries have been established and challenged most definitions. It is safe to say that the documentary genre will face further changes in the future. Therefore, I introduce this rather wide definition of documentaries by Nichols (2001, p.14):

> "Documentary film speaks about situations and events involving real people (social actors) who present themselves to us as themselves in stories that convey a plausible proposal about, or perspective on, the lives, situations, and events portrayed. The distinct point of view of the filmmaker shapes this story into a way of seeing the historical world directly rather than into actional allegory."

The documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) deals with gentrification in Istanbul involving people, who either benefit from these changes, are affected by them, or are concerned about these urban transformations. Therefore, Ekümenopolis (2012) can be clearly categorized as a documentary. The sociohistorical background about gentrification in Istanbul is dealt with especially in the second sequence, the exposition. But other sequences, too represent the social and economical consequences of the displacement. The documentary *Ekümenopolis* accompanies the families from Ayazma over a time period of two years. The topic and its social consequences and future implications for the displaced people are mediated and contextualized.

Nonetheless, investigations with the shot protocol revealed that some human beings were represented differently than others. Some individuals had the possibility to talk for themeselves, whereas others had no chance to represent themeselves; they were silenced again. This could lead according to Boltanski (1999), to so-called "compassioin fatigue", "a crisis of pity", because some of the sufferers remained silent and distant to the spectators. Despite, as I have already mentioned above, the documentary apparantly did provoke some cosmopolitan actions. Therefore I have to emphasize that not all of the

displaced persons in the documentary were silenced, let alone dehumanized through a distanced mediation, and the ways of mediating changed throughout the documentary. I will start by taking a close look at the first three sequences in the next chapter.

5.2.1 Suffering without pity

The short categorization and analysis below follows Chouliaraki's (2006) investigations on the news discourse and discusses the verbal mode, the visual mode of presentation and the modality.

Verbal: descriptive, narrative type
Visual: graphic illustrations and video images; iconical meaning
Modality: multiple space-times

Within the first three sequences (00:00 – 16:38), displaced people do not talk about their experiences. Poor shanty dwellers are shown, but they do not get a chance to talk for themselves. Moreover, they are represented from behind, from oblique angles, and most of the time they do not gaze at the camera. The first three sequences hence represent poor people living in substandard conditions, as inactive, distant sufferers. The lack of agency derives from a mediation of the suffering other that renders them as silent subaltern groups with hardly any lines of social mobility.

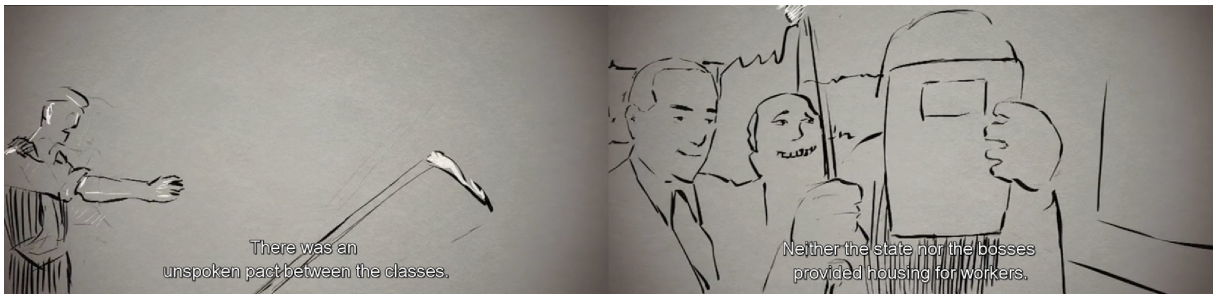
The shot below represents a boy monitoring the television reception. This shot lasts for one minute; a rather long shot compared with other shots in the documentary. The boy had no chance to talk about his misfortune himself, in fact the viewer was invited to contemplate the poor conditions the boy is living in. The boy remains nameless, without a gaze and a voice. "The meaning, then, that the long shot produces is of the iconic kind – it abstracts from the particularity of the location and the historicity of the event it represents and, instead, foregrounds an abstract condition [...]" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.103) The shot and its compositional features refer to the domain of art (cf. Chouliaraki, 2006, p.13); the invation to contemplate the misfortune and the needs of a voiceless other deprives him or her from humaneness.

Figure number three

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

In the following sequence, the history of Istanbul's urban development is graphically visualized. The animation depicts people who have been disowned, marginalized and removed by force, but they do not get the chance to talk about their own misfortune themselves. Instead, the story of Istanbul is narrated in a third-person voice. People who have been dispossessed were represented as workers from the south-eastern region of Turkey, who settled in the Gecekondu area in Istanbul because neither the state nor the company executives provided affordable housing for the workers (Ekümenopolis, 2012). The graphic visualizations of the workers on the one hand and the executives and politicians on the other hand differ greatly. The pictures below in figure number four and figure number five represent the graphic animations of workers, politicians and company leaders.

Figure number four

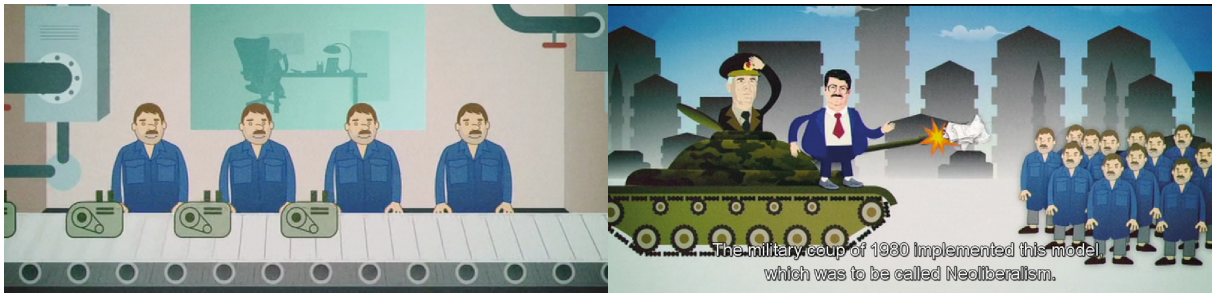


(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

In these pictures and throughout the first three sequences, benefactors and persecutors are absent from the visual mode most of the time. On the other hand, though, the verbal narration favored a partisanship for suppressed humans, in this case the workers from the south-east region in Turkey, but they had no chance to talk for themselves.

The pictures further symbolize a dehumanization of the workers, because all of them are represented to look the same and even wear the same clothes. The politicians and company leaders, on the other hand, are represented as real individuals, with proper names and a history. “The absence of a person, somebody with a name and a face, deprives the encounter between spectators and sufferers of any sense of humanness“ (Chouliaraki, 2006, p. 105). This absence is established in the first three sequences.

Figure number five



(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

Biased narrations in favor of the suffering other are rare in the first three sequences, though the history of Istanbul is narrated showing multiple points in time and multiple spaces, in this case Istanbul and other global cities in the world. Multiple space-times are typical characteristics for a sequence (Iedema, 2001). Nonetheless, Istanbul’s history is narrated most of the time in a descriptive manner, in other words personal stories from people in need are largely absent. The story of Istanbul ends with an outlook on future developments of the city and its residents, where “[t]he workers pushed out to isolated islands of poverty in the periphery of the city will now become the service workers of the new global city“ (Ekümenopolis, 2012). This resonates with the assumption of Saskia Sassen (1991, p.5) that “[t]he ‘things’ a global city makes are highly specialized services and financial goods.“

However, “this view of global cities has not been uncontested“ (Lyons, 2003, p.307). Lyons (2003, p.322) concludes in his study about *Spatial Segregation in Seven Cities: A longitudinal Study of Home Ownership, 1971-91* that “[...] global cities, perhaps because of their role as articulators between national or regional economies, on the one hand, and the global economy on the other, may *lead* change, but that conditions may be converging over time.“ With regard to the workers in Istanbul, this conclusion means that most of

them may become workers in the service sector at first, but that this trend could also converge over time. The differences in access to home ownership could also diminish over time (Lyons, 2003, p.322). Despite these findings, the mediations about the future of the "low grade manual workers" confronted the spectators with a doomed destiny, in which workers have little to say about their own future (Lyons, 2003).

Figure number six

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

The void of agency is omnipresent throughout the first three sequences. The animated story of Istanbul is followed by a series of shots from clearings all over the world. The fast sequence of images of subaltern groups who suffer from eviction, clearing and forced removal, from all over the world "reduces them to an impersonal group of unfortunates" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.105). Visually, they are represented as distant others from all over the world. Verbally, the spectators are confronted with silence, only background music can be heard. The first three sequences end with the appearance and mediation of several experts talking about gentrification in Istanbul. This is in line with the assumption "that discourses in the media are dominated by elite speakers" (Herczeg, 2012, p.62). Except for the rare attempts of restoring their humanity through a verbal account of the unjust treatments the displaced workers had experienced, these first three sequences are, regarding the mediation of people in need, void of agency, benefactors, persecutors and personal narrations.

Although these first mediations can be subsumed to a large extent under the category of what Chouliaraki calls "adventure news", some differences could be detected. The most striking difference is the multiplicity of spaces and times. According to Chouliaraki (2006), adventure news deals with single space-times, whereas in this case we are confronted with multiple space - times. Nevertheless, as already argued above, the

sequences can be assigned largely to the category of adventure news, which means that we are confronted with what Spivak (2008) calls "contaminations of subaltern groups" oscillating between acknowledgement and annihilation. This becomes apparent while analysing the agency of affected individuals on the one hand, and the experts, politicians and entrepreneurs on the other hand. The following chapter deals with the fourth sequence, a sequence that I have analysed in great detail in the shot protocol (Appendix G). I chose this sequence, among other reasons, because in it the families from Ayazma, a shanty neighborhood in Istanbul, got the chance to talk for themselves.

5.2.2 Suffering with pity

The brief categorization and analysis below follows Chouliaraki's (2006) investigations on the news–discourse and discusses the visual-verbal correspondence, the mode of presentation and modality.

Visual-verbal correspondence: indexical meaning
Mode of presentation: perceptual realism
Modality: multiple space-times

The unfolding of the personal stories of the families from Ayazma went hand in hand with a slightly different mediation of the suffering other. The shift from formerly inactive, vulnerable groups to what Chouliaraki (2006, p.119) calls "conditional agency" is characteristic of the mediations that occur in this sequence. The sequence starts with the eviction of tents belonging to the families in Ayazma, presented in a video footage without a voiceover. This way of presentation, where the verbal mode is enlcosed in the visual mode, belongs to perceptual realism (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.127). The verbal expressions by the expropriated victims relate to the visual mediations of the ongoing eviction. Therefore, the verbal mode has an indexical meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). The close temporal relationship of the visually depicted event and the verbal reference to the event render this visual-verbal relationship as an indexical relationship. There is no impartial commentator describing the ongoing event.

Furthermore, the spectator experiences the sequence from an "uninvolved visual perspective"; he or she gets the feeling that camera is right there, in the midst of the

eviction (Chouliaraki, p.127). All these described facets of mediation indicate an indexical meaning. The spectator is confronted again with multiple spaces and times, with spaces of danger and spaces of safety. In this case the dangerous areas are the areas, in which evictions and clearing outs are taking place. The safe spaces, in contrast, are areas of business districts with high – rise buildings, green meadows and other working spaces such as construction sites. These spaces represent safe spaces because within the mediations, there are no acute threats to the living or working environments of the experts or entrepeneurs, whereas there are definite threats to the living environments of the families from Ayazma. In this sequence, benefactors, persecutors and affected individuals appear in the same scene.

Conditional agency can be detected to a large degree throughout the sequence. The displaced people from Ayazma have a name and a face and they talk for themselves for the first time in the documentary. Kasim Aydin, Ömer Akvaranli and Tacettin Acar get the chance to articulate their experiences, although this happened very late. Furtheron it is mainly experts and entrepeneurs who talk, and the spectator is confronted with sufferers represented, as distant and silent as in the previous sequences, from oblique angles and with hardly any gaze towards the viewer. However, during their speaking time they are visualized differently, their humanity is restored.

During this constant succession of dehumanizing mediations, the viewer is confronted with interruptions in which the humanity of some representatives of the vulnerable groups are mediated as active human beings. This moves the suffering other into the world of the spectators' perceptual realism, and their suffering can be acknowledged, pity and compassion can be experienced by the viewer. "Even though the sufferers are still grouped into a collective category [most of the time]– nameless and voiceless – they now have a face and a gaze" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.135). But this is not true for all the people, who have been affected by the evictions in Ayazma. Some of the people from Ayazma remained silent, and they have several criteria in common. These are identified in the detailed analysis in the shot protocol (Appendix G). In agreement with the outcome of the shot protocol is the discovery, that only middle-aged men have the possibility to speak about their misfortune in the documentary Ekümenopolis (2012).

Figure number seven

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

5.2.3 Suffering women and their agency

Before I will move on to the tenth sequence, I want to thematize the general mediation of dispossessed women throughout the documentary. Affected women tend to remain silent. If they speak, they do not speak directly to the camera or the viewer, but to their husbands or the benefactors and persecutors in the scene. The rare moments when suffering women raise their voices in order to alleviate their woes, can be traced back to three different scenes in the documentary. That is why I will take a brief look at those three different scenes; the pictures below do not follow a chronological order.

5.2.3.1 Picture one

The picture on the left hand side of the figure below depicts a woman and her husband, Kasim Aydin, in a medium close tracking shot. The camera shoots the couple from a low and slightly oblique angle. The name of Kasim's wife is never mentioned during the documentary. This visual introduces us to the area in which TOKI is constructing the new houses for the evicted families from Ayazma. The camera accompanies them on their on-site inspection of the construction area. On the way to their *new neighborhood,* the woman asks her husband: "Why is it so expensive for such a small apartment? (...) The installments are too high." Kasim Aydin answers: "We have to consider this with our friends. We can't keep still about this." This minimal verbal expression by the woman, which is only addressed to her husband and not to the viewer directly, has little affective power and signifies that the agency of the suffering woman depends on her husband's good will. This shows how affected women suffer twice from oppression: firstly, from a suppression by socio-economic inequities depriving them of their right to an adequate

standard of living, and secondly, from a repression by patriarchal structures depriving them of their right to equality and non-discrimination. These deprivations also become visible in mediatisations that repeat similar power structures and processes of silencing. In this scene, mediation did not emancipate the woman. The suffering woman remained nameless, silent and without a gaze.

Figure number eight

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

5.2.3.2 Picture two and three

The picture on the right hand side of figure number eight and the picture on the left hand side of figure number nine (see below) stem from one scene. Two women are complaining about their new houses in Bezirgenbahce to the UN officials Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal and Yves Cabannes. Again, the viewers are not informed about the names of these two complaining women. Both are represented from an oblique and low angle, which distances them and gives them a notion of power. The medium close shot represents the women close to the spectator, but neither of the women gaze at the camera and therefore they do not demand anything from the spectator. The spectator is now confronted with close women able to talk for themselves to the UN officials, the benefactors in the scene. This endows the two women "with a conditional agency that the previous mediation lacks" (cf. Chouliaraki, 2006, p.130).

The UN officials work at UN-Habitat, "which is the United Nations programme working towards a better urban future. Its mission is to promote socially and environmentally sustainable human settlement development and the achievement of adequate shelter for all" (UN-Habitat, 2012). The benefactors are professionals who try to alleviate the suffering of the evicted people in Bezirgenbahce. This mediation is one of the very rare

instances in which the conditional agency of women, and therefore their humanness, is restored. However, the women are represented as passive and active at the same time. "Caught in this ambivalent existence, the sufferers of emergencies are and are not endowed with humanness. They are and are not full and proper human beings" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.148) The verbal mode is in line with this line of reasoning.

> "[Woman1:]They counted my house as 24.000 TL and now I have 41.000 TL debt. I am alone and I can't make the payments. I don't have the strength. I'm a diabetic, I have high blood pressure, I can't find work and I have three years until retirement. I can't work! Are we going to become European by oppressing the poor? [Woman2:] They told us they were going to move us to a healthy place, to a better place, then they brought us here. Ayazma was much better. The sewer runs right in front of my balcony. I can't open my window because of the smell."

Figure number nine

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

Despite the active nature of the scene, there is neither a visual nor a verbal demand for the spectator to act on the misfortune of these two women, but by rejecting this mediation, this proposal for action, we do injustice to the this mediation (Chouliaraki, 2006). In order to avoid this, Chouliaraki (2006, p. 149) proposes "to capitalize on the potential for emergency action already inherent in news broadcasts and imagine a different regime of pity where the sufferers, far from being the physical subjects of action, are themselves actors within the historical world – even if their agency is not capable of changing their lives." For that reason I can deduce that this mediation of women was one of the most emancipative representations in the documentary Ekümenopolis (2012), now I will move on to the last picture, picture number four.

5.2.3.3 Picture four

The picture on the right hand side of figure number nine represents a screenshot from the scene in which the eviction took place. The compulsory evacuation of tents in Ayazma occured during sequence number two. At this point, Kasim Aydin's wife was shouting at her husband. Again both depicted women were represented from an oblique angle, slightly below eye-level. A medium close tracking shot filmed their reactions to the clearing out. Next to her stands another, anonymous woman, who is not talking. The woman shouts at her husband: "I want my home back! Stand up like a man!" The viewers do not see his reaction to her demands. This utterance happens at the peak of suffering, the ongoing eviction of their home.

Again the woman's agency oscillates between acknowledgement and annihilation. Moreover, she is again oppressed twice: the partriarchal structures are dominating the mediations of the suffering women throughout the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) and support the silencing of subaltern women. While taking a look at the general divide between female and male speakers in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012), it can be detect that the percentage of male speakers is higher than the percentage of female speakers.

> However, we have to keep in mind "[t]hat gender reality is created through sustained social performances means that the very notions of an essential sex and a true or abiding masculinity or femininity are also constituted as part of the strategy that conceals gender's performative character and the performative possibilites for proliferating gender configurations outside the restricting frames of masculinist domination and compulsory heterosexuality" (Butler, 1990, p.192 f.)

In line with this line of reasoning, we can state that there are no true or false genders. Moreover, every gender identity outside of the heterosexual dualism is a possible identity. Nonetheless, we can state that no other gender identities are represented in the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). "The critical task is [...] to locate strategies of subversive repetition enabled by those constructions, to affirm the local possibilities of intervention through participating in precisely those practices of repetition that constitute identity and, therefore, present the immanent possibility of contesting them" (Butler, 1990, p.201). No subversive repetitions are represented in the documentary. Twelve experts are talking about gentrification, its social, urban and economic consequences,

three of them are women. Six men affected by gentrification have the opportunity to talk for themselves.

Additionally I have to point out that I did not consider the length of the speaking time of each group, and it could be possible that, although there were fewer women talking, they were speaking longer in sum. Also, all of the speakers were middle aged, which means that children, young adults and old people were also marginalized. Those marginalized groups were only depicted, but had no chance to utter their experiences. I can conclude that in the documentary Ekümenopolis (2012), the subaltern woman remained to a large extent silent, that she could hardly represent her interests. Suffering women were filmed from oblique angles throughout the documentary, and they were either mediated as symbols for motherhood or as suppressed by patriarchal structures.

> "Symbolic meaning comes about when the verbal narrative, together with the image, evoke some idea or belief that manages to hide its specificity in culture and time and works as if it were a 'universal' truth that the spectator does not need to question." (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.139)

Viewers are often invited to contemplate on the misfortune and the poor living conditions of the women; some mediations of women represented them as symbols for motherhood, although men were also depicted with their children. But in contrast to the representations of men, women remained silent during the mediations, without a name and a face. "The visual[s] here clearly focus[...] on the mother-child bond and, in so doing, strongly evokes the doxa of human innocence and vulnerability" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.139).

Figure number ten

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

The representations described above positioned viewers as "voyers" or as "philantropists" (Chouliaraki, 2006). The first three sequences provoked a voyeristic view in which

spectators contemplated on the misfortune of others from a distance. The agency of the voyeur lies in a contemplation with compassion (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.145). The philantropist, on the other hand does not only care for the suffering other, he or she may also act on their predicament. "The spectators' inability to act practically on the suffering is thus displaced, in the form of feeling potential, on to an agent that does have the power to act promptly from afar – the state" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.146). Therefore we can state that the first three sequences tended to provoke a voyeuristic spectatorship, whereas the following sequences tended to provoke a philantropist one. However, the documentary *Ekümenopolis* offered yet another aesthetic mediation, in which the "spectator is qualified as a protester" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.145). This protest scenario, where people were fighting for "their right to the city", was introduced in the last sequence of the documentary (Harvey, 2013). I will explain this in more detail in the following chapter.

5.2.4 Spectator as protester

In the last sequence, the spectators are confronted with protesters, who actively denunciate the governmental course of action regarding urban transformation. This sequence represents "a quality that sets up polemical antagonisms between political forces" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.147). Thereby it further evokes a cosmopolitan spectatorship. This mediation manages to "articulate the demand for public action and [to] invite the spectators as citizens to participate in it" (Chouliaraki, 2006, p.148).

Figure number eleven

(© screenshots, Ekümenopolis, 2012)

The suffering families from Ayazma demonstrate next to benefactors on the streets for their rights to an adequate standard of living and a right to affordable housing. They are visually mediated from different angles and distances. Verbally, we can hear their

demands and their chantings. Women, children and people of all ages participate in the demonstrations. The protest's participants are all mediated active, with a voice and a demanding gaze. Benefactors fight side by side with the suffering people for a more human life. In the last sequence the agency of affected women and affected individuals of all ages could be restored, although they were marginalized throughout large parts of the documentary.

5.2.5 Other vulnerable groups

The confrontation with multiple and mobile space-times and the historicity of the various scenes of suffering established what Chouliaraki (2006) calls a "cosmopolitan view", although a deeper analysis of separate sequences came to the conclusion that affected women, various ethnic minorities (e.g. people of colour), people with divergent gender identities (e.g. the transgender sexworkers in Tarlabasi) or deviant sexual orientations (LGBT groups), elderly people and young people were silenced even more than middle-aged, white men (cf. Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014; Islam, 2009; Altintas, 2013). These are also the people affected the most by social inequities. This agrees with the results of Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014, p.1370), who "find in [their] case studies that gentrification proceeds by differentiating a population into various subgroups, with some being considered more deserving than others." This stigmatization on the one hand and the consistent silencing on the other hand leads to disparate social groups.

In order to avoid an even stronger division in society, we have to critically question different ways of communication and mediation and to overcome the perpetuated discrimination of vulnerable groups. In fact, media activists should emancipate the most silent groups through positive discrimination, because with regard to the displacement in Istanbul, Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014, p.1383) concluded that "[...] residents who suffered the most were almost entirely silent while the more privileged groups were most assertive in making claims." Furthermore the fact that Safak Velioglu (2012) and that the woman who wanted to remain anonymous (2012) were informed differently about the gentrifications is in line with the findings of Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) who state that the government addressed the residents differently and at different times. In 2012, the woman did not know what will happen to her house, whereas Safak Velioglu was already informed about the fact that he had to move out. "Bis jetzt sind sie noch nicht gekommen,

um unser Haus zu zerstören. Sie kamen nur bis zum Straßenanfang“ (Anonymous Woman, 2012, Apendix B). In the following chapter I will place the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) in a larger context and I will try to put the oppositional media discourse on gentrification in Istanbul into perspective. For this purpose, I conducted several interviews with experts as well as with people affected by gentrification in Istanbul.

5.3 Media activism in Turkey

“Activists work to redress perceived inequities in media access, policies and representations [...]“ (Jansen, 2011, p.1) Media activists also tried to redreses acknowledged inequities regarding gentrification processes in Istanbul, as did the director of the documentary who defines himself as an activist.

> “I saw a need to make a link between what was being discussed in very small circles, like academic circles and political circles and what the public was informed about and what they were discussing. [...] I saw my mission as taking that discussion to the general public and making a film that is provocative, that is informative and that sparks a discussion“ (Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

Grassroot activists such as Tugba and Tugce from Capul TV and sendika.org also tried to alleviate the effects of a restricted media coverage by reporting unkown facts. “If they [the recipients] want to learn something about the country or the protests, they are looking on Twitter or on sendika.org, Capul TV, bianet, sol.org, like these things“ (Tugba, 2015, Appendix E). To give voice to underrepresented, marginalized groups was one of the main goals for the interviewees. The way media activists engage with vulnerable groups slightly differs; I will deal with these considerations in the next chapter.

5.3.1 Production of the documentary and mediating people in need

Reporting on people in need and on people who are protesting was the biggest motivation for the director of *Ekümenopolis* (2012) and the grassroot media activists (Azem, 2015; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendices). While for Tugba and Tugce, engaging with people in need was and is not specifically difficult, the director of the documentary Ekümenopolis (2012), Imre Azem, felt a certain of pressure to produce something

valuable for the people he was engaging with (Azem, 2015; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendices). Tugba and Tugce (2015) report from every place in Turkey and especially from Istanbul. They report not only, but also about gentrification processes and protests against evictions, and thereby they sometimes use user generated content. Tugba and Tugce (cf. 2015, Appendix E) stated that "they trust the user's camera, interviews and sentences." It is the activists' belief that everybody should have the possibility to report on their protests in their own words. "[...] It is the main thing for us, because it is not this team's job, it is people's job telling about ourselves. So media is this for us. Media is not some classe's job. Media is us." With this approach of equal access, the media activists from Capul TV and sendika.org did not face any difficulties while engaging with vulnerable groups. In slight contrast to these expierences is the expierenced moral responsibility Imre Azem felt during the production of the documentary:

> "That was, I think, a big pressure on me, you know. To really make something valuable and effective from my presence with them. So that was a big motivation in making the film. It was my first documentary. I did not know, if I was going to be able to make something valuable [...] that would benefit them and in the end it probably did not benefit them much, them personally, maybe it raised awareness in the public, specifically for those families probably it did not have much effect, but we did have a good relationship and they came to the premiere and we still have contact with them and talk to them sometimes on the phone" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

The deteriorated living conditions following the displacement proved that the documentary had little effect in terms of alleviating the misery experienced by the family in the documentary (Azem, 2015, Appendix A). Nevertheless, the awareness, as already mentioned, in previous chapters, could be raised to a certain extent. I will give an account of the impact and the reception of the documentary in the following chapter.

5.3.2 Impact and reception of the documentary

Although the documentary was screened for ten weeks in cinemas and several screenings in universities and neighborhoods took place, the "documentary [could be considered successful] for those who are interested in having this negative [critical] vision about gentrification, but it is far [...] from being an item in a mass[...] media. [...] Nobody knows about it, the ordinary people do not know about it" (Velioglu, 2016, Appendix D).

As this statement proves only people, who were already involved with gentrification, knew about the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012). It was published before the Gezi uprisings, in which people demonstrated all over Turkey against the demolition of Gezi park. The Gezi uprisings sparked officially in 2013, although already before 2013 small groups of protesters gathered in Gezi park to protest against the planned transformations. "There is a group that was concerned about Gezi park, headed by the chamber of architects and of urban planners called Taksim solidarity. But Taksim solidarity was created almost a year and a half before Gezi. [...]" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A) The park is situated close to Taksim square in Istanbul.

What initially started in Istanbul spread very quickly all over Turkey. Soon protesters from all over the country joined the protests. But as Tugba and Tugce (2015) explain, the protests were not just about four or five trees, but about real freedom: "We resisted for our trees, for our areas, for our park, for our culture centres, for our theatres, for our media, for our [...] law [...]" (Tugce, 2015, Appendix E). The upheavals in Turkey hence took place because of various reasons. One of the main reasons was to fight against the consistent oppression by the government, but gentrification and rapid urban changes in Istanbul also caused these rebellions. After the protests, the government started to renew Gezi park and Taksim square. The stairs and the cobblestones were renewed and new trees were planted. But as Tugba and Tugce (2015) commented, the area is renewed not for everybody, but primarily for the area's well-heeled customers. " For example, it is a protest area, a mayday area or people's area, but now it is rebuilt[...] for these things. For example, Atatürk Culture Centre is there. [...]. But for years it is empty. We can not use." (Tugba, 2015, Appendix E). The pictures below illustrate that Taksim square is currently less accessible than before, which makes gatherings or assemblies hardly possible.

Figure number twelve

(© Mariacher, 2015b)

During the upheavels, different groups protested together on the streets, and the affected neighborhoods in Istanbul were also fighting for their right to the city.

> "[...] Gezi gave birth to neighborhood forums and some of them died down, they became inactive, but today there is probably around twenty or thirty active neighbourhood forums, like they are still active after two and a half years. [... If] there is a project in the neighborhood, if a park is threatened they can resist locally to these things and they contribute to what is called Istanbul Urban Defense. [...] So this is a new group, that was founded after Gezi. Also Northern Forest defence was created to protect or to fight against the urbanisation of the northern forest" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

In the end, some people were demonstrating for what David Harvey (2012; 2013) calls their "right to the city, for their right to return". But the expropriations, urban transformations and evictions are still going on.

6 Conclusion

The practice of silencing vulnerable others in Istanbul through gentrification and the mediation of gentrification processes showed that some subaltern groups were silenced stronger than others and that these same subaltern groups also had less access to property rights or legal defence. This is in line with the following demand by Alison Beale (2008) who asks for more emancipation and equity: "I argue that, considered in its ensemble, international cultural policy is deeply inflected by a gender consciousness but that this alone does not necessarily contribute to emancipation and equity" (Beale, 2008, p.60). The media and certain mediatisations are able to represent vulnerable groups as agents who can act on their own misfortune or who are worth acting on (Chouliaraki, 2006).

Although the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) established a largely cosmopolitan view for vulnerable middle-aged men, the documentary failed to fully emancipate other vulnerable groups. This signifies that sometimes even media activists, who want to empower people in need, re-invoke hegemonic structures of representing vulnerable groups. From the analysis of the legal and historical developments on gentrification in Istanbul, as well as the analysis of the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012), we can see that

people with fewer legal rights were more silenced than people with more legal rights, and that some legal rights were simply neglected.

Therefore, the following Human Rights violations could be detected in connection with the ongoing gentrification process in Istanbul: Several violations against the entitlement "to the peaceful enjoyment of his [or her] possessions" could be detected (Kriebaum, 2012, p.402) due to evictions and forced displacements; deterioration of the protection of the right to property could be recognized due to the enactment of the Disaster and Risk Law in 2012.

> "Some parts of the law were annuled by the constitutional court, because they were against the constitution, but some parts were upheld and there are many court cases now in neighborhoods, where the council of ministers declared disaster risk zones. One by one are winning this court cases. Like one of the recent decisions it says that there has to be a scientific proof for the government to declare disaster risk, [...] but the purpose of this law was to centralize the control of urban transformation, because there is a lot of corruption in the construction business and [...] the central government wants to control these kick backs and they do not want the local governments to [...] get the money. It is a law that centralizes the corruption and [...] there are some unconstitutional and autocratic aspects to the law. Things like limitted recourse to the courts" (Azem, 2015, Appendix A).

Property rights were further violated through delayed payments of the compensations, and even a complete lack of compensation or an extraordinarily small compensation sum (cf. Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Sakizlioglu, 2014; Harvey, 2013). The right to an adequate standard of living was also violated by the government through evictions, forced migrations and the lack of sufficient affordable houses or apartments.

The right to freedom of expression, assembly and association was violated before, during and after the Gezi uprisings (Azem, 2015, Appendix A; Veglioglu, 2016, Appendix D; Tugba and Tugce, 2015, Appendix). The documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) and its mediations of vulnerable groups also to a certain extent violated the right to equality and non-discrimination. "The challenges for women's [and other subaltern group's] human rights and cultural rights in this context are compounded by a global security context in which a range of cultural and communication freedoms are compromised" (Beale, 2008, p. 69). Nevertheless, the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012) sparked a discussion about the inhumane treatment of slum dwellers and other displaced home owners and therefore

caused awareness for at least some people in need. This discourse is needed and could lead to a more global, a more diverse communication about and representation of people in need.

Global cities expand further and cultural diversity needs to be addressed as part of our society. International laws, such as the Human Rights, should prevent spatial or social segregations and alleviate urban poverty. Big cities will continue to play a major role in the cohabitation of a globalised world. More and more people need more affordable housing, and the discourses about the kind of cities we need should also engage with vulnerable, subaltern groups, in order to provide equal opportunities for all. These discourses are closely connected to the mediation of people in need, because communication and therefore mediation functions as a means of changing social and political realities. New ways of emancipating suffering others should be established through further critical analysis of our way of interacting with people and especially with people in need. This can be ensured primarily through a free media and access to an active participation in the polis. The dualism of the need to report on inequities on the one hand, and conserving the dignity and the humanness of the people in need can be overcome by means of an emancipative mediation in which people in need are represented "as active and worth acting on" (Chouliaraki, 2006). The way in which the media reports on social inequities matters.

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f.iii.) Pictures, images and photographs

Figure number one: Mariacher, I., 2015b. *Two pictures of the Taksim Square in Istanbul*. [photograph]

Figure number three to eleven: *Selected and arranged screenshots of the documentary Ekümenopolis – ucu olmayan sehir – city without limits*. Selected and arranged by Isabelle Mariacher [screenshots]

Figure number twelve: Mariacher, I., 2015a. *Two pictures of construction sites in Istanbul*. [photograph]

f.iv.) Figures and tables

Figure number 1 p.17
Figure number 2 p.57
Figure number 3 p.68
Figure number 4 p.68
Figure number 5 p.69

Figure number 6 p.70
Figure number 7 p.73
Figure number 8 p.74
Figure number 9 p.75
Figure number 10 p.77
Figure number 11 p.78
Figure number 12 p.82

f.iv.) Case law

European Court of Human Rights, Akkus v. Turkey, judgement of 9 July 1997.

g.) Appendices

Below the interviews I conducted are transcribed.

i. Appendix A

Azem, I., 2015. Interview with the director of *Ekümenopolis* (2012). Interviewed by Isabelle Mariacher. [audiofile] Istanbul, 20th of December 2015.

I: Can you say something?
Imre: Sey. (something)
I: Yes.
Imre: Yeah, its good?
I: Yes, it's good. Okay ahm ... Can you tell me about your professional career and what you are doing as a reporter or as documentarist?
Imre: Mhh... mm... I am more activist than film-maker and I do not see film making as a career, but ah I try to be more, I try to act more as a journalist, as an artist. Ahm. I mean when I was making Ekümenopolis there was a ... I saw a need to make a link between what was being discussed in very small circles, like academic circles and political circles and what the public was informed about and what they were discussing. And there was a misconnection, a disconnect between these two things. So, I saw my mission as making that connection. Ahm. For example I went to some transportation conferences where this issues that are vital for everyone living in the society are being discussed, but no one knows about them, because there is only ten people in the room. And this discussion between those ten people, who are academics or who are politicians, it doesn't go outside of that room. And I thought it had to go outside of that room. So, I saw my mission as taking that discussion to the general public and making a film that is provocative, that is informative and that sparks a discussion. So, yeah I don't see it as a professional career what I do, but as more like these kinds of ähh activist things.
I: Mhm. When did you like start to realize that these urban transformations are going on and that some small groups are talking about it?
Imre: When I was living in the United States, when I was going to school there in the early 2000s I saw this late 90ies early 2000s when I used to come back to Istanbul maybe every six months. I could perhaps see the change within those six months more clearly

than people living here all the time. So I always had this idea about doing something, about understanding this urban issues and how its...how the city is changing. But I could never formulate it, because it's not my education. I am not an urban planner or an architect. So when I came back to Turkey for good in 2007 I decided to investigate for myself, like what's happening in the city, why the city can not be planned and you know just what's going on. So I started reading, I started researching, talking to people and going to these conferences and everything and so the making of the film was really my process of learning also. It wasn't like I knew these things and I wanted to make a film about it, I didn't know and the film is my education about this issues as well.

--- The waiter brought us what we ordered before —

Waiter: Afiyet olsun.

Both: Tesekkürler.

I: Afiyet olsun.

Imre: looks good. Did I answer your question?

I: Yes. Where in the United States have you been living?

Imre: I went to school in New Orleans and then I lived in New York for nine years.

I: Where there some similar transformations going on, city renewal projects or ...?

Imre: Yes, of course. Not in New Orleans. New Orleans did not really change that much when I was there. But of course New York was very dynamic city, it was changing. But for me it wasn't at the pace of Istanbul. I lived in New York for nine years and in those nine years like you had some landmarks in the city and they didn't change. They were always there, but in Istanbul you couldn't have that. Everything was changing, even the landmarks that you knew for years were changing. So the pace of change was much faster in Istanbul than in New York. After coming back here in 2007 I went back to New York for the first time this year after eight years and I found it completely different. It had become superexpensive and it had changed a lot.

I: New York?

Imre: New York. Even the places I used to go to I couldn't find them.

I: Rapid changes.

Imre: Yeah, so it is not only in Istanbul, but when I was in New York it was not changing that much. Maybe you don't see it that much, when you are living in it. But in Istanbul even if you live in it, you see, you realize that.

I: Yes, I have realized that change too. So you made this documentary, because you wanted to understand what's going on. And äh...

Imre: Yes, and I wanted to share that information or share my perspective with people.
I: And where there some difficulties you had to face? Maybe you just grab something to eat.
Imre: No, it's okay. Difficulties in making the film? No, not really. Yes, it wasn't easy. Financially it wasn't easy. We were homeless for a year and a half. You know just staying with friends and family. We couldn't really afford rent, because we weren't making any money, but no other than that it wasn't that difficult.
I: And for example ähm ... also talking to like interviewing different people was this a challenge or did they want to talk with you about the topic or did you face some obstacles?
Imre: Ahm, talking to the developer Agogulu.
I: To the developer?
Imre: Ali Agogulu. That wasn't so easy. But yeah it happens, you know, because you are coming from the other side and it is not so easy to get those interviews. Like we wanted to interview the mayor not the mayor of Istanbul, but the mayor of the district Kücükcemekce where the houses were demolished. They didn't want to be interviewed. No, we didn't really face any difficulties.
I: And ähm...the people who lost their houses, they were somehow in need and there was one family you accompanied during this process. How was that for you as an activist, as a ...?

Imre: Ähm. That was for me the biggest motivation, for making the film. Because when you go and shoot in those places, when you are with the camera and those people are facing huge problems, and they want their voice to be heard, they want to tell their story, but also they have seen a lot of people who have come and who have shot videos or photographs and nothing has come of them, you know? They probably have never seen those people again. So they also have in their mind this prejudice about cameras and about people taking videos and photographs. They think that it does not help them. Ähh and ähm that was a I think a big pressure on me, you know. To really make something valuable and effective from my presence with them. So that was a big motivation in making the film. It was my first documentary. I didn't know if I was going to be able to make something valuable äh that would benefit them and in the end it probably didn't benefit them much, them personally, maybe it raised awareness in the public, specifically for those families probably it didn't have much effect, ähh but we did have a good

relationship and äh they came to the premiere and we still have contact with them and talk to them sometimes on the phone.

I: Do you know where they are staying right now? Or this one family ...

Imre: Yeah.

I: like where do they live now?

Imre: Here in Kayabasi.

I: It's still the place... Is it the same place?

Imre: It's the ... in the film they visit some social housing place.

I: Yeah.

Imre: the unfinished, still under construction. That's where they live.

I: So it's a bit far away from the city centre.

Imre: Yeah, but ähm you know what you don't see in the film and which is something I witnessed with my relationship with the family. You understand the economic consequences of this transformation, that people are displaced and that they live further away and that they have to pay more, but what happens as a consequence that there are some social aspects that you don't really see ähh if you don't have those connection with the family. One of those things is what happens to the kids like their psychology and for example that family had four kids, the oldest was married to a man when she was 17, the second oldest was the boy and he had to quit school after fourth grade, he couldn't continue to fith grade, because it was too expensive, too costly for the family and although he wasn't going to a private school, still like the books and the ...

I: transportation?

Imre: transportation yeah and more than that they needed the income from his employment, so he started working in a textile factory at the age of eleven and for äh at the time it was 300 Lira a month he was making, ...

I: That's not much.

Imre: like one third of the minimum waste, which is like 100 Euro or something in one month and the family needed this income, because after the displacement they had to pay higher rent, they had more expenses and you know what the father makes, wasn't enough anymore. So, one of the girls, the smaller ones ähm she was selling like water at the traffic lights on the weekends, when she wasn't going to school, she was selling water like to the drivers. So things like these, the social aspects, which is kind of äh it's not in the film.

I: Why didn't you show this in the movie?

Imre: At the time this wasn't happening.

I: Ah yeah.

Imre: These are like consequences, that came after.

I: And what did the movie....what was the aftermath of the movie, the consequences it was published?

Imre: Like general consequences?

I: Yes, in Istanbul...You showed it in some cinemas, in three cinemas as far as I am concerned.

Imre: First we did a lot of festival screenings and then we did university screenings, simultaneously we did university screenings. Almost every university we were invited to do the screenings and not only in Istanbul, but all over Turkey and äh we were in cinemas. We were in cinemas, we had a cinema release in May of 2012 and we stayed in cinemas for ten weeks, which was really, I think, successfull. I think around 10.000 people saw it in the cinemas and ähm then we had a DVD release after that and we still do screenings. Like in February we will go to Berlin, to have a screening along with another film about Berlin, so two city films and we will have a discussion there about urban issues and ähm so yeah, it's still being screened and it still travels.

I: But did the media like ähm ... talk about your movie or were there some ...

Imre: Yeah.

I: Also the state owned media?

Imre: No, not the state owned media. But almost every newspaper wrote about it and we were invited to a talk show with some of the people in the film.

I: Mhm.

Imre: Yeah, it had some media attention for a little bit.

I: And äh,

Imre: But most important for us were these neighbourhood screenings, because those are the people we don't really reach by any of these mediums you know, because the only way to reach really like truely reach a mass audience in Turkey is through television. Internet doesn't reach everyone, cinema you don't reach everyone, DVD you don't reach everyone and but we couldn't make it to mainstream television, but we tried to do some neighbourhood screenings. We did many, many of them. Perhaps we needed to do more of them, but those I found the most effective in what the film was trying to achieve. Neighbourhood screenings and university screenings, those were like our main target audiences, people who are living and experiencing this transformation for them to

understand that this is happening not only to them, but this is happening as a general economic model to the whole city like for them to understand that they are part of a much bigger plan. This was important and also university screenings to reach the students was very important. So we tried to focus on these two things.

I: And is there any counterdocumentary or how did the government react?

Imre: They did not.

I: They didn't?

Imre: No, we had no reaction.

I: Maybe it's a good thing.

Imre: One of the journalists who wrote about our film in her newspaper. She invited, when it had the cinema release, she invited the mayor of Istanbul to watch the film with her in the cinema in her article and she said that after seeing, after reading the article the mayor called her and he said that he doesn't have time to go to the cinema, but that he is aware of it and that he is following it or whatever. So we had kind of a reaction like that through her.

I: So they knew about it, but they did not want to ...

Imre: For us... Like to us we didn't see a reaction. Like we didn't hear anyone talk about it on television or anything. No official reaction. It means we didn't do something right. I don't know.

I: No, I don't think so... So, ähm so I have to check my questions. Maybe you eat something in the meantime. Do you remember working days where you have been very content with yourself and what happened that day, what was special about that day?

Imre: The time when I felt most content was Gezi.

I: That was after the movie.

Imre: Or you mean in the making of the film?

I: Yes.

Imre: Hmm,

I: But maybe we will talk about Gezi as well but later on.

Imre: Making of the film. Ähm yeah I mean after like we were trying to get these shots with the helicopter. Several attempts we couldn't make it, because something was wrong, because when you shoot with a helicopter there are many things that have to come together. The weather has to be nice, we have to get the permission for the right day, for the right flight route, because we didn't have money we had to find a camera for someone to give us their camera, which had to be free on that day and ähm there is this device that

connects the camera to the helicopter, that device had to be found. So there are several things that had to come together to make it possible to have a good shoot with the helicopter. We tried to shoot this Bosphorus crossing where the bridge was going to be built, the third bridge, at the time it wasn't built of course. And every attempt we made to got there, the weather wasn't nice or the camera didn't work or something was wrong. So in the final try we made it, we made it. That was very close to the finishing of the film, so we really had to make that. So yeah, that was a good day.

I: Mhm. And ahm what were the reactions in the audience either in the neighbourhood or in the universities like when you showed the movie?

Imre: You know, different reactions of course. When you show it in the neighbourhoods, some aspects they know better than the movie, because they live it, you know. So they can make the connection to their own life, to what's happening to their neighbourhood and äh I think we did succeed in having them understand, to see the bigger picture, with the transportation issue, with the housing issue, with the economic model. That what's happening is not an isolated thing of their neighborhood, but it's a citywide project. It helps them to make a connections between the third bridge and their neighborhood and between some shopping mall that is coming to a nearby neighborhood, that the transformation is taking place in their neighbourhood. They can make those connections. So that was really good, to see those reactions. When we showed it outside of Turkey, it kind of shattered this rosy picture of Istanbul as this up'n'coming new hip metropolicy, you know. It was more like a wake-up call to a lot of people. So the reactions were different. At universities I was really glad to see that the students were really engaged with the issues, they were really concerned about their future, about the city they are going to live in and their willingness to really change things. So that was really good to see. I tried to attend a lot of screenings myself, at the universities and... It makes me hopeful to see that kind of reaction from students.

I: And ähm you mentioned Gezi before. Do you think that your movie was somehow contributing to the awareness or like the ...?

Imre: Mhm... I hope so, yeah. I mean of course there are many things that built up to Gezi. It's an accumulation of years of protests and trying to raise awareness by a lot of groups. Perhaps also the bad politics of the government contributes a lot to it. But I would be very happy, if our film also contributed. At least a brick in the wall, you know.

I: Mhm. And ähm after the protests. Do you think that there has changed something?

Imre: Yeah, absolutely Turkey will never be the same again.

I: How do you mean that?
Imre: I mean the politics of Turkey has changed completely.
I: In a good or in a bad way?
Imre: Of course in a good way. I mean people realized their power. It was ahh during Gezi maybe it was uncontrolled power, because people were not organized and 94% of the people, who participated in Gezi did not belong to any political party, or organization or activist group or anything like that, they were individuals. And it showed us the need to get organized, but it also showed us our power. Even in an unorganized way it was so peaceful, from our side it was peaceful at least. Of course twelve people were killed and many thousands were injured, so there was a lot of violence, but from our side it was completely peaceful. Even a protest that no one is heading, there is no organisation that heads it, you know. Where millions of people have participated all over Turkey, not just Istanbul and it remains peaceful, I mean this is extraordinary, you know. Yeah, it's a, for the furture, it's a reference point for Turkish politics, it will always be a reference point and it will always be the core of change.
I: It's also like different groups got together at Gezi, maybe they were separated before, I don't know, but...
Imre: Now Gezi. We say that it's unorganized, which is true, also there is a ... a group that was concerned about Gezi park, headed by the chamber of architects and of urban planners called Taksim solidarity. But Taksim solidarity was created almost a year and a half before Gezi. It wasn't created to make to this protest. It was created to inform the public on Taksim square and to raise awareness of the general plans of Taksim like the shopping mall they wanted to build and these other related projects and to create a public opinion oppositioned to this project. So there was an organisation that was central to the protest, but it wasn't heading them. Because to a certain point it became not about the park, but about opposition to the government. In Taksim solidarity there were about one hundred twenty different groups, they are activist groups, some of them are political parties, ahm from the very radical left parties to more mainstream parties. Yeah, the Turkish left is historically known to be very fractured. There are many parties from the radical left. From very slight differences they can not come together and they are famous for this, you know. But in Taksim solidarity they were able to come together. Perhaps because it was a main topic and they were able to put behind their differences. Yeah, it was extraordinary times and I was really really happy to be part of it.

I: I can imagine. I will just have a look ... ähm... Is there anything you would do differently in retrospect?

Imre: About the film?

I: Yeah, about the film.

Imre: Yeah, I would try to make it shorter. (laughs)

I: Shorter? Why?

Imre: Yeah, I think it would makes it more watchable and yeah I find it a bit long.

I: And ähm for doing this documentary have you watched other documentaries that are related to this topic? Are there any documentaries you have been looking at? Did you find them informative?

Imre: mmm...I didn't really see any documentaries about Istanbul ehm but about other cities yes, I watched documentaries about urban issues. There was a series made the danish film institute. One about Kairo, one about Mumbai, like a series about urban films and one about Bogota. Bogota, Kairo, Mumbai and there was a fourth, I don't know. And yeah I am sure I am influenced or inspired by those films.

I: So your mission was, as far as I am concerned, to awareness...

Imre: Raise.

I: Raise, thank you. To raise awareness.

Imre: Not only to raise awareness, but to spark a discussion. I wanted people to talk about this issues and I think was a good vehicle for that.

I: Yeah. Yes, I think I have everything. Did you miss any questions... like is there something you want to add?

Imre: I don't know.

I: Was there any question difficult to answer for you?

Imre: No. I thought we were talking more about the city and the urban transformations.

I: Yes, we can also talk about that. I'm curious about that as well.

Imre: I'm just a bit suprised to talk more about the film itself and not about the topic.

I: Yeah, for me it's both. I think it goes hand in hand somehow and like there ... you were confronted with an issue and you wanted to report on that and this is the interesting part for me, but also gentrification, also the process itself. I was also wondering what do you think about the law they made that they are able now to renew all those buildings and take the buildings from their owners.

Imre: Before 2000 ...or lets say after 2005, when they changed the ehm the TOKI law, the law that governs the state housing administration ehm urban transformation started. It was

happening before, but not under the term urban transformation. So as ehh urban transformation it started in 2005.

I: What do you mean by urban transformation?

Imre: Like change was happening, transformation was happening, but the government did not call it urban transformation. Under the official name urban transformation name it started happening in 2005 and they used three different laws for urban transformation. One law was the protection of historic and cultural heritage places, so for example Sulukule was demolished under this law. Because it was built in a historic part of the city, near the city walls and eh the government claimed that to protect the historic sites that they have to demolish the neighborhood. Ehm, so this is the law that it was based on. Another law was the renewal law. Another one was the prevention of Gecekondus. So these three laws were used to justify urban transformation after 2005 and these laws were used by the local municipalities. They had to make a protocoll with TOKI, but they were excercised by local governments. The new law which was passed in 2013 or in 2012 the disaster law, what we call the disaster law.

I: In 2012?

Imre: Yes, this law gives the authority to perform urban transformation to the central government. Simultaenously with this law they created the ministry of environment and urbanisation and they authorized this new ministry to excercise this law and with no scientific requirement the council of ministers could label any part of the country, it can be a building, it can be a street, it can be a whole neighborhood. There is no limit to the size of the area, they can lable any area an urban disaster risk area. They can say your building is under disaster risk, we have to demolish it or they can say your neighborhood is disaster risk, but there has to be no scientific proof for them to say this. Like how do you know my building is disaster risk? Did you check my building? Did you check the soil? Nothing... It's just a decision made by the council of ministries and that's it. And your neighborhood is under disaster law, is under this law. And it can be demolished.

I: And it can be taken away from you?

Imre: Yes, it can be taken away from its ...

I: owners.

Imre: even if you are not renting a place, if you own a house, they can take it away your house.

I: Just by this law?

Imre: Just by this law. They can expropriate it. They...

I: But isn't that somehow against the law?
Imre: Yes, this is against the law. Some parts of the law were annuled by the consitutional court, because they were against the constitution, but some parts were upheld and there are many court cases now in neighbourhoods, where the council of ministers declared disaster risk zones. One by one are winning this court cases. Like one of the recent decisions it says that there has to be a scientific proof for the government to declare disaster risk and but the purpose of this law was to centralize the control of urban transformation, because there is a lot of corruption in the construction business and the government, the central government wants to control this kick backs and they don't want the local governments to ...
I: get the money.
Imre: to get the money. It's a law that centralizes the corruption and ehm of course it's eh ... there are some unconstitutional and autocratic aspects to the law. Things like limitted recourse to the courts. Like you can't sue the people who are doing this to you.
I: But you can sue the ministry?
Imre: No, you can't sue the ministry. You can only in the courts - this was one of the things that the constitutional court changed after the law was passed. The original law said that you can't even object to this in the courts. Like the government can take this decision and there is nothing you can do about.
I: But they changed that?
Imre: The constitutional court annuled that line ehm and eh of course now people can challenge those decisions and as I said they are winning the court cases.
I: If they are not winning, what happens to the people like are they moved to other houses or do they get money in order for loosing their houses?
Imre: Yeah, I mean what happens is the government controls the process, but doesn't have a direct in the transformation. It threatens the people with expropriation. It says: If you don't agree to this, I will take away your house and it forces the people to make a deal with the construction company. So ehm the construction company comes to you and says: Your house is worth a hundred Lira. And you say no, it is worth 500 Lira, if you want to negotiate. And the government comes and says: If you don't make a deal with this guy, I will just take your house for 60 Lira. I will expropriate it and put those 60 Lira into your bank account and that's...
I: And you can do nothing do about it?

Imre: It forces you to make a deal with the construction company and they get of course what they want and what happens to you, if they give you another rental place or if they give you a house in the new project or not completely depends on the deal with the construction company the state doesn't take care of anything.
I: So it differs from ...
Imre: It just scares you. You know. Forces you to make a deal, but doesn't take part in the deal.
I: And this is happening since 2012. So is...other than suing or taking this to the constitutional court is there anything people can do?
Imre: They can resist in the streets.
I: Yeah.
Imre: But this law does not differentiate between different scales like urban scales. It can be one single building that this law...
I: affects?
Imre: or it can be a whole neighborhood, or it can be several buildings for one project site. You know? And a lot of ehh buildings in upper class neighbourhoods like on the asian side for example near bagdad street.
I: Which district is that?
Imre: Kadiköy.
I: Ah, Kadiköy
Imre: ... or here or in Cihangir or Ettiler more upper class neighbourhoods. People are using this law to get cheap credit from the government to renew their building.
I: Mhm. I don't quite get how this functions.
Imre: Ehh,
I: They sell their houses?
Imre: No, if a construction is taking place under this law then you get benefits like cheap credits. So as a construction company if you are doing an urban project than you can find cheap credit from the government and you can get some tax benefits and some things like this.
I: But as a construction firm but not as a house owner.
Imre: Yeah, as a construction firm. What happens is when two thirds of a building. Two thirds majority of the building if they are in favor of this they go to the construction firm and they call in this engineering firm to certify their building as disaster risk building, if it's old or something. They take parts of this building and they analyse those samples and

they say: Okay this building is ehh disaster risk for earthquake and with this report the construction firm goes to the bank and gets cheap credit and eh they demolish the building and they build a new one. So a lot of people do this.

I: A lot of construction firms or?

Imre: Yeah, I mean the homeowners want to increase the value of their building and they come together and they find a construction firm and they do this. But they do it willingly, like without the government.

I: Taking their houses.

Imre: They do it for their own profit. So this happens in upscale neighborhood.

I: So there is also gentrification somehow going on, no it's not gentrification ...it's renewal.

Imre: This is not gentrification, it's only rich neighborhood that are doing it.

I: Yeah. Yeah.

Imre: Nothing to gentrify.

I: Yeah.

Imre: But it does make rents more expensive. It increases rent values, so if you are a renter not a homeowner in these neighborhoods then it becomes more difficult for you.

I: to pay the rent. What ... you have been working on a project recently, like you wrote me, was this the thing you were working on or was it something else?

Imre: We are working on a new documentary and it's about the global financial system and its relationship to real estate. How the cities have become places of investment and what shapes the city is not the people living it, the needs and the desires of the people living in the city, but ehh what's more profitable is what shapes the city. So we are questioning what kind of city it produces these investments. And who are these investors, who is behind these money, that is flowing into the cities. Not just Istanbul, but everywhere and ehm what are the mechanisms for this money to invest in the city. When they invest, what is the motivation, when they don't invest, why don't they invest ehm and eh how this is affecting our lives.

I: But isn't there a simple answer to your question why do they invest, I think it's to get more profit. No? ...

Imre: Yeah, of course. It's not so simple. Investing in a city, is not like investing in a company. A city is governed by many things. It's a more organic mechanism. It has to do with politics, it has to do with social aspects of the city and ehm yeah it's not pure economics, when you are talking about cities. For example when people invest in a ...

Istanbul, foreigners especially, yes they look at the profitability, but they also look at where Turkey is headed, in which direction its headed, if there is transparency in the market, ehm the risk there may not be an economic risk, but there may be a political risk in investing, ehm so ...like what do they look at, when they invest. I mean why do they invest in Tokio, in Dubai and in Istanbul and not in I don't know Paris

I: maybe Vienna

Imre: maybe Vienna.

I: I'm not sure if and how much they are investing.

Imre: I mean is there a lot of new construction in Vienna?

I: No, but they are talking about it, our government wants to invest in new house in order to like there are nowadays a lot of people who don't have a job and they want to deal with that problem by investing in new buildings and by giving jobs to the citizens. At least that's what they are saying.

Imre: Like in the construction?

I: Yes, in the construction through new constructions, buildings and yeah.

Imre: Yeah, it is a dead end. That kind of economics is a dead end.

I: Yeah? It is not heading anywhere.

Imre: No, I mean you don't give the people any skills, you just use the labour, and after the construction is finished they are again unemployed, you know. It's not a long- term employment strategy. Today about 15% of employment in Turkey is in the construction sector, which is a big percentage.

I: Yes, that's a lot.

Imre: And if it stops, than it's bad news.

I: Mhm. But is there a tendency for the investors to invest more or are they nowadays maybe taking their money back? Because also the third airport, which they want to build, I heard that there might be some shortcuts (I meant cutbacks), but I don't know if it's true.

Imre: Mhm. Now with ehm the US central bank raising interest rates we are going to live in a different economic athmosphere than we did in the past ten years. There was monetary expansion, now there is monetary contraction which means there will be less money and money will be more expensive. Especially for countries, devoloping countries like Turkey, for money for foreign investment to come to your country, you have to give a high return on their investment and not a lot of risk, political risk. Now when money is more expensive, Turkey has to give more return on investment to attract this money. And

eh, I don't think this is possible anymore, because there is so much real estate and build in such a chaotic way, that it doesn't really add value in longterm and secondly because of the geopolitics and the war in the Middle East and Turkey becoming a part of this war slowly, there is more political risk and less return, so the money is going to ehh not come to Turkey anymore and even it might... Turkish investors might take their money outside. We might see a reverse in the flow of investments and this would be disasterous for the construction sector ehm.

I: They would stop probably some projects they have already started.

Imre: Yeah, it means that they won't be able to sell the houses that they built in the last ten years, so there will be a lot of empty houses and ehm yeah and that means the value of the houses that are finished will go down. So people who have taken credit from the bank to buy I don't know a 600.000 $ house, they still have to pay that credit back, but the value of the house is the half. Things like that.

I: Yes, so like where... what I question myself is, is there nobody that is talking some sense to the Turkish government or stopping this expulsion of the city and the environment?

Imre: If the government was concerned about the welfare of the people, the welfare of the environment, then of course they would be. I mean they know these things, if I know these things, they know these things. They are not stupid, but they profit from it. They have a short-term ehh vision and ehm they want to stay in power, this is by far the number one priority of the government, to stay in power and ehm for this they need informal kickbacks this money flowing. It is estimated that of the municipal budget of Istanbul is about 18 billion dollars like the money that they spend every year on everything. And it is estimated that about 20 percent of this goes back into the party, to AKP.

I: 20?

Imre: 20 percent. I mean all of this corruption things ...in December of 2013 there was a big corruption investigation.

I: I heard about it.

Imre: ... it is called the 17 and 25 December operations and ehm the tapes of the phone conversations between the Prime minister, construction company bosses and government officials, municipality officials, all of these were revealed, but over night the prime minister than Tayyip Erdogan he fired all the prosecutors and judges, really completely changed the legal system, not the system but the people. The judiciary was over night

completely overthrown and eh also the police there were changes over night and they stoped this investigation, it didn't go anywhere and no one was prosecuted. But the phone-tapes were released, because they are a part of the legal documents. And they reveal all of these connections clearly. The prime minister than Tayyip Erdogan was clearly involved in making deals about the city and his son and some ministers and their sons. So this link between construction, real estate and eh ehm the media and corruption, this triangle media, construction and government triangle it was so open, so clear.

I: Because they are not, the state owned media they didn't report on this?

Imre: No. They reported in a way... Okay the government took the position that this is a coup attempt against the government. None of this is true, all of them are fabricated, they are trying to overthrow this government. So they took the position that this is a coup attempt and whoever is doing this belongs to the terror organisation. So now all those judges, investigators, police, who investigate, who have been investigated on these things, they are now being charged with being part of a terrorist organisation. Now they are being prosecuted.

I: It's really hard to be an activist, if you are threatened by going to prison or getting arrested or anything else.

Imre: Yeah, there is always that risk.

I: Like... I wonder like ...probably what's eh... I want to know, if the majority of the people are aware of this ehm tapes and eh.

Imre: Good question. Yeah, everybody is aware of this.

I: So it's not just a minority who is informed, who reads the magazines or the online magazines.

Imre: About 50 percent now I know this from the election results, this is my analysis of the election results, 50 percent or even slightly more than 50 percent they know about these things, they are against these things, they want the government to be changed, that's the opposition, the other 50 percent is divided, some of them don't believe it, they believe the government, maybe half and the other half, the other 25 percent, they say okay it might be true, but so what.

I: But they are still voting for the AKP?

Imre: Yeah, they either benefit from the system, so they don't want the system to be changed even if it is corrupt, because they themselves are corrupt, and a so even though they don't believe the government they don't want to change it.

I: Mhm. And eh aside from Ekümenopolis you made another movie about urban transformation, but a short...

Imre: Yeah, I made several.

I: I saw just one.

Imre: Which one did you see? Like non-space?

I: I think so.

Imre: It's short, like ten minutes. That's one is more recent. 2015. That talks more about this transformation law and how the financial thing works ehm and these corruption things and how they are related. Yeah, it has a big picture in like ten minutes.

I: Mhm, but you made several.

Imre: You want more tea or coffee?

I: Yes, tea.

Imre: Tea? (orders tea)

I: But you said, you made several?

Imre: Yeah, in 2013 we made ehm eh a midlength documentary, like 50 minutes it's called *Agoraphobia.*

I: Yeah, I read about that, but I didn't see it. Can I find it anywhere in the internet or maybe here in ...?

Imre: They are all here. (writes down a link)

I: Ah, ok. I'm still ehm like for me the most interesting part is how can one claim their right to the city and if you are confronted with so much oppression or corruption it seems to be almost not possible.

Imre: Yeah, it's difficult, but it means you have to be more organized.

I: Solidarity?

Imre: Yes. Your power to change things or to resist as an individual is multiplied exponantially if you are with other people. Yeah, it is very important to be with other people. And it gives you more courage, it makes you more courageous ehm it makes you more hopeful to change things, if you are by yourself ... if you are by yourself you get more depressed thinking about these things, but solidarity is a good thing.

I: Mhm.

Imre: It is the only thing that has the power to change things, solidarity.

I: Have there also been people from the places, like Sulukule, like Tarlabasi, have they all been at the Gezi protest?

Imre: Have they what?

I: Have they been active at the Gezi protest?
Imre: Ehm, I don't know as individual neighborhoods, but the umbrella group for this neighborhoods, that tries to be active for these neighborhoods, is called urban movements. They were active in Gezi, they had a tent and like an information tent. Yeah, for people individually from these places, I don't know. But Tarlabasi is different of course, you know. They have different dynamics.
I: Because they are so close?
Imre: They are much closer to Taksim. Predominantly Kurdish, so it has different dynamics.
I: And eh, for example in your movie, there was also this moment when the families were on the streets.
Imre: Protesting?
I: Protesting. Did they also return to the streets after your documentary?
Imre: Not them necessarily, but neighbourhood organisation have been on the streets more.
I: Mhm.
Imre: After Gezi, after Gezi we had ... So what happened was Gezi gave birth to neighbourhood forums, there were maybe hundreds of neighbourhood forums and some of them died down, they became inactive, ehm but today there is probably around twenty to thirty active neighbourhood forums, like they are still active after two and a half years. They eh for example, if there is a project in the neighborhood, if a park is threatened, they can resist locally to these things and they contribute to what's called Istanbul urban defence.
I: Mhm.
Imre: So this is a new group, that was founded after Gezi. Also northern forest defence was created to protect or to fight against the urbanisation of the northern forest.
I: Mhm.
Imre: Which includes the third airport project, the third bridge and the urbanisation that will follow these two projects.
I: But they built the third bridge, am I right?
Imre: Yes, but construction is still going on and the connection highways. It is still not open, but eh for us the biggest threat is not the bridge itself but the urbanisation that it will bring around it. So we haven't seen anything yet.

I: I was wondering that these neighbourhoods where they have been living at they were very central and where they are now living, in the outskirts, if they are more separated from each other now or if they are still in contact?

Imre: Which neighbourhoods?

I: Maybe from Ayazma.

Imre: Ayazma is gone.

I: Yeah, I figured that, but they had to move somewhere.

Imre: Oh, the people there.

I: If they are still like or ...

Imre: Some of them are still in touch, but yeah their links are broken, they are not neighbours anymore, I mean they have gone different ways. Yeah, this is specially true for the gypsies. After Sulukule was demolished, they were scattered all around the city. And eh and the Gypsy culture is based on living together. One of the guys from Sulukule explained it to me like fish out of the water, you know. This is how Gypsies are, if they are left by themselves. Yeah, so this was most traumatic for them. But it's traumatic for everyone, you loose your neighbour, your ... I mean most of these people were able to survive through solidarity with other people in the neighbourhood. Like if they didn't had money to cook, they could eat with their neighbour. If somebody was left unemployed, others could take care of that family. Those kinds of solidarity networks, they were all shattered, you know. I mean these are things, they are difficult to see with the eye. But they happen everywhere, more than loosing your physical house is loosing those connections.

I: Yeah.

Imre: This is why we say the city is not made of buildings, it is made of social interactions. Social interaction is what makes a city, not the physical buildings and you break these physical interactions.

I: But isn't this also happening to like other places, like Mumbai, like megacities?

Imre: Yeah, I mean they are capital needs rising stars to invest, so it can make a profit. So there are some selected global, what they call, global city. And what's good for the investor is almost, always bad for the people in that city.

I: But what made those cities famous are those social interactions and the way the people live in those cities, the flair and then they invest, because it's an interesting way of living and an interesting city and through this investment the city disappears.

Imre: I don't think they invest in the culture.

I: No? What is it then? Just buildings?
Imre: They invest in the economy of the city, because housing is an economic instrument, has become an economic instrument. They don't really care if it's in Japan, in India, in Turkey, they don't care, you know. That's another thing, that causes, this really culturally rich places to start looking like one another, they start looking the same, because it doesn't care about the culture, it doesn't care if it's a unique historic place, it just cares if there is profit to be made and the economy. If people can spend money, if they are good consumers.
I: Mhm.
Imre: I don't know, how is Vienna managed?
I: Housing wise we have old social housings ... ehm... from the 50ies, 60ies after the 2nd World War, they are very cheap, they were for the working class, constructed for the working class and they are spread through the whole city. So we have somehow a mixture.
Imre: So they are not on the outskirt of the city, they are integrated in the city.
I: That's one good thing.
Imre: It's not enough, but it's a good thing.
I: There have been discussions that there are lots of houses empty, so that they can like raise the rent, because there is more demand, than houses. And now they will start to build some new houses, even tho there are some empty houses, which doesn't make much sense...
Imre: It makes sense for them.
I: At the moment it's like an instant cure for some economic problems. We have become the second biggest german speaking city after Berlin.
Imre: Really? Wow.
I: Yes. And ehm, I don't know. It is not like in Istanbul at all and I think there are not so many construction sights now, but maybe there will be in the future, because they want the workers to be employed.
Imre: Mhm. So these housing project, who is building them? The central government or the city government?
I: It's a good question. I think it's the central government, but maybe they give the authority to the city government. I think it will be like that. But the decision was made in the government.
Imre: Are they building a new satelite city kind of thing?

I: A little bit, yes.

Imre: It's bad.

I: They started to expand the metro it's further away and there is now somehow a new little city very close to Vienna. It will be integrated soon, I guess.

Imre: A lot of European cities are doing that. They are building a satilite city, that is connected by metro or that is like bike lanes or you know... (Telephone rings... and I stoped the recordings)

ii. Appendix B

The affected woman from Tarlabasi wanted to remain anonymous.

B., 2012. Interview with a woman in Tarlabasi. Interviewed by Kübra Göl and Isabelle Mariacher [audiofile]. Istanbul, December 2012. Translated by Gizem Yörür and Isabelle Mariacher

A: Was denken Sie...

B: Sei still! (zu ihrem Sohn)

A: Was denken Sie über die Erneuerung Tarlabasi's?

B: Ich wünschte sie hätten Tarlabasi schon früher erneuert.

A: Warum?

B: Weil alles kaputtgegangen ist. Schau dir meinen Sohn an, der ist total kaputt. Die Menschen haben sich sehr verändert. Vor 43 Jahren war hier alles anders. Vor 43 Jahren war hier alles sehr, sehr gut. Hier wohnten Griechen, Armenier, nicht-muslimisch gläubige Menschen waren hier. Wir hatten eine schöne Nachbarschaft. Wir können es nicht verstehen, wo wir jetzt sind. Sind wir noch in der Türkei? Das Zerstören war gut, jede*r weiß wieder wohin er*sie gehört. Ich bin die vierte Besitzerin dieses Hauses.

A: Wie war das?

B: Schau, zuerst war hier ein Armenier, der hat es an einen Zahnarzt verkauft. Der hatte es an zwei Brüder verkauft, die sich nie einigen konnten. Dann habe ich es gekauft. Aber was werden sie abreißen? Werden wir bleiben? Versteht ihr mich? Ich bin 64 Jahre alt. Ich habe meinen Mann vor 7 Jahren verloren. Ich habe zwei Kinder. Beide haben psychische Probleme. Mein Sohn ist drogenabhängig. Meine Tochter hat an der Uni studiert. Vor ein einhalb Jahren hat sie die Uni abgebrochen.

A: Was macht sie jetzt?

B: Jetzt macht sie nichts mehr.

A: Die Psyche ist ziemlich kaputtgegangen. Auch bei meinem Sohn. Sie möchte sich nicht mehr mit Leuten treffen. Wir waren keine laizistischen Leute hier. Als wir hier ankamen, war alles ganz anders. Die Straßen waren blitzblank.

B: Glauben Sie, dass Ihnen ein neues Haus ein neues Leben ermöglichen wird?

A: Bis jetzt sind sie noch nicht gekommen, um unser Haus zu zerstören. Sie kamen nur bis zum Straßenanfang.

B: Wäre die Geschichte Ihres Hauses es wert es zu restaurieren?

A: Das weiß ich nicht, Mädchen. Aber das Gebäude ist 170 Jahre alt. Es ist sehr sehr alt.
B: Danke.
A: Kein Problem, mein Kind. Hoffentlich reißen sie es ab, dann kommt hier wieder Ordnung rein. Das möchte ich, aber verkaufen möchte ich nicht. Ich bin mit 19 Jahren hierhergekommen.

iii. Appendix C

Velioglu, Safak. 2012. Interview with the owner of kooperatif. Interviewed by Isabelle Mariacher [audiofile]. Istanbul, December 2012.

I: So, Safak can you introduce yourself and what you are doing?
Safak: What I'm doing is I'm managing this place it is an arts and performance hall, it is one of the first one in the centre, in the city centre of Istanbul, which is changing day by day now, it has lots of diciplines and lots of eh works, which is multilingual and multidisciplinary, which we enjoy here. So I appreciate really that I am the first one who thought about this idea, to open a place, that is different than a bar and a cafe, but a kind of a meeting point for different artists, not only to come together to consume, but to come together and to produce some ideas and cooperations. As it's supposed to be. It was not a cooperative, as it was my idea, but it became a cooperative hopefully.
I: How long are doing that by now?
Safak: As and idea kooperatif started in Spain and then it was a small idea, with small people, you know, young people, but then the idea moved with me to Istanbul, to my country. So it was easy to make the space big, and the logistics and you know more serious and the idea got bigger in Istanbul. It gets thirteen years old now.
I: And what do you think about the renewal of Tarlabasi?
Safak: I think like anybody else, any citizen of this country, but it affects more, because I'm living in Tarlabasi and my place is near to Tarlabasi, so kooperatif. It is not just about Tarlabasi, I leave a bit nearer to the centre and kooperatif is between Tarlabasi and the historic cultural centre, but this change of Tarlabasi affects down there and up here. So that is why it is not easy to think that it happens to one street there, that four or five blocks of apartments, but it's more about the changing of perceptions and consumptions when you think about all the central areas. I think for the political authorities from Ankara or the from Istanbul somehow, that a 20 million of city has a centre, which is unchangeable and lasting some 4000 years, it was the central area around Istiklal and Tarlabasi, it didn't worth a lot, like enough for them, according to the rent, according to the glass of tea that you pay or whatever so comparing with other cities. They wanted more luxury or with different social area, than you really spend as much as you should spend money in a 20 million of city. I think the basic idea is not making the streets

beautiful, or the blocks or the parks, destroying or renovating, beside all arguments, architectual arguments, I think it's more about the capital changing hand to hand, new hands have different perceptions for the future, they have different perception on the big city of Istanbul. They have the idea to make the centre, not particularly in one place, they want to have different, different centres, that's why they are making the third bridge, that is why they are making the third airport, they are creating two other Istanbul for the middle class, but for the high class and for the high touristic classes they keep preserve the centre. So it is kind of a deterritorialisation for the people around here, here around. For them nobody has right to for 500$ to pay rent here, even if there is people who are paying 200$ rent in the 20 million of city, it should be one zero more, that is why they are changing the architecture here, and the area here. That's an architectual excuse anyway.
I: So basically what you are saying is because of economical reasons they are changing that place and what does that mean for kooperatif the renewa? How does it affect you?
Safak: I don't know, how can I compare this change. Many cities had the same destiny like in Roma, in Barcelona, Paris. But I think it was more organized 40 years before when the masses come, but we had the mass already 40 years, I mean the mass of immigration, interial immigration of Turkey, the people came from East, south-east Anatolia or nord-east Anatolia to Istanbul. So we had the planning after 40 years they come, so it is a little bit weird. So we have 80 years difference about this planning. And I don't think that this plannings and changes have a perception for the future, for example for 40 years. When they had this roads down and they keep the Taksim square for the pedestrians, I don't think it includes some ideas about what's happening after 40 years, what the next generations achieve with that or appreciate with that or whatever. So that is why it's going to affect my life, kooperatif is my life, kooperatif is part of, kooperatif is part of anybody else. We are using this structure that we are in now, it's 140 years old, it's one of them that they gonna turn into an hotel and normally there are many places like kooperatif in this building, art centres, krishna centres, religious sect groups, political parties offices and many cafés and so on, galleries. It might be four blocks this apartment and 11 floors imagine. Each floor five different flats, so there are 200 institutions and cooperations are head to be out of it. So this 200 ideas or social groups or links, you know language and social (not understandable) are excluded and only one comes. So this one has to be worthy as these 200, this is the political authority. They don't find this 200 different initiatives as worthy to the centre as, they don't deserve, comparing to one idea of a hotel. So that's why we are all excluded and everybody tries to find their destiny

somewhere. After the rent, after the economic struggle, if they find a place, they continue the same business, or ideas in different places and so on. It is also disturbing the experience and the memory you know. And that's why...But the one who is coming as a hotel owner will pay probably more rent, more capital, you know. That's why like it will affect us and that's why we have to find a new place. Actually we fit to this building. It was from minorities and we don't feel as inhabitants here, but as a minority. And this building was made by minorities and there are minorities inside. But the one who comes, I think the capital is linked to the political authority or whatever and I think they don't feel this excluded of the system, so that's why we gonna find a new place and we gonna find our centre. It is not easy. When the ideas, the social groups and the initiatives meant to be in the centre, when they are excluded from the centre, it is not easy for them to create their kibbutz, their programmes or whatever outside of the city. If it had to be, it could be just because of the big economical issues, as I can not pay rent here anymore, I have to make it down there or somewhere else in Istanbul or change the ideas and so on. So this will affect for sure. The location at least.

I: When do you think this will happen?

Safak: What they said us, they said we had an owner. All the flats in the building had an owner for centuries. So the old owners came together and sold to one owner and the new owner said: You have to move in one year. So we spend half of it, six month I am trying to find a place, so we have six months more to find a place and lots of the blocks already changed, it's all empty now. Sad thing they will also kind of destroy the building, not really renew the things, like as it should be. Okay it's not my matter, it's more about for the architects that should care about the city. I care more about my space here and the social area that I created here with the people. I care if it's successful, if it's successfully moved to another place and continue and having experience in whatever we are used to do, but of course this is what I also care what happens with this beautiful building. If it's going to be a hotel, if it's all destroyed or nicely renovated I don't care, that's not the idea.

I: Thank you, do you want to add something?

Safak: No.

I: I was also curious you wanna move to a new place, but you didn't search something yet or?

Safak: Yeah, it's very difficult to find something in the centre with proper rent and I don't have the economy for that, because I do alternative things here and many places in the

centre were not business, they didn't have really like how to say, this genetic with this business issues, they were not like it, if it is more to survive, but to come together, if it is more to survive, but to make initiative, but like do more things together, like cooperative initiative. But now any kind of cafè or instituition or whatever had to first sit down and to say how to pay this rent and the tax and this and everything and then after this all work, business like any other places, then how do we use our profit? In a good way or in a bad way for ourselves, for others, for art or for a union. But it's difficult to race, it's a social institution. Imagine that you have to pay rent as a kebap salleries paying, you have to pay as much as they pay, you have to pay, because nobody supports you. So it's hard race with a kebap owner in a fast food shop. Running the business as much as they do best, as much as you have to do best, then after they buy cars and you loan for art in a centre it's difficult.

I: Thank you so much.

Safak: You are welcome.

iv. Appendix D

Velioglu, Safak. 2016. Skype-interview with the owner of kooperatif. Interviewed by Isabelle Mariacher [audiofile]. Online on the 11th of Jannuary 2016.

I: Hello? ...
Safak: Hello?
I: Hello, now I can hear you.
Safak: Hi.
I: Hi, how are you doing?
Safak: Isabelle?
I: Yes, hello Safak.
Safak: Can you see me?
I: I can not see you, no.
Safak: I'm working in a café.
I: You are in a café right now?
Safak: I was showing you a nice view. (shows the view)
I: Ah, wow ... wow. Where are you right now?
Safak: You can see me now?
I: Yes, now I can see you.
Safak: Do you see with the camera?
I: Yeah, I can see you.
Safak: I'm here.
I: Wow, this looks perfect. Where are you right now?
Safak: This is where I am.
I: Nice.
Safak: In Maca (I couldn't quite understand the name of the place), in the south-east of Turkey. Have you been here?
I: No, I have not been there.
Safak: You have never been in the south-west of Turkey?
I: No.

Safak: Okay, perfect. That's Turkey, it's here. Istanbul is here and I'm down here in the corner, in the peninsula close to the sea like that. (shows me the distance between Istanbul and his new place)

I: Oh, wow. Looks great.

Safak: Yeah, yeah. I'm working on the new kooperatif here, the constructing and doing plans for the new kooperatif. After I lost the kooperatif in Istanbul...

I: Ahh, you will open the new kooperatif (t)here?

Safak: Yeah, exactly. That's the plan, after gentrification I decided to make kooperatif in the nature, is a better idea, like with accomodation, with rooms, with events, with lots of workshops, like festivities, produce for itself more ecologic and so on and so on. That's why I bought a land in the nature and I'm constructing kooperatif on top of that land.

I: Oh, wow that sounds exciting.

Safak: You should come and see.

I: Yeah.

Safak: You should come and see and give ideas.

I: I would like to come and to have a look and to help you with that new project. It sounds nice, because I like nature. I think it's a good idea.

Safak: Yeah, perfect. Perfect. You like nature. Where are you now?

I: I'm in Vienna and I'm doing my master now.

Safak: Where are you now?

I: In Vienna and I'm doing my master and I'm writing about ... Can you hear me?

Safak: I hear you and I'm writing down to answer you. So you can tell me, it's a bit not bad connection, so it's good that I write down. I hear it.

I: I'm writing about the topic we have been talking about how to report on people who have been affected by gentrification, you know? And I was wondering if you saw any documentaries that ehm and how you find them? If you saw some and how they appeared to you.

Safak: Mhm.

I: Yeah.

Safak: I work about gentrification, when I was at Bilgi University, when I was working at the institute of migration in 2006-2007 before I opened kooperatif I was working as an assistant in this institution. It is the first institution, it is eh it was founded by the university in Turkey and it was called migration. There the first two field works, I was an

assistant and I worked for, and the field works were about this (...) migration in the kurdish villages, in the south-east, armenian and assyrians. You know about assyrians?
I: Yeah, I know.
Safak: This very interesting christian community living in southeast, mostly in (...), Antakya and so on and in those places. So I made gentrification projects, but they were mostly like very political, more about the direct minority groups in the southwest of Turkey, southeast of Turkey sorry.
I: And ehh.
Safak: But of course, we give some (...) in Istanbul, how it affected people and how people were gentrified from southeast Turkey, (...) Christians, Kurds, Armenians and how they and what kind of future they had in case they moved from the village, when the army burned their village, so this is the ehh gentrification we were working on, not just about changing the rent, the price in the villages, of course it's like their villages were burned, so that's why they had to move, some of them came to the cities in the east, some of them came to the main cities in the west. So of course for those, who came to the main cities, started to live in ghettos, in favelas, like in the suburbs of Istanbul. We follow those people and make some interviews and so on, but the gentrification I think it's more about what happened in Istanbul in the big cosmopolities like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, what happened in the centre of those cities it's not about those minority groups in the east, no? More about the system of money how it changed the centre of Istanbul.
I: The big cities.
Safak: That's how I understood.
I: Yeah, exactly. And how the media should report on it. Or how they did and what they did and what they did wrong or right?
Safak: Shut up! (laughs) There is a dog here, he is very angry. Ehh, so media, media reports on this like it's more urban gentrification, no?
I: Yes, it's more urban gentrification.
Safak: I see. First of all, what is media in Turkey? We have a one, now criticly there is a way of saying of Turkish media is a halk medyasi (public broadcasting) it means poor (?) media. What makes media pool (?)? It means that those media group, big groups supports the government, so the heads or headquarters of media corners, the main radio channels, the main newspapers, the main papers, the main TV-channels are all employed by the government. If you have a 15 media channels in prime time, what 80 percent of the country is watching, it's a member of this party. So, it's kind of similar to Berlusconi

system, what we have in Erdogan system. You remember Berlusconi had lots of media powers and when he is on the power it means the other media powers are also working for him, it means not just that he has media channels. It's also the other channels can not work without worshipping and praying for him. So you know how it was in Italy. We have the same. Of course some people who are directly in the AKP – government has media power, because they have companies, they have companies for construction and they have companies for media. So those people are candidate in the parliament, but the others who are not in AKP, but they have also head-quarters and media head quarters they also worship to the government, because they can not survive without it, full of them without being in this pool (?) media, without being in this, under this umbrella, why because otherwise the inspector comes to media and they check their taxation system and they are fucked up, they can't continue being critical or out of this system. So that's how the gentrification are on those people of course the gentrification thing was a very positive thing for the government it was not something bad and the media covers and closes and hides. It was a project of the government, positively. So the gentrification and changing the city centre, the old groups who had to leave the centre or the newcomers, was nothing a bad scenario, it was a good scenario. So the gentrification meant, the urban planning, the urban changing, so this was a kind of new life in the cities considering the standards of living, considering the infrastucture, considering what you see in the city. So the first I know about gentrification was, the media was in one hand, so they promoted it positively. So this is not like about the other gentrification, we have been working on, about the Kurds. We didn't hear that the Kurdish villages were burnt. Of course, the media was closing, was hiding this topic about this forced gentrification and more that time, in 2005-2006 in the academic people were not using this gentrified groups, or gentrification in this urban plan blablabla, it was more about a forced migration, it was called more forced migration. But this was very negative, if you talk about forced migration, you can not put it in a good scenario. You can not say: Now we have a new city by forced migration. You can not put these two things together. But you can put new urban planning and you mean about gentrification, but nobody thinks it's a bad scenario, because forced migration is another topic. You would not have it positively in a package. But gentrification was a new concept, what happened in the west. Which is different than the deterritorilialisation, you know this concept from Deleuze about deterritorilialisation. In Turkish we say: Yeniden yurdundan evime. (or something like that) Which means: You are taking from your home, you are taking from your rent, you are an exile, you are a

minority in the new home or whatever, nobody cares what you will be. So this title of gentrification was told as a new urban planning. So the yeni sehir planlamasi – the new urban planning was how people were announced and were known about this plan. Nobody heard about gentrification, this is a sociological term what we use at the academy. In the academy when you hear about gentrification you know that there is a different infrastructure, there is different interests on it, somebody is making new houses, new roads, but it also had bad sides, you know, because those peoples whose neighbourhoods are gentrified can not afford to be in the new life there. As an sociolog(ist) or politolog (political scientist) you know that all the people who lived in the ghetto in the centre are now forced to live in the ghettos outside of the centre. No? So this is the main thing in Turkey what people face. What you know is different what people knows. Even the people who had this affects of gentrification heard the story different way, positively. So they were happy with giving their houses, their lives to the companies, to the municipalities. Because they know the future will be different. The future will be different, but not in a positive way. They will come again and they will not be able to rent the same house, where they were living for. It will be nice those streets, maybe. Sociology, anthropology, demography changed, so the lifestyle and the sociology of every day life will change. But nobody cares about that. It's what you care, what I care about. But people who live there, who doesn't think about the sociology of everyday life there, because he won't be there to the facilities, the events, the streets, the heterogenity of the streets will be changed, because it's about the money. How many people can afford that kind of rent and being in the centre is more about the people who looks like each other. So you won't have the centre, even if it looks very ugly, but there you have minorities, very old generation like for several years living there, and the Europeans, or Erasmus students, so it's very heterogeneous. But in the new times the streets will look much nicer on the outside, but you won't have 80 percent of this crowd. You will have rich Arabs, rich Europeans or rich whatever. So what people know in the media is a positive scenario and media never talks about the, this dramatic change, which is a really dramatic, the sociology of everyday life, which is what makes Istanbul interesting and people like Istanbul interesting, like old cities like Rome or like whatever. It's about this heterogeneous demography, it's being very heterogeneous not today, not in this government, not in the Turkish republic time, even in the Ottoman, even before, the centre of Istanbul has always been very, there were always lots of different groups. Like a hundred years before it was Jews, Levantines, Italian minorities, Russian minorities,

Armenians, whatever. Today for our time we have different differences. But what brings gentrification is stoping and putting a wall between past and future. So in the future it won't have this natural, heterogeneous society there, because some people can afford it, some people can not afford it, put this treshold monetary, budget treshold in the history, future will be different. Because, believe me or not, but there is a class distinction. It doesn't matter if you are a Marxist or not. Some have money, some people have no money. So eh gentrification what we know is this new system of the market, of course. They ask you to spend and earn more money there. For example, to just give you a short example what I had before. And nobody told me that you can not have a kooperatif in the new Taksim. Nobody forced, nobody said you are doing a bad job. But what they told me indirectly was: Okay, Safak you have a kooperatif. There is somebody upstairs, who has a krishna centre and upstairs there is a political party that which nobody (...) So you are all in Taksim. But now today, who next door who owns Mango, and next door who owns a shop of Swatch, and next who owns a shop of Vodafone or Turkcell, so they earn per metersquare 50$ per day. So that's the amount of what. And 50$ per square in a metropolitan centre, in Paris it's 250$, in Barcelona it's 200$, in Berlin it's 150$ per day, so it's already the pay a difference than in other metropols. So the target of the Turkish metropol, as a capitalistic city, so you earn at least 50$ per metersquare whatever you do, you sell transvestite, you sell condom, you sell whatever, or you sell art.

I: Mhm.

Safak: This is how system tells you inderectly, so your rent goes higher, the people who work there ask more money, the service you have in the centre goes higher, everything goes higher. So at the end you know, you have to at least earn that amount of money to survive there. And you have no way of paying this rent, of paying this other costs, in the centre with doing anything alternative, you can't do krishna centre, because you live on donation, you can't be a political party, which has no votes, which is green party, communist party, feminist party, whatever antitopics party, because nobody donates, nobody helps you, you can not be kooperatif because nobody make, you know, bikini-party or pyjama party every Saturday and Friday like the other bar, so you don't sell that much beer. If you are alternative, like kooperatif and you are putting Indian classical music on a saturday that nobody comes, and so you can not sell a beer. I mean it's not a directly, culturally gentrification, it's more about the new budget system like system or the municipality, or the mayor, or the capital .... (the internet connection was gone)

I: Hello.

Safak: Hello?
I: Sorry, my internet connection was gone, I think. I'm sorry about that.
Safak: Ah, yeah. So I don't know where to continue, so much speaking alone. Can you tell me where...what you heard last time?
I: Yeah, you were talking about the money that had to be spend per square meter in the centre of Istanbul.
Safak: Yeah, yeah. So, yeah exactly. So there is nothing different I guess between Istanbul and other metropols, when I was living in Barcelona I was thinking the same. Like how it is very dramatic, but I think in Barcelona it happened slowly, maybe Barcelona has been gentrified for the last 200 years, slowly and slowly when money came from Latin Amerika, and money came from North Africa, when money came from the industrialization of this, when Barcelona became a textile centre of the world and then became a cultural centre. But there is always some spots in Barcelona, it gentrified some way, but it has still have a game of differences in between, inside, I don't know how they manage it, but maybe the quality of this different groups of people, different class distinctions is not just like black and white, but more shades of grey. So okay you do an alternative job, but you can still do it good, so you can still be in the centre.
I: Mhm.
Safak: But this game is not played in Istanbul centre. It is very dramatic, it changed in two years for example, so when I was out I was paying 3000 Lira, which was 1000$ for today and now if I want to rent the same place, they ask me 7000$. So it's a seven times difference. If it would be in 200 years, if I would be the fourth generation who owns kooperatif in Istanbul centre, like my grand grandchild so it would be gradually you know I would adopt the system. But the gentrification didn't happen in Istanbul like gradually. So one day the government came and everybody was out of it in Tarlabasi, it's like one day, it's like superdramatic. And now those streets with people who lives the Erasmus, with you or me, or Gypsies, or Kurds, still whose Greeks or Armenians are still living there. They were people still living there, people like that. From the beginning of the century those people who after the Armenian Genocide, there were still some Armenian living in Tarlabasi for example. Erasmus, you, me, some Gypsies, Kurds, some Turks, and the old Greek grannies. And one day all the streets are empty and the next day all the streets are full with boutique hotels. So there is nobody living there. This is something different than what we know culturally or economically about gentrificiation. Do you know what I mean?

I: Yeah, I know what you mean and I was wondering if you saw a documentary about this gentrification process in Istanbul that touched you or that dealt with that problem in an adequate way? If you watched any documentary?
Safak: Did you watch any, so I can know what I know in between?
I: Yeah, I watched Ekümenopolis for example and ehm there were some several documentaries but they also were made during and after the Gezi protest, so there was a kind of relation to Gezi.
Safak: I don't know a lot more than what you know than. I know this Ekümenopolis, and some then after Gezi which is not directly about gentrification, okay governments starts to fight against Gezi and this was maybe one of the methods they were running how to by the risk of having Gezi in the future, to put out, you know, I support Gezi, but I'm not out because I support Gezi at the moment, it's about money, it's more real. If the government fight with me on gentrification in this political level I could still be in the centre and fight for it, even the condition would be hard, so I would be inside of Gezi. But it was all about the money, if it was a political fight, but they don't fight you politically, so the economic change is also drawn in the media positively and who am I? I am not even having a critical position to the government. I am just here, but want to pay less. I want to be there, but I want to be poor. So that's not the rule of game at the moment. Imagine if you are a land owner. Someone comes and than an Arab tells you: He pays double price for the rent. And I tell the land owner: I am an LGBT group I pay rent and people just comes here and drink tea here. Who is that land owner who would say: Okay, I don't like Arabs, I like LGBT groups. No way, not even in Rome.
I: Yeah, it's a capitalistic world we are living in.
Safak: So that's why, I could give you a kind picture in your eyes. There are lots of han in Istanbul. You maybe heard the word han, which means big building. So *Rumeli Han* was name of the building where kooperatif was and *Rumeli Han* was three blocks and each other there were 11 floors and each floor there were eight doors, which were rooms or offices, or venues or whatever. If you multiply eight times eleven times three is like whatever 250. 250 doors were existed only in the building where kooperatif was. And all the Istiklal Streets are those hans. There are so many doors and so many rooms. First floor were working to the streets, to sell beer or to sell art, to sell textile, so they were paying maybe all 5000 Turkish Lira rent, like they were paying like 2000 or 3000 € the first floor. The others all 250 floors, inside or up, everybody was paying very low rent. Like I was paying very low rent, because I was in the basement. So in this 250 spaces I

can tell you there were at least 50 different political party offices, 50 different student unions and civil society offices, LGBT groups, Krishna groups, flamenco blabla, there was even one, because the ceiling was so high, there was even one room, for people practising rock climbing, imagine in the centre of Istanbul. The walls were like four meters, I was a kind of group whatever, like a rock climbing fun.

I: Ah, rock climbing.

Safak: Yeah, rock climbing. There were of course doing field works, they were going outside and they were climbing the rock, but there were practising, so it was like practising spot for a club of rock climbing. And probably they were paying rent double more than 200€. Imagine that colour difference of this people, who are entering this building. In order to be in this building, you have to use the metro and you have to get out at Taksim and you walk on Istiklal. So imagine the difference walking on Istitklal, who get that building. I mean not only those people. People comes there, I'm not the colour who is now not just walking on Istiklal street, when I opened kooperatif, there were at least 100 people were entering kooperatif. So because of the politics of budget I was playing in kooperatif, keeping different art and keeping low budget you know for what I sell, there were at least 100 different faces were entering just because kooperatif was there and is the same for all this doors in the building. So that's why if you multiply one hundred people for each door, so can imagine they say there are two and a half million people walking on Istiklal everyday, so this two and a half million people will change, because I am out and the upstairs, this krishna center they are out, so the other door was a buddhist temple, they are out, the other were rock climbers, they are all out. Imagine how strong the hit. They hit me and now I came to south-west of Turkey. How far they pushed me out.

I: Mhm.

Safak: When I was working and the other problem in Istanbul is that, in Paris or in Berlin what you can do, after gradually gentrification, you can see that people are slowly going to live in the suburb, so you can open your venue in the suburb. People in Cihangir, Asmalımescit, Tarlabasi, Tünel they kick me out, so I go to Aksaray or whatever outside of the city centre, so I open my kooperatif there, who will come there? Nobody. Because of one day change, it is not like slow, somebody creating new neighbourhoods for them. If it would be happen, if it would happen if that colour of people that are coming kooperatif or another place outside of the city so I see that they are moving that place, so we are creating our small zones, I would go and find a place there, you know what I

mean? But so daily and dramatic. I didn't see this change in two generations, it happened in seven years. I open, it was okay then I close. It didn't happen in seven years, so I didn't see where I can be. But outside of Paris you can see different zones of alternative people, but in Istanbul if you open your art centre in Istanbul nobody will come. Even people from Mecidiyeköy were coming to this art centre, if you would open next door they would not come, because Mecidiyeköy is not an art space and Aksaray is for one thing and Taksim is for one thing. So it is not about being near or far to your customers, your followers or your members, it's about the aura of the space. I mean what I mention of the sociology of the everyday life of that zone doesn't happen daily, it means it happens for long time. Imagine Raval in Barcelona or la Rambla in Barcelona, there you have differences, but it didn't happen in one day, it started since the Spanish colonisation in Latin America, they brought workers and they keep all this cheap workers in Raval, so it became a minority. Then illegal immigration from Marocco or North Africa came there, because it was the only place they could afford. Then there came a döner seller shop there, because they want halal döner, so it's slowly slowly this difference happens in big cities. But in Istanbul it didn't have the same way of change.

I: Mhm, it was faster and more dramatically than in other places.

Safak: Yeah, exactly. Probably you know more cities how it gentrified gradually in Europe or in Vienna or in Berlin, but you know also what happened in Istanbul was very dramatic of course. You can compare much better, I guess.

I: Did you watch for example *Ekümenopolis* the documentary?

Safak: Yeah, it's made by one of my friends Gaye, who is the director. So, I knew the Ekümenopolis since they had the motivation of doing it and I was following them. What I watched was the trailer and the first serie. It was 5 or 6 years ago and I don't remember picture by picture at the moment.

I: I think it, like what my impression was was that the documentaries about Istanbul they were speaking more openly about this topic than the media.

Safak: I see. That was a successful documentary for those who are interested in having this negative vision about gentrification, but it's far away from being an item in a massive media (mass media). Nobody knows about it, the ordinary people don't know about it.

I: What do you mean by negative vision?

Safak: I mean critical vision about gentrification. Gentrification was not a hidden topic, it was not something only mentioned in critical media or in blogs or in Gezi or something. Gentrification as told as a new urban planning, which meant to people even the election

propaganda it was a project, so this is two different thing, what you know the cultural centre changes in Vienna slowly in the last 200 years, no it's one day project the government promised to people to make it, so they promise: "I put you out, I give you better houses. What do you do in the centre? Why do you need a house in Tarlabasi, where the floor is fucked up, the roof is you know the water is leeking, you don't have proper infrastructure. Now I give you house, blabla neighbourhood in the outside of Istanbul. Which those people don't care, because those Gypsies, or Kurds, what do they have positively just because they are in the centre? They don't consume (...) you know. They have a house which has better infrastructure outside of the city, so they prefer it, so they sell. So they give there house to the government and government use this territory to sell to the Arabs. To give them a shithouse on the outside of Istanbul, so they gentrify the difference in the centre.

I: Mhm. Yeah and I was wondering if I could use our conversation we had this time and maybe the one we had two years or three years ago.

Safak: Yes, of course. What did I say 2 years ago? I don't remember.

I: You were talking about the rent house and also about the. I can send you the transcript, if you want me to.

Safak: No, no, no just curious.

I: I don't mind. It's ehm the transcription is done very soon and then you can read and remember what we have been talking about. But basically we have been talking about gentrification and ehm in Tarlabasi and about kooperatif. And you mentioned last time, but it was after I recorded it, that I should watch this documentary by this greek, no it's not a documentary, it's more a film by Angelopoulos.

Safak: Ah, great. So I mentioned you something very romantic. (laughs). It's what I do, when I try to flirt, hard work. But you know what came to my mind now. CNN made an interview with me, CNN international and I gave an interview with them, so they made an article. Are you interested, so I give you the link?

I: Yes, that would be great.

Safak: So open the link, let's go on it. Maybe there are some interesting things you can paraphraze or use or there what I mentioned some topics are maybe more interesting, so maybe you can say: Safak can you open this sentence for me. Let's see line by line now and maybe we can finish this.

I: It's also about the urban transformation.

Safak: Exactly, so what they did it's a kind of article, it's called vanishing Istanbul: Developers call time on bohemian backstreets, which is about gentrification. So they took kooperatif as an example of a corporate blocks as an witness of suffered about this gentrification story. So they use kooperatif as an example and they go all the story through on the experience of kooperatif. You know? In my mouth. In some comments, if you like, if it's something you want to put more stress on: so can you open? I can open right now.

I: Okay. Yeah like rumeli han also means like greek it's the house of the greek. (Rum does mean greeks, who are living in Turkey.)

Safak: Yeah, rumeli han is this big structure where we are settled in Istiklal. There were many of this on Istiklal those old Greek or Armenian, or Jew buildings. This was one of them. Han means old building.

I: But rumeli means?

Safak: Rumeli means like Trakya (Thrace), like for west-Trakya we called rumeli. It's just a name. But west-Trakya has been called since Ottoman Empire as rumeli, so for those who has come from Mazedonia or East-Greece, Turkish minorities, after the Balkan War who came to Turkey, after the Balkan separate, we call those Turks rumeli Turks for example. So it's a kind of concept of mentioning the west-Trakyan region. West-Ottoman territory in Europe.

I: Is that now the greek area?

Safak: What do you mean?

I: Does it now belong to the Greece?

Safak: No, not at all. (I think he talked about the house here) It was made in 1870s. It is now one hundred years old building, I don't know who made it. Probably Greek rich men, or it was an Armenian men or a Jew. I don't know the story.

I: Okay. Like for example this article, like for example when I was talking to some people in Turkey and they said they got the feeling that the media is not dealing adequately with that topic.

Safak: Of course not.

I: And eh you gave an interview to the CNN and they are reporting and how did you find that? How was it for you?

Safak: I mean what happened when they made an article with me or what?

I: Yeah.

Safak: When the CNN wanted to make an article I was working for the CNN, I was working as an CNN assistant in Istanbul. Maybe you remember my friend Joe, so I was assisting them in many events, like in Gezi I was working for CNN international as a not reporter I was doing camera work, I was interviewing and I was doing translation. So this kind of was friendship. They wanted to do an article about Istitklal and all this Tarlabasi, Taksim, after Gezi whatever. So they were lots of times in kooperatif, so they wanted to use it as a protagonist, you know use kooperatif as a protagonist of this story. So this, but when they asked me questions I was politically of course very critically. But afterwards I thought: Oh my god, I gave an interview about gentrification and using kooperatif and my name. So maybe they will fuck me next day.“ But noboday came, nobody gives a shit. (laughs) This I mean, being kooperatif in CNN article, about gentrification, after Gezi, using my name Safak Velioglu there, you know, giving (...) of course didn't change anything but nobody called me: “Be careful guy!“ So nobody cared. It's just posted the link on Facebook and some friends said: yeah, safak good work, good work. But that was it. Nobody cares.

I: But that's a good that nothing happened afterwards. At least nothing bad, I mean.

Safak: No, of course I prefer it has an impact. There was one thing, you know Slavoj Zizek?

I: Yeah.

Safak: He was mentioning about an example. He was saying why he was prefering the leninistic you know autocracy than this capitalistic autocracy. In 1925 if you are a student union in Petersburg or Leningrad or whatever, so you make an art, you have an magazine about literature for example in this university and you write like 25 people and 50 people reads your article be sure if you some expert from KGB will come your door and tell you what's happening, ask you what's happening. He says he prefers the autocracy which is open eye that goes any hole and that really thinks, that 50 people is danger to the system. But he says today's capitalism is you do whatever, the system doesn't care. They don't care. You know he prefers this kind of totalitarian, this communistic whatever autocracy which has an eye everywhere, because they really think you are a reaction and they really respect the reaction. So now today nobody respects the critique. I used my name, kooperatif, nobody cares.

I: But ehm like the government was suppressing the people, who demonstrated on the streets. They are not fond of criticism.

Safak: Yeah, of course. It changes if it's on the streets of course. Because which is good. If people are on the streets is a negative thing identity. Being in the streets is a not a positive thing, it's not like in Europe. So when the ordinary people see in the street, it means you are doing a bad thing. No matter what you say. So government that stress you come until that point. But if you are on the streets, government wants the clash. Because they know the identity, the face, the mask they have there. So how it would be seen by the ordinary people, so they don't have problem with clash on the streets, it doesn't mean that some people really came, the stress was on them and they came until here and so on, next day they came the streets. The people doesn't think that way, the people doesn't look that way, the ordinary people thinks: All of a sudden, when there is nothing, under or in between lines somebody is in the streets today, it's not like European politics or culture. It's about the political culture in Turkey and government knows the political culture of Turkey. You are on the street in Turkey doesn't mean you have a reason, it means you are revolting and it's a bad thing.

I: Do you think the media awareness changed something to whole topic of gentrification?

Safak: No, I don't think so. Which media I would ask, what do we expect if it changed something and what is change and eh, I don't think so. Because this is seen as a project, the government puts this dirty project as a propaganda of this project in the election, nobody hides it. No one looks unhappy with it, not the old one, not the newcomers. Whatever because nobody thinks of this sociology of everyday life, nobody thinks about the cultural or this heterogenious society. This is not a quality of life in Turkish standards. This needs about an education, this are very academic topics for this people, this has no any positive subliminal feelings under this concept. You know about this all, but for an ordinary people your house looks horrible and have a new house, what's bad in it? What means rumeli han, and being diversity and what means diversity anyways? You know. These are all abstract concept for the people. This is what means third world actually, because where you don't have this positive subliminal emotions under those concepts, where the culture, where the heterogenity or where the people remains all abstract, where the people are suppressed to have a good house without wind inside or a bad house with wind and rain inside. This is very black and white, you know what I mean? So that's why government or army does anything here or in Mexico, in Brasil or here in Turkey, because people are forced okay you have a proper life or you have ghetto, terrible infrastructure life, because I see nothing guarantees. Because if you are in Vienna, there are some things guaranteed, so you talk on another level. You talk on not on

infrastructure, but higher, upper structure in Marxist way. But here when you talk about before or after gentrification you talk about the insurance, you talk about the infrastructure, about the canalisation system, you talk about the security of the street, all include also the main structure, so when you have a case, that you have a job or not, when you have a case where you have a bus or a metro or not, when you have a case where you have proper electric, security in you street and so on what means all this abstract words next to you, what means sociology of new life, what means demography of the new life, if you miss the bus, doesn't mean anything. Eh, so yeah that's why this is more also about being third world.

I: And that world being displaced to another area. But the problem is just moved to another area, I mean, if it's a problem.

Safak: Of course, if it's a problem. Do you think for Turkish society, which they heard from the election as programme from the government, they say: you are out and kooperatif is out and tomorrow an Italian company who sells swatch, next Vodafone shop and next an Araber owns a shop and the type people coming to the streets and then you have metro access from your ghetto to the centre now you have a job, because now you have to clean all this new shit hostels or whatever, it is not a bad scenario. If everything would be honest, this is the right on the underlying effects of what comes after gentrification I'm not sure if it is still a bad scenario for the society. Because they want a job and they want a metro access. You know. You don't want to be metro access, you want to right in the centre, why I need to be out and take the metro for one hour to come to work you know. I want to live there, there must be a system for it. But for the others no, if they have a metro it's a good thing. Before they had no metro. They were living in Tarlabasi and they were working out of the city. So those people who were gentrified who were living in Tarlabasi they didn't have a proper life or working condition in Taksim, they were working in Aksaray. They were working underground, making belts or shoes, fabrics, you know? In terrible conditions, smoking chemistry, you know? Painting shoes for example in Topkapi, who were living in Tarlabasi or in Kasimpasa. Next day these people have a house in Topkapi next to it, you know what I mean. The others I don't know if there is a quality of those concept for them, I'm not sure. This quality of this concept also happens gradually, it doesn't mean anything if it's in Turkey or Mexico I guess.

I: But also some of the people, who lived in Tarlabasi lost their jobs. Because some of them were selling things on the streets on Istiklal or close to the city centre.

Safak: Yeah, still. I don't know how dramatic, I'm not sure how it would. Of course it's not all good for those people, very bad if you put it in numbers, and but as your question is very right, I don't know how it's drawn in the media, but I don't think that this bad scenarios are mentioned in the media, of course. Yeah, I didn't see any. Some critical documentaries, I don't know how many thousand people are touched to those documentaries, some articles like even if it is in CNN I give a shit, nobody cares, I then pool media I don't think anything badly is mentioned there. I don't think so. I don't know check this article

I: I will read it, yes, Safak thank you for sending me the link!

Safak: and maybe there are some interesting things mentioned by the writer or from my mouth and you say maybe Safak can you open this, which I ... which probably didn't come to my mind. (2 minutes of not topic related conversation) Perfect, find a time to visit here!

I: Yes, it looks really nice over there. Thank you for your time, Safak!

Safak: Yeah, no worries. Good to see you again!

I: Bye.

Safak: Bye.

v. Appendix E

Tugba and Tugce, 2015. Interview with media activists at sendika.org and Capul TV. Interviewed by Isabelle Mariacher [audiofile]. Istanbul, on the 19th of December 2015.

I: So, it starts. Okay. Can you tell me what you are doing here and I do not know, if you wanna be anonymized so maybe if you introduce yourselfs or you do not want to do it, it is also okay.
Tugba: We can introduce ourselfs.
Tugce: It is not important.
I: Whatever you want.
Tugba: We will introduce ourselfs.
Tugce: Aha.
Tugba: If you want to use or not is your choice. I am Tugba.
Tugce: I am Tugce.
Tugba: This is sendika.org's and Capul TV's studio and office. Sendika.org is fourteen years old and we are in this office for two and a half year. We moved here after ...
Tugce: Gezi
Tugba: Gezi protests, because we set up a TV. It was Capul TV. It first studio was in Gezi Park, because during Gezi Park protests we had to be there. So we had to record all things there.
Tugce: All resist.
Tugba: We had to record all resist there and we started to record there. We started to interview there with all protesters, who are coming there. After that, we will talk about that, we needed a studio. So we moved here. Maybe you can see it. It is the studio.
I: Mhm.
Tugba: Small studio. We call it studio. (laughs) And we started to interview and record there.
I: Before Gezi Park, did you have another studio before?
Tugce: No, Capul TV kurmak ne demek? (What does *to set up* mean in English?)
Tugba: set up in Gezi.
Tugce: On the sixth of June.
I: Okay, so 2013.

Both: Yes.

I: Why did you start Capul TV? What was the idea behind it?

Both: laugh.

Tugce: I came here after Gezi protests, so...

Tugba: I was here, but I can not speak English.

All: laugh.

I: Bos ver. (Do not worry!) I can translate it later on.

Tugba: Ähh. During Gezi Park protests television did not tell about the Gezi Park protest. They were talking about Gezi protest, but just from Recep Tayyip Erdogan's mouth. Ähh, so Recep Tayyip Erdogan was in TV, he was talking about Gezi Park protesters: "they are killers, they are gangsters, they are blablabla." But no one knows who are the Gezi park protesters, because they just know everything from Recep Tayyip Erdogan or *yandas medya*... their televisions. So we needed to talk about Gezi Park protest. We were struggling too. So we wanted to talk about ourselfs. So we started to record.

Tugce: broadcast.

Tugba: Yes, broadcast.

Tugce: broadcast.

Tugba: And, it was necessary. Firstly, we had to explain everything and it was communication between all cities. It was necessary too. To tell ourselfs other ourselfs and to tell ourselfs to some people in their home. So it was it was ihtiyaç ya ne?

I: helpful?

Tugce: need.

Tugba: It was necessary.

I: So, but what you say is that the state media or the state owned media they did not broadcast at all about the Gezi protests.

Tugba: Yes. We were first there to record everything.

Tugce: They are also here. (close to Taksim square) The state media. But they are not showing. Some cameramen, some ähh journalists was here, but they are not telling anything in their TVs. And while we are resisting in the park, they are broadcasting some films or some ...

Tubga: Penguin documentaries. It is very symbolic, penguin documentaries, so our icon is a penguin too, because of this. We ähh...nasil söyliyecegiz onu? (How can we tell her that?)

Tugce: We gave its name to penguin ...

Tugba: It is not a bad animal. It is a good animal. We wanted to say that. Penguin is regarded.

Tugce: Penguin gave his name.

I: Okay, but *capul* means something else, no?

Tugba: Recep Tayyip Erdogan said that they are gangsters, they are killers and they are

Tugce: capulcu (thieves)

Tugba: It means poor. bad word. But we said: We are capulcu. So then we wanted to name our TV capulcu too. But we could not do it, because someone already took this host.

Tugce: Already.

Tugba: Dot TV. So we started capul. Capul is ...

I: A short version.

Tugba: Yes.

I: And

Tugce: It suited. Capulcu and or Capul TV.

I: And ähm are there... I heard that... Are there no other media – not state owned media, like websites or something like that which were reporting on things that the state owned media did not report on? Are there no other websites or organizations?

Tugba: There was of course. It was not just us. After Gezi Park protest some websites started too. For example direnisteyiz.org.

Tugce: naber. Öncesinde? Baska yok o zaman. Some Twitter accounts.

Tugba: Another struggle websites before Gezi Park protest they were writing too, but it was just one firstly Capul TV.

I: So there was no TV?

Tugba: Yes, six TV.

Tugce: Seven.

Tugba: Seven?

Tugce: Seven.

Tugba: Seven TV channel took our broadcast to their broadcast.

I: So, they were putting your reports on their website?

Tugba: Not websites, TV.

Tugce: TV on TV.

Tugba: Because they could not come with their cameras, so it was dayanisma ne? It was solidarity for us.

I: So they broadcasted you live on TV?

Tugba: Yeah.

Tugce: We were broadcasting from stream, video stream and they took this stream to their TV channels.

Tugba: And after that Capul TV started to be watched by millions of people. Because they saw from Halk TV. Maybe you know. It was very good in those days.

Tugce: Hayat TV.

Tugba: They started to see Capul TV there and they started to look everytime. Nearly 24 hours

I: live broadcasting?

Tugba: Yeah. Nearly.

I: And those documentaries, which I saw on the website... Who made them and how were they produced?

Tugce: We have a friend whose job is broadcasting on the Web. He gave his camera and equipment to us firstly and we were broadcasting from here.

Tugba: But this was not enough, so with some solidarity we bought or ...

Tugce: Cameras, cables and computers were given to us as a present.

Tugba: On those days everybody was calling and writing on us (and asking): Do you need anything? I want to give you something like this and something like this and it was very nice.

I: Did you do some documentaries after the Gezi Protest?

Tugba: No, we did not do any documentaries. But we were in some documentaries.

Tugce: And we gave some of our content to documentaries.

Tugba: For example: Yeryüzü askin yüzü oluncaya dek.

Tugce: After Gezi Park protest there was so much videos.

Tugba: So much.

Tugce: So much seyler, tezler. Thesis about us. Sometimes we look at google search, there was something about us.

Tugba: books.

Tugce: Yeah, books. Somebody make a thesis about us.

Tugba: Their magazines. We started to speak English on those days.

All: (laugh)

Tugce: Also ...

I: You were active during the Gezi Park protest and why did you protest in the end?

Tugba: Firstly, (I will explain) our aims than maybe Turkey people(′s) aims. Firstly we were resisting for free media, because sendika.org is fourteen years old and we were here and we were watching all the protests and we were communicating with all protesters. Government was (talks fastly in Turkish)

Tugce: We have been already existing before Gezi Park. We started to resist before Gezi Park. Maybe all of Turkey started to resist. It is a kırılma noktası (breaking point). It is a u- turn of resisting that stepped one up. We want freedom.

I: Freedom for the press or for what?

Tugce: Not just for the press. For the whole thing in Turkey. For real freedom we were resisting firstly, because people ...

Tugba: was angry with everything. For saving their lives, their nature, for saving their rights.

Tugce: There was an attack from the government to whole of the living space areas, education.

Tugba: Until drinking beer.

Tugce: How many children we have, where they are going. How we live.

Tugba: Where we live and with whom.

Tugce: Government, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, by the hand of the government he is attacking our lives. And we want to have real freedom. So it is why people from sinif ne demek?

Tugba: class

Tugce: every classes was here because of that. Because the whole country and people from all classes are with baskı

I: Mhm, pressure.

Tugce: Pressure?

I: Under pressure, yeah. So you say like everybody ...

Tugba: And on media too. It is the second thing for us too, because we were working in the media and there was a pressure on us too, on TVs, on websites, on everything. So it was second thing for us too.

Tugce: And also for public it is just resisting for free media, because there is an attack to giving a news from our resists from our mouth.

Tugba: During when we were living in Gezi Park everyday on the same saat ne?

I: time

Tugce: time

Tugba: ah, time they were going to NTV, NTV is an international channel, and they were going and shouting: You have to record us. You have to give our news.

Tugce: And NTV must broadcast on their channel the protest in front of their door.

I: So what did they do?

Tugce: The plaza workers go on lunch time to protest NTV.

Tugba: See us, watch us, broadcast us. Something like that.

I: But they didn't or did they?

Tugba: They had to.

Tugce: They must broadcast about their protest. They had to turn their cameras to their door.

Tugba: Because they were going inside, if they did not.

I: But NTV is not state owned?

Tugba: Yes, yes.

I: They were protesting everyday at the same time?

Tugce: Yeah, lunch time.

Tugba: NTV, Haber türk... Haber türk is near Gezi Park. So it was very easy.

I: What change after Gezi Park?

Tugba: About what?

I: About the media for example.

Tugba: Of course, they had to give some news about this, but everybody started to haber almak ne? take news from Twitter, from resisting channels, like websites or like Capul TV or Hayat TV on TV.

Tugce: After Gezi Park something happened that everybody is a journalist. All resisters are journalists. While they are resisting they are also publicating it, they are broadcasting via Twitter by now Periscope or with something they are using.

Tugba: We trusted this too. Capul TV is not just our ekip...

Tugce: Team

Tugba: Not just our team. So everybody was writing us: Something is happening here and we are asking another one too.

Tugce: After Gezi there was somebody on Twitter and we know each other and we trust us. It is important for us that Capul TV and sendika.org is for these channels, media channels being trusted.

Tugba: Your tea! (laughs)

I: Thank you!

Tugce: We always wanted to give the news that is truth, almost the truth. Sometimes we have faked, but ...

I: The news or what?

Tugce: Our news everybody knows is the truth. If we give a news from these channels from Capul TV or sendika.org they are truth. They trust us. Be(ing) trusted is important for us. While or during the Gezi resist and after.

Tugba: It is important, I think, because they are... everybody is still watching TV and they are watching series, films, but they know that the media is lying now, so not evening news are truth. No one trusts these news. If they want to learn something about the country or the protests, they are looking on Twitter or on sendika.org, Capul TV, bianet, sol.org, like these things. They trust us, not just Capul TV, they trust protest channels.

Tugce: Alternative media.

Tugba: Alternative medias, so they are watching them, but they do not learn anything.

Tugce: talks something in Turkish.

Tugba: Yes, it was important, because for 30 years ähh there were war in East.

Tugce: not 30 years.

Tugba: 30 years.

Tugce: ha, 30 aha I understand.

I: Kac? (How much)

Both: 30 years.

I: 30?

Tugce: Yeah.

Tugba: in East of country. Otus (30).

I: Otus, okay.

Tugba: in East of country. But in East of country everbody knows everything from TVs.

Tugce: East? West! West of country.

Tugba: Aha, yes yes.

Tugce: Again.

Tugba: They were war in East and everybody knows everything from TVs, so they started to wonder about truth things. What were there? Because we learn everything from liar channels. So what is the truth? They started to ask these questions. It was an important thing for brotherhood or sisterhood, between Kurdish and Turkish people. It was the first time in Turkey maybe and it is changing after Gezi Park protest now. Maybe you can see

this photograph. There were person with Turkish flag and there were a person with Kurdish party BDP - in this time- flag and they were holding hands and they were running away from the police. It was the first time in Turkey. Maybe if you say (would have told us that) one week before Gezi Protest we would not have believed you it will be happen, but it happened.

I: But as far as I am concerned there are now some fights going on and curfews in the East of Turkey. I think the media is reporting on that, but I do not know about the state owned media. Are they reporting on it?

Tugba: They are reporting, but like in Gezi resists.

Tugce: Mhm.

Tugba: They are reporting from the government's mouth. They are reporting, making the people that are resisting in Kurdish cities terrorists. They are blaming the hendek; cukur hendek like under the ground, underground.

I: What are they doing?

Tugce: Wait a minute. Trench.

I: Trench?

Tugce: Trench. They are using the trench to protect their lives from the cars that covered metal ...

Tugba: Tanks.

Tucgce: From protecting their lives from the tanks they are using the trench. The state media is blaming the trench, blaming the resisters.

Tugba: claim?

Tugce: Blame! Suclamak! Blaming them.

I: Aha. But ahm...

Tugce: I say something too, we are capatildik?

Tugba: closed

Tugce: We are closed by the telecommunication milmam something tip by government. We are closed by government two days ago, because we are broadcasting from Kurdish cities.

I: Really?

Tugce: Yeah.

Tugba: It was the nineth time for us.

I: What was it?

Tugce: The nineth time for us.

Tugba: The nineth time. It was sendika.org, then we closed.

Tugce: Closed and closed, now we are.

Tugba: Sendika1.org, sendika2.org, we are going like this and now we are sendika8.org after closing times.

I: Okay. Oh, wow. Is anybody threatened here? Is the government giving you penalties or charging you money? They just shut you down and...

Tugba: They can not now, because it is a bad law, rules. It is website, so it is not about TV or radio channels, it is not like that ...

Tugce: Or a newspaper.

Tugba: Aha. So they started to interesting judge ... yöntem? (process)

Tugce: Give it to me (dictionary). The way that doing something.

Tugba: Yes. They set up Sulh Ceza Hakimligi – it is a name in court.

Tugce: use way. Way.

Tugba: So they are just doing everything telling ah from government. It is ah ...it is very difficult to explain.

Tugce: Government says hakimlik ne?

Tugba: to judge.

Tugce: hah, to judge. Government says to judge close this website, close the other one.

Tugba: And some judge is signaturing, signing this and this is all, this is judgement. And we are closed now.

I: So they shut you down, they shut your website down.

Tugba: Yes, and we started another one.

I: Mhm.

Tugba: Two, three, four, five.

I: But you do not have to pay money?

Tugba: But we have to pay for another host. So it is not good. (laughs)

Both: (laugh)

I: Let me return to Gezi Park. It started, because they wanted to cut down some trees and they wanted to build a hotel on it.

Tugba: Yeah, it is the normal ones starting.

Both: laugh.

Tugba: It is like the Serbian prince killing. It is not like that, of course trees are important. But we said that: "It is not for ...

Tugce: three, five.

Tugba: three, five trees. Didn't you understand?" Going like this the sentences and ähh of course saving trees means saving lives, saving nature, saving rights, saving our parts, saving our ähh cities, country, everything. It was a symbolic thing of course.
Tugce: Taksim square is a symbolic place.
Tugba: For government too.
Tugce: Yeah, because there was protests. Big protests in Turkey on Taksim square. It is the important place for...
Tugba: It is mayday square.
Tugce: Mayday square. It is the blasting and explosuring dot for everybody these three, five trees. But it is the face of the vc, because of trees.
Tugba: If you say something in Taksim square. Everybody in the country hears it. Everybody hear this sentence. So it is very important for everybody, for government too.
Tugce: It is because of trees the government is attacking to the forests, water, source of water to everywhere we knew to leave these. There will be no oxygen, there will be no water, if we do not protest... if we do not resist for these trees.
Tugba: That is why ... why.. ähm... struggles from villages that they are resisting for waters too. Against hydroelectric santrals (power plants) during Gezi Park protest the strugglers were going out to for their water, for example. It was not about trees. But it was struggle between them.
I: Mhm. Which villages?
Tugba: All villages. We can say.
I: Mahallesi mi? (Are you talking about districts?)
Tugce: Cities.
Tugba: No not cities. Villages. South. Karadeniz. (Black sea). Kuzeydeki ne? South?
Tugce: North. North of the country, especially the Black Sea area.
Tugba: Yes, there are a lot of maybe more than a 100 hydroelectric santrals (power plant) so they...
Tugce: In a country there is only 90 thermic santrals, only a little village there will be seven thermic santrals. So it is a whole resisting for everything. I said that it is a patlama noktasi (blasting point), a explosuring dot
Tugba: Dot, point.
Tugce: A explosuring point in whole of the country. We said that: "Yeter artik!" (It is enough!)
Tugba: It is enough!

Tugce: We said: It is enough! And resist for this. It is also for trees. We also resisted for our trees, for our areas, for our parks, for our culture centres, for our theatres, for our media, for our *hukuk*, law, judge. Because what we need to be alive, there was attack them from the government. So maybe it will be because of tree or because of you hit me or you go there or you have an eyebrow on your eye.
Tugba: Some people heard that their tents were burnt by the police in Gezi Park protest, because...
Tugce: Tents?
Tugba: Tents.
Tugce: Ah, tents.
Tugba: So some people went there for this: "Why are you burning this tents?" They don't know about trees, maybe, but they went there. We were shocked when we saw maybe a million people there.
Tugce: Somebody go there, (because) while they are sitting their homes there was a gas. However, they are not in the streets they are crying for (due to) the gas. They are etkilenmek?
Tugba: Affected.
Tugce: They are affected from this attack. So how can I sit in my home comfortably? So I go to the street. (repeats the sentence in Turkish and asks Tugba if she made herself understood)
Both: laugh.
Tugba: In their streets there are some struggles too, not just in Gezi Park. All cities there were struggles, when you were sitting your home, you were affected by gas.
Tugce: Maybe it was started in Gezi Park for trees, but in Antakya in Hatay why millions or thousands of people goes to the streets for the Taksims three trees?
Tugba: They never knows about the Gezi Park for example.
Tugce: Yeah. Maybe they haven't been here. They don't know what's like Taksim square.
Tugba: Yes, mhm.
Tugce: So it's not about it.
I: But probably it is also about the whole situation in Turkey.
Tugce: Yeah, we wanted justice for public, we wanted freedom for public so and saygi (respect) So ...
Tugba: Equality and ...

Tugce: Respect.

Tugba: Respect.

Tugce: There is three points of the Gezi resist: respect,

Tugba: and solidarity.

Both: laugh

Tugce: respect, justice and freedom!

I: How did you report on the Gezi protests or on what was going on, because people were suffering on the streets from the gas...And

Tugba: We were too.

I: Yeah you were too probably.

Tugba: There was a café (coffee house) there. We started to interview there and there were some glas and some plastic mermi nedir? (bullets). They shot plastic things. What is that?

I: This little things filled with gas?

Tugba: No.

I: Plastic bullets?

Tugba: Maybe. Plastic bullets are coming our glas and we were under that and gas was coming inside too. But we believed that we have to tell something to everybody. So...

Tugce: Dinlemedim, canim. Ne dedin? (I didn't hear you, my sweetheart. What did you say?)

Tugba: Ähhh, like this.

Both: laugh.

I: No, I get it. You yourself were involved

Tugba: What's involved?

Tugce: (explains it in Turkish)

I: in the situation and you wanted to report on what's happening and what's going on to everybody.

Tugba: I will show this. (stands up and gets a book)

Both: (talk in Turkish and search for the picture.)

Tugba: I will show it to you, you can go on.

I: Okay, I wanted to know. How important was the whole gentrification process...

Tugba: It was this. (shows me the picture.) It was in Gezi Park and we were interviewing like this.

I: Oh, wow. With gas masks.

Tugba: Yes.

Tugce: You don't understand anything while watching.

Tugba: It was me.

I: You were sitting there?

Tugba: Yes. (laughs)

I: Could you talk?

Tugba: I was fully breath with this and after that I was taking the microphone and I am talking something fastly and Ali is breathing during my talking and he is coming and taking the microphone.

Tugce: Your speech.

Tugba: laughs.

I: Okay, I can not find it. (I was looking for the Turkish word for gentrification in the dictionary) Like yeniliyor (renew). Mesela Tarlabasinde yeniliyordu. (For example they renewed Tarlabasi)

Tugce: Ahh, dönüsüm. Kentsel dönüsüm.

I: Evet. (Yes) How was the gentrification process provoking maybe the protests in Istanbul or what do you think about it?

Tugce: (translates my question into Turkish) I said there was lots of things that protests in Turkey. Gentrification – kentsel dönüsüm is a cause, the right, the right to vote, the education right, transportation right,

Tugba: health.

Tugce: health right. Whole of these is a cause of the resists. So it's a part of resist – because of kentsel dönüsüm. Ama Ingilizce söylemem. (I can't say it in English) Yeah, it provoked the protests, I can say that. Why if you ask why. Don't ask this! I can't tell you. (laughs)

I: Not, not why but what do you think about this city renewal?

Tugba: Haa.

Tugce: In 70ies poor people came to villages of all Turkey to Istanbul. In the end of 70ies.

Tugba: It's a long story. (laughs)

Tugce: It is a what was the word? Kentsel dönüsüm.

I: Gentrification.

Tugce: It is a gentrification in these time. Poor people came to big cities and be workers in the fabrics (factories). So now there was a gentrification again, because when they

started to came here and to leave their cities for Istanbul. (These places) were out of city, now these areas that they were live the centre of city. So they are taking us out of the city. The poor people that came here, that had to come here. So it's something like the göc (migration).

I: power?

Tugba: No, that's güc.

I: Migration?

Tugce: Yeah, migration. Twice.

I: Second.

Tugce: Yeah, second migration to us. Because we came from the villages to be workers for the capital, not capital sermaye (capital) ne?

Tugba: Capital.

Tugce: Capital. Work for capital. Now they are migrating us again to the out of the city. Because the places we are living now at the moment are the centre of the city.

Tugba: If you want to come to the centre of our city, you have to buy something from our shopping centres.

Tugce: Yeah, it's some...not this way.

Tugba: But you dont... you won't live here, but if you want to come here, you will buy something from shopping centres.

Both: spending money.

Tugba: Centres are going like this. During Gezi Park protest it was fest for this kentsel dönüsüm. Write please that word.

I: Okay.

Tugba: Haa, gentrification.

Tugce: Gentrification. (talks in Turkish)

I: So ähm, did you talk to the people who had to leave the city center and have been removed to the outskirts of the city?

Tugce: We have talked, we are living, some of us are living at the outskirts of the city. But I could not understand the question. We talked.

I: Did you interview them? Have you been affected of this process of city renewal?

Tugba: Of course, for example in Gaziosmanpasa. They were in Capul TV, they were broadcast too. They are happy with their small and müstakil ev nedir? (single house) ... two flats apartment, they are happy. They have neighborhood. They are living together. They said: We don't close the door. So they are living like this. So they said them: "Give

your apartments us, we will give you another flat in apartment.“ So the man in our broadcast was asking: “How can I live like that. I want streets. I want neighbourhood. I want my lifestyle.“

Tugce: It was what happened in Tarlabasi. To the Gypsies. (Roma and Sinti)

Tugba: They are Gypsies that were here and their lifestyle is not for them.

Tugce: Their lifestyle is not suited for them.

Tugba: They are everyday in the streets. They are maybe playing. They are making music and it’s their lifestyle too. They want their lifestyle.

I: So you know somebody who was living in what was the name again?

Tugba: Gaziosmanpasa.

Tugce: Yeah, we go everywhere. That is the motto of Capul TV. Where is the resist we go there. We go to everywhere in Turkey. Maybe in Istanbul where they resist, we were here. We go to the outskirts of the city, to the areas that kentsel dönüsüm, gentrification that returning areas. Bir sane (One second – looks the word she was looking for up.)

Tugba: Rebuilding.

Tugce: Urban transformations and we go to the park resists, we go to the everywhere. So it is not a specific question for us, if we were here or not. We go everywhere. We go to Tarlabasi, to Fikirtepe, we went to Beylikdüzü, ... (another district or city I could not understand) So we were everywhere and we told to the people that we will try to say their words to everybody, be a channel for it. So...

I: Have there been any difficulties? Like ähm was it ...

Tugce: It is about being in Istanbul difficult one is transportation. So while we are going to Beylikdüzü it’s near to Tekirdag, another city. So we went from here almost two hours way by the bus, the metrobus.

Tugba: But I think she wondered another thing. Why did you ask this difficulties?

I: No, if it was easy for you to report on people ...

Tugba: Yes, of course it was easy, because they know Capul TV or sendika.org.

Tugce: They are asking...

Tugba: Sometimes they call us: “Please come here!“ For example not in this city, but in Erdek they are asking and asking again: “Please come here and tell about something about us!“ So it is not difficult for us, not like state channels.

I: mhm.

Tugce: While they see the Capul TV emblem on our Ipad, they are smiling and they are waving. They love us.

Tugba: They know Capul TV is them. So it is not difficult for us.
Tugce: They don't know anything about us. When I went to resist to broadcast on Capul TV, somebody from another different city to be here for solidarity: "Why didn't you came our town?"
Tugba: Sometimes they were singing like this: "Capul TV ole." They were singing, so it's not difficult.
I: And what is important for you when you go somewhere and you report on some events or some issues? What ...
Tugce: For me it is the subject of the resist.
Tugba: should tell about them.
Tugce: Our broadcast must tell everybody that the subject of the protest. The subject of this protest – who and why they are resisting it must be clear.
Tugce: A lot of time we don't go there. For example, this area we trust their camera, we trust their interview, their sentence. "So, please broadcast yourself, we send that. Broadcast yourself with your phone, or Ipad, or camera, what you have. Broadcast yourself and tell yourself, interview with yourself and then send us." It is the main thing for us, because it is not this team's job, it is people's job telling about ourselves. So media is this for us. Media is not some classe's job. Media is us.
I: Ok. Nice. I think I have a lot of information now. Let me just check my questions ...
Tugce: Oh, let's talk it's okay for us. (laughs)
Tugba: Do you want new tea?
Tugce: Yes, I do.
Tugba: You too?
I: Yes, maybe if you are making one. I will press stop.
--pause—
I: Now it's recording again. So, ahm ... like when did the ... Are you aware of any counterdocumentaries? What was the state media saying about the protests, about the urban transformations? Are there any counterdocumentaries? Do you know what I mean by that?
Tugce: I said in our mail to you. There is any documentaries we make, but people working on it in Turkey. Kentsel dönüsüm belgesel var mi falan? (Is there a documentary about urban transformations?) I told you the Imres. (She sent me a link to the new documentary by Imre Azem on urban transformations in Istanbul)

I: But like documentaries which are not supporting the people on the streets, but maybe they were produced from the government or from ...
Tugce: There is some public spots, which are made from TOKI and city and bakanlik ne? (What does ministry mean in English?)
I: city?
Tugba: government.
Tugce: Made from public spots. They are turning them on TVs.
I: But commercials?
Tugce: Commercials. But it's something that it's telling the people good things. Like don't smoke. It's a public spot. The health ministry makes this video. So there were videos made by government. Also building companies makes videos about their projects and they are propaganding their projects from TVs by the state media. It's nowadays making for the third bridge and the third airport. They are not find foundings (funding). They always say that: "Our project is the biggest one. Everybody wants to work for it and all companies, all banks wants to give credit for it. Ah, we found credit for your third köprü ah bridge." But there is no credit from the banks. So they are using state media, not by documentaries, but by this way to propaganda. To make their projects propaganda. Not by documentaries, but by I said that public spots and by commercials.
I: And what happened to the Taksim Square? I just walked there yesterday evening and today ...
Tugce: We are crying for it.
I: and I am not sure if it's closed the park or if you can enter it. I am not sure.
Tugce: We can enter it. They are making stairs for us.
Tugba: (laughs)
Tugce: Because we are basmak ne? (What does stepping on something mean?)
Tugba: Step.
Tugce: We are stepping on the green places, so they are making for us the stairs.
Tugba: They put some trees there. Did you see them? Ten or twenty trees, new trees, baby trees. The government thinks (about) us. (laughs)
I: So they won't renew it afterall?
Tugce: They are renewing it, but ...
I: Will they build something on it?
Tugce: ... we don't like their renewing. Their see of the city ... their seeing of the city. We don't like their eyes, their lookings...

Tugba: They want no people on the square. They started with this. There were some some busses and cars and the station bus (bus station). Firstly, they send this bus from there and now they are sending the people, who are poor and who are drinking beer or spending alcohol. And they are sending this people from there. Insanssizlastiramak ne demek? (What does getting rid of people mean in English?) Peoplelessquare.

Tugce: No people – insansiz. (without people)

Tugba: So

I: Okay, there are no people on the square.

Tugba: Just maybe conversation...conservation...

I: Conservative?

Tugba: Conservative people. Maybe. Here. Because Taksim is a centre – a capulcu centre. Spending alcohol.

Tugce: Spending beer. Drinking. All night.

Tugba: All music. All against din neydi ya? (What was religion again in English?)

I: Religion.

Tugce: Religion.

Tugba: Religion. It is their mouth of course.

Tugce: They say that okay there will be no...no they don't want that wants to drink ähh beer for three or five Liras. They say that: I see the Beyoglu, the Istiklal like a AVM like a shopping centre. I am responsible for the pazarlamak? (marketing)

Tugba: Bilmem. (I don't know.)

Tugce: Selling Beyoglu to the rich people. Äh they looks like city, like Beyoglu marketing on this way. They are whole the shopping zincir? (chain?)

Tugba: A lot of markets owner is one, what is that?

Tugce: Big one! Big ones. They don't want the little shops. They want there big ones.

I: mhm.

Tugba: And square is rebuilding again, because of this things. Not for using people. For example, it is a protest area, a mayday area or people's area, but now it is rebuilding for these things. For example, Atatürk Culture Centre is there. It is for theatre, for opera, it is maybe first place, biggest place for this. But for years it is empty. We can't use.

I: Why?

Tugba: Because they want to rebuild the square.

Tugce: They said us: We are rebuilding here and we will open it in 2013.

Tugba: But always they are planning after. (But they are always delaying the opening).

Tugce: Now 2016.

Tugba: We can't use this area, but they will use.

I: Okay. So they just put some more trees and some stairs?

Tugba: Yeah, but symbolic trees.

Tugce: They are putting trees in concrete.

Tugba: It is very comic, when you see it.

I: I will have a look.

Tugce: Because there are trees in the ground and now they are putting the trees in the concrete.

I: concrete.

Tugce: Mhm, concrete. So it's really funny. While I saw it, it's something nonesense. Why they are here?

All: (laugh)

I: Did you miss any questions? Did you want to talk about something else?

Tugce: I think we could not give you the answers that you need.

I: No, there is no answer ...

Tugce: Your point of questions are gentrification, but we are talking about the resisting.

I: No, but we were also talking about the gentrification and your answers totally fit, because it is also about the state and the suppression of the people and that's what I got as an answer. Am I right?

Tugba: Yes, you are right.

I: Do you want to add something?

Tugce: I don't know. I don't want to add something.

I: How was the interview for you?

Tugce: It is hard.

Both: (laugh)

Tugba: We are thinking to tell you something, but it is not enough.

Tugce: But we are thinking Turkish.

Tugba: Our English is not enough for this. It is a long story Capul TV, sendika.org and Gezi protest and this is another story too rebuilding everything. So it is hard to tell.

I: But ähh

Tugba: Maybe you can ask again via e-mail. It will be easy for writing. Yes.

Tugce: Evet.

Tugba: We can read and write, but not (laughs)

Tugce: We can't think and talk in the same time. (laughs) We can't do it.
I: Just one more question for me, was Capul TV ähm emerged in 2013 during the Gezi protests, but sendika is ...
Tugba: fourteen years old.
I: Fourteen years old and have you been working here before?
Tugba: Yes, I was. Some of us was working in sendika.org.
Tugce: I came here with Capul TV, after Capul TV I came here, but we are working also sendika.org and Capul TV. We both working for it. We are volunteers here.
I: Mhm.
Tugce: But she was here before Gezi resist.
I: How do you finance yourself? It's hard I guess, because everybody is working for free... it's just a guess. I don't know, if I am wrong. Do you get financial support?
Tugce: We are supporting here and us and not our personal needings by donations. Also she is XXX and working. But she can't earning anything. We are also making part-time job.
Tugba: One friend is engineer, one friend is student and lawyer. One is something, but our odak Ingilizce? (centre)
Tugce: Odak, odak...
Tugba: Our centre is here. Another things are detail for our lives.
Tugce: Our focus.
Tugba: Jobs. Our focus is here.
Tugce: Donations and (says something in Turkish about the campaign) we made a campaign to indiyegogo. A donating campaign. There was a donate (donation) big money from and we made this studio from this money.
Tugba: And we payed our rents here.
Tugce: Bills also.
I: Okay, I think I have everything. Thank you so much.
Tugce: I hope so.
Tugba: You are welcome.

v.i. Appendix F: Guided expert interview

- **1st topic: professional career**

1. To start with, could you tell me a bit more about your professional career?
2. What was your responsibility before, during and after the shooting?

- **2nd topic: producing a documentary**

3. What was the goal of this documentary? What did you want to achieve with it?
4. How did you come up with the idea to this documentary? Why did you want to shoot/produce this documentary?
5. What difficulties did you face during the whole production process?
6. What difficulties occurred while shooting?
7. To what did you pay most attention while conducting an interview?
8. What differences and similarities did you face while talking to professionals (building contractors, civil servants working at the municipality, architects, scientists, etc.) and the people who were affected by the gentrification process? This does not mean, of course, that an affected person cannot be a professional at the same time.
9. On what do you place particular emphasis while producing a documentary?
10. What would you do differently in retrospect?
11. Is there a documentary-director that you admire? If so, why do you admire him or her? What makes his or her work outstanding?
12. Do you remember working days where you have been very content with yourself and your work? What happened that day?

- **3rd topic: impact and reception of the documentary**

13. How was the documentary perceived by the people living in Istanbul?
14. What reactions from the audience do you remember?
15. What kind of reviews did your documentary get from the media?
16. What do you understand by gentrification? What are the reasons for gentrification in Istanbul?
17. Is urban transformation necessary?

18. How did the media in Turkey report on urban transformation projects in Istanbul at the time you were producing this documentary? Have there been any changes about the reporting on gentrification within the last years?
19. How do you view the situation of the displaced and disowned people in Istanbul?
20. How do you view the situation of the municipalities?
21. How do you view the situation of the building contractors in Istanbul?
22. How do you view the situation of the politicians in Istanbul?
23. What happened after your documentary was released?

- **4th topic: counter positions/ opposing position**

23. What other documentaries on that topic are you aware of? Is there such a thing as a counteracting documentary? Can you recommend some documentaries?
24. What do you think about the Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use?

- **5th topic: evaluation**

25. Did you miss any questions?
26. Do you want to add something to our conversation?
27. How was this interview for you?
28. Were some of the questions difficult to answer?
29. Can you recommend me any other documentary dealing with the same topic?
30. Should I anonymize your data?

- **detailed questions:**

32. Could you describe this more precisely?
33. Can you give me an example?
34. What experiences did you make?
35. Can you be more precise?
36. I would like to talk about this topic in more detail (later on).

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
Fourth sequence														
	1		7	Eye-level, medium close shot + long shot of the men, who are standing further away. The camera follows the female benefactor. The only one, who is depicted frontally.	The benefactor asks the uniformed woman questions. The affected woman is looking at something. Uniformed men are standing further away.	Yelling, sound of destruction, voice of the benefactor and the uniformed woman.	Will you take me there? Who is in charge? Where is your order?	All of the depicted persons are middle-aged	2 woman in uniform, one female benefactor, one female sufferer. And several men in uniforms in the background.	Space of danger. Ayazma.	Nov.08 The clearing unfolds in front of the viewers eyes.	The benefactor is the most active person in the scene. She is asking questions and she is portrayed differently than the others. The uniformed woman answers her questions. The displaced woman is just watching.	none	none
	2		2	Medium shots and medium close shots. Low angle.	Men in uniforms are clearing the tents.	Woman is yelling. Motor sounds.	I've been living in a tent for three years!	Middle-aged men are depicted. Middle-aged woman is hearable.	There are men visible and woman hearable.	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul.	November 2008 the clearing unfolds in front of the viewers eyes.	Only men. are actively clearing the house. They are the only visible actors. Verbally we can hear a woman shouting at them.	none	none
	3		8	Close shots. high angle.	The hands of the people who are clearing the tents are passing on the belongings of the tenants.	Motor sounds of the excavator, which is already waiting to destroy the hut. The woman is still screaming. But also a child can be heard now.	My children go to school here! I swear I will build another tent!	Visually the viewer sees Middle-aged men again. Verbally we can hear the shouting woman and the shouting child.	Visually: uniformed men. Verbally: woman and a child.	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul.	November 2008 the clearing unfolds in front of the viewers eyes.	Only men. are actively passing on belongings. They are the only visible actors. Verbally we can hear a woman and a child shouting at them.	none	none
	4		4	Medium close shots, mostly oblique.	Woman is shouting, benefactor holds her and comforts her. Other woman in uniforms stand around and watch.	Shouting.	My god, stop it! I can't bear watching.	Middle-aged.	Mostly women.	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the demolition.	Shouting woman and caring benefactor.	none	none
	5		10	From behind, medium shots.	Affected man is shouting at the destroyer.	Talking and digger sounds and the man's voice.	Sufferer: may God punish you. May God destroy your home, too!	Middle-aged.	Only men..	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the destruction.	Digger driver and shouting men.	none	none
	6		16	Medium close shot at eye-level.	Affected man is watching, the digger driver demolishes the tent, while uniformed men drag the suffering man away.	walking and digger sounds and the men's voices.	Uniformed men: Come with us! Sufferer: I'm not going to throw myself under the doser.	Middle-aged.	Only men.	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the destruction..	Shouting men in uniforms destroying digger driver and helpless sufferer who finally gives in and leaves the dangerous zone close to the digger.	none	none
	7		5	Oblique angles. Close.	Two affected women are standing and watching. One of them shouts and cries.	Shouting and digger sounds.	Woman: I want my home back! Stand up like a man!	Middle-aged.	Only women..	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the destruction.	One woman is shouting at her husband. Both of the women are neither talking nor looking at the camera.	none	none
	8		9	Men are depicted at eye-level, although from behind, while watching the scene. The digger driver is presented in an oblique angle with a low angle.	Men are watching the ongoing destruction. Excavation driver continues to deconstruct the tents.	motor sounds and sounds of destruction.	none	Middle-aged.	Only men.	Spaces of danger.. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the destruction..	The excavation driver is the most active person in this shot.	none	none
	9		4	Medium close shot, from behind. The digger driver is presented in an oblique and low angle.	A man gives directions to the digger driver. The excavation driver follows the directions.	Motor sounds.	none	Middle-aged.	Only men.	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the destruction.	Both men are active, but neither of them is gazing in the camera's direction nor are they talking to the camera.	none	none
	10		3	High angle, medium close shot and very close shot.	A crying boy and his comforting father are walking together.	Motor sounds, crying noises.	none	A boy and his father.	Both male.	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul.	During the destruction.	Walking and crying, giving comfort. The sufferers do not gaze or talk to the camera. They suffer silently.	none	none
	11		7	Medium close shot and medium long shot, until we see a close shot of the man who walks towards the camera. Mostly oblique angles.	A man who seems to be in charge of the clearing walks towards the camera. Other men stand and watch.	Music starts.	none	Middle-aged.	Only men.	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	During the clearing.	A walking man. Nobody looks at the camera. Some stand and watch him.	none	none
	12		13	Medium long shot, oblique angles, from behind	The sufferer collects some belongings and shouts at the people who destroyed the house. A man in uniform observes the scene	sufferer's voice and music	I'll rebuild it right now. Ömer bring me a hammer.	middle-aged	Only men.	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition of the tent.	He is shouting and walking and nobody answers him. He is not looking at the camera.	none	none
	13		2	oblique and high angle, medium shot	A man kneels on the ground with a hammer in his hand.	music	none	middle-aged	male	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	He is neither looking at the camera nor talking to the camera.	none	none
	14		3	at eye-level, from an oblique angle	A child is assembling the chimney of the oven.	music	none	young	boy, male	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	The boy is reconstructing their living space, but he is neither talking to the camera nor gazing at it.	none	none
	15		3	at eye-level, from an oblique angle	A child is playing with a rope.	music	none	young	not perceptible	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	A child is playing with a rope, but neither talking to the camera nor is he looking at it	none	none
	16		3	medium long shot	A sufferer is throwing stuff around.	music	none	middle-aged	male	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	throwing things, walking	none	none
	17		3	medium close shots, oblique angle	A man and a woman rebuild their home again. He is hammering, while she is holding the board.	music and hammering sound	none	middle-aged	a woman and a man	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	He is hammering, she is helping him. Her face is not visible at all. He never looks at the camera. Neither of them is talking.	none	none

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	18		4	long shots, from behind or oblique angles	A family (mostly women) look at the demolished area.	music	none	all ages	mostly women and one boy	Spaces of danger. Ayazma, Istanbul	after the demolition	no gaze, no speech, very far away	none	none
	19		3	oblique and very high-angle	Children are standing next to the oven, waiting for the tea.	music, soft children's voices	none	young	not perceptible, some boys	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbu	after the demolition	no faces, just hands	none	none
	20		5	medium long shot, from behind, slightly oblique	man pulls out some boards	music	none	middle-aged	male	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	from behind, no speech, no gaze	none	none
	21		4	medium long shot oblique angle	A suffering man tries to rebuild the hut again and speaks.	music	I'll rebuild it again!	middle-aged	man	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	He is trying to rebuild the tent again, he speaks, but does not speak to the viewer, he does not gaze at the camera.	none	none
	22		2	oblique and high-angle	A child carries some belongings while walking.	music	none	young	girl	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	Gazing at the camera, but not talking	none	none
	23		3	oblique angle, at eye-level, medium long shot	A suffering man is trying to rebuild his home again. This time he is not talking.	music	none	middle-aged	man	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	He is trying to rebuild his home again. But neither talking to the camera nor is he looking at it.	none	none
	24		2	at eye - level	A boy almost gazes at the camera but he is not talking.	music	none	young	boy	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	oblique gaze and speechless boy	none	none
	25		7	medium long shot, slightly above eye-level	A woman gives her chid warm clothes, comfort and protection.	music	none	young and middle-aged	females	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	no gaze, no speech	none	none
	26		2	oblique angle, long shots	Suffering people walk around and look at their belongings.	music	none	all ages	all sexes	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	no talking, no looks	none	none
	27		3	oblique angle, long shots	suffering people walk around and look for and at their belongings	music	none	all ages	all sexes	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	Nobody is heard and nobody looks at the camera; distant sufferer.	none	none
	28		4	oblique angle, long shots	suffering people walk around and look for and at their belongings	music	none	all ages	all sexes	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	Nobody is heard, nobody looks at the camera; distant sufferer	none	none
	29		17	low and oblique angle, long shot, from behind	A boy throws things away	music	none	young	boy	Spaces of danger. Ayazma Istanbul	after the demolition	A boy throws things away. He neither looks at the camera nor does he speak to the camera. He is too far away.	none	none
	30		2	low and slightly oblique angle, medium shot	There is an old television. We saw a TV commercial on a TV. A man walks towards the camera.	music	none	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	2 years later, 2010	walking, neither looking, nor talking	none	none
	31		2	medium close shot	A man is talking to the camera	music and his voice	I am Agaoglu.	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	2 years later, 2010	looking at the camera and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu
	32		3	medium shot	Agaoglu still is talking and looks at the camera	music and his voice	We're creating a new area with 3100 homes.	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	2010	looking at the camera and talking to it	none	Agaoglu
	33		2	over the shoulder	A man looks and points somewhere	music	none	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	Does not look at the camera or talk to the camera, but he points somewhere.	none	Agaoglu
	34		2	medium close shot	is talking and looks at the camera.	his voice and music.	87% will be green	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	looking at the camera. and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	35		2	close shot, low angle	shoes, golf ball and a golf club The man grabs the golf ball.	Agaoglu's voice and music	and there'll be a golf course	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	No face is shown, just bending knees and a hand that grabs the ball. Agaoglu is still talking	none	Agaoglu
	36		1	very close shot	His eyes are visible. They gaze somewhere close to the camera.	His voice and music	I always dreamed of gardens	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	his visionary gaze outside the frame and his voice represent his agency	none	Agaoglu
	37		3	low angle, medium shot	Agaoglu is sitting in an excavator, wearing a helmet.	his voice and music	on the tenth floor.	middle-aged	man	in a working space safe zone	in 2010	He is looking at the camera and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu
	38		1	medium close shot	He is sitting in the excavator	his voice and music	Now they'll exist!	middle-aged	man	in a working space safe zone	in 2010	He is looking at the camera and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu
	39		4	medium close shot	Agaoglu is sitting on the grass and talking to the camera and looking at it.	his voice and music	Everyone deserves to live in a house with a swimming pool.	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	He is looking at the camera and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu
	40		2	medium long shot	standing, talking and pointing	his voice and music	There will be swimming pools,	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	He is standing, pointing somewhere and talking but not looking at the camera.	none	Agaoglu
	41		3	very high angle, long shot	Agaoglu is talking and standing	His voice and music	one of them 130 meters long	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	He is standing, explaining, but far away	none	Agaoglu
	42		5	at eye-level, medium close shot	Talking, looking and demonstrating something on a photoshopped split screen.	Agaoglu's voice and music.	We'll have a square, a shopping mall, everything. It'll be full of life!	middle-aged	man	in the nature safe zone	in 2010	He is gazing at the camera, talking and pointing.	none	Agaoglu
	43		1	medium long shot, slightly below eye level	Agaoglu is talking and standing surrounded by lightbulbs.	Agaoglu's voice and music.	It'll produce its own electricity,	middle-aged	man	in a fictive zone but not in danger	in 2010	Talking to the camera and gazing at it.	none	Agaoglu
	44		3	medium close shot	Agaoglu is still surrounded by lightbulbs and still talking to the camera.	Agaoglu's voice and music.	saving 20% of your energy cost.	middle-aged	man	in a fictive zone, but not in danger	in 2010	He is looking at the camera and talking to it.	none	Agaoglu
	45		4	at eye-level, medium close shot	Agaoglu is surrounded by workers. All of them are wearing helmets and the the workers are wearing yellow high visibility vests. Agaoglu is wearing a white collar shirt.	Agaoglu's voice and music	With 10.000 TL down payment everyone can own an apartment.	middle-aged	all men	working space	in 2010	All gazing at the camera. Agaoglu is talking to the camera and also looking at it..	none	Agaoglu and anonymous workers
	46		1	tracking shot from close to long shot, high angle	Agaoglu stands on an excavator and points to a construction site behind him.	Agaoglu's voice and music	We already started	middle-aged	man	working space	in 2010	talking and pointing	none	Agaoglu
	47		1	at eye-level	Agaoglu and the workers laugh	Laughing sound and music	none	middle-aged	all men	working space	in 2010	All are laughing and looking, nobody is talking.	none	Agaoglu and anonymous workers
	48		1	at eye-level, long shot.	no humans depicted. An area close to a stadium, shanty houses and tents.	voice of a woman	Ayazma is a small neighbourhood in Küçükçekmece in Istanbul. It's a living testament to neoliberal policies. It's a testament to capitalists seeing	middle-aged	a woman is talking	Ayazma	in 2008	A woman is talking but not visible.	none	none
	49		2	at eye-level, long shot and from an oblique angle. The other woman is filmed from behind	A woman is gazing at a shanty house. Another woman appears on the scene.	The other woman is still talking.	the city as a place for speculation.	all middle-aged	all women	Ayazma - shanty area.	in 2008	The talking woman is not shown. 2 women are depicted. But they are not looking towards the camera, nor do they talk to it.	none	none
	50		7	slightly below eye-level, from an oblique angel. Long and medium long shot.	Three guys are passing by the camera.	The other woman is still talking.	It's a testament to the results of globalization.	3 young boys/men visible 1 middle-aged woman is talking	three boys visible, one woman hearable	Ayazma - shanty area.	in 2008	A woman is talking, but she is not depicted. 3 guys are passing by, but they neither talking to the camera nor look at the camera	none	none

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	51		1	slightly below eye-level, medium shot	A woman is sitting in a chair next to shanty houses and tents and is talking to the camera.	She is talking - she is heard.	and to land having a material value.	middle-aged	woman	Ayazma - shanty area	in 2008	She is talking and is depicted and gazing at the camera.	none	none
	52		2	graphic visualisation	her name and her job description	nothing	Local consultant	-	-	-	-	-	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	53		6	long shot	the stadium	her voice	This area became valuable after the Olympic Stadium was built.	middle-aged	woman	Ayazma, the stadium	in 2008	She is talking. The stadium is shown.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	54		7	long shot	A neighbourhood, houses	her voice and background music	And so a neighbourhood far from sight, far	middle-aged	a woman is heard	a neighbourhood	in 2008	She is talking, but is not depicted.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	55		3	medium shot, from behind	A man is walking through rubble with a cell phone in his hand.	her voice and background music	from infrastructure and municipal services	young, grown up man middle-aged woman	man (visible) and woman (hearable)	Ayazma, shanty neighbourhood	in 2008	Woman is talking, but is not depicted. Man are not gazing at the camera or talking to it.	Local consultant + anonymous other	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous other
	56		3	medium long shot, oblique angle	Children are playing and drawing with chalks on the streets.	her voice and background music	an area not even recognized by the state	young and middle-aged	boys (visible) woman (hearable)	Ayazma, shanty neighbourhood	in 2008	Woman is talking, but is not depicted. Children are playing and are visible, but are not talking to the camera or looking at it.	Local consultant + anonymous others	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous others
	57		3	long shot from behind and from an oblique angle	Children are playing and drawing with chalks on the streets.	her voice and background music	suddenly becomes valuable.	young and middle-aged	boys (visible) woman (hearable)	Ayazma, shanty neighbourhood	in 2008	Woman is talking, but is not depicted. Children are playing and are visible, but are not talking to the camera or looking at it.	Local consultant + anonymous others	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous others
	58		3	long shot, at eye-level	A woman is standing in front of a dilapidated house and walking away.	The voice of Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal.	Thus inhabitants are forced to migrate.	both women middle-aged	two women	Ayazma, shanty neighbourhood	in 2008	One woman is heard. The depicted woman though isn't talking to or looking at the camera.	Local consultant + anonymous other	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous other
	59		6	long shot	A family is gathered together next to a car and one child is looking out of the window and a woman is standing in front of the shanty house.	The voice of Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal	This area will be turned into luxury housing or whatever.	All ages.	All sexes	Ayazma, shanty neighbourhood	in 2008	One woman is talking, but is not depicted. Others are too far away.	Local consultant + anonymous others	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous others
	60		4	long shot	A cemetery.	The female local consultant is still talking.	But in the end people here will be completely ignored	middle-aged	woman is talking	Ayazma, cementary	in 2008	The local consultant is talking, but is not depicted.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	61		13	long shot, high angle, tracking shot	A dilapidated house.	The female consultant is still talking.	by architectural drawings that claim they'll make things better.	middle-aged	woman	Ayazma	in 2008	The local consultant is talking, but is not depicted.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	62		12	long shot, high angle	empty road	A male voice and background sounds	For every election they brought a new service. Telephone, electricity, roads, water. Last year they hooked up the waters.	middle-aged	man	Ayazma	in 2008	A man is talking, but not depicted.	none	none
	63		18	at eye-level, medium close shot, slightly oblique angles	Men are sitting on the floor. Only one of them is talking. Others are not looking at the camera.	His voice and some background sounds.	I mean the renewal project is all planned out, and the water arrives.	middle-aged	men	dilapidated area in Ayazma	in 2008	One man is talking, but not looking in the camera. The others are listening, but not looking at at the camera. One is drinking tea.	none	Kasim Aydin
	64		4	long shot	dilapidated houses	A female voice.	The municipality acts like a making	middle-aged	woman	dilapidated area in Ayazma	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted.	local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	65		2	long shot	rubble and a shanty house	A female voice	deals with TOKI, the Mass Housing Administration	middle-aged	woman	dilapidated area in Ayazma	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted.	local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	66		3	medium close shot and long shot (girl)	The local consultant, Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal, is sitting on a chair. A girl is standing on the grass close by.	A female voice	They give it to TOKI, TOKI gives	middle-aged and a young girl	women	dilapidated area in Ayazma	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking and is depicted. A girl is standing close by, but is not gazing at the camera nor talking to it.	local consultant + anonymous girl	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + anonymous girl

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	67		2	medium close shot	clothes were hung up to dry outside next to a shanty house	A female voice.	it to the contractor and it's sold.	middle-aged	woman is talking	dilapidated area in Ayazma	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted.	local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	68		3	medium close shot, at eye-level	Children are sitting and playing with each other.	A female voice.	But they're not profiting from the land,	young boys (visible), a middle-aged woman (hearabl	boys (visible) and woman (voice)	dilapidated neighbourhood	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking. Boys are playing, but not talking to the camera or at it	galocal consultant + anonymous boys	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	69		2	medium shot, long shot from behind and oblique angle	Children and a grown up guy are playing and walking around.	A female voice, the consultant.	they'ro profiting from people's lives.	children and one grown up. (visible) and one middle-aged hearable.	woman (is talking) children (visible)	Ayazma	in 2008	woman is talking, children are playing but are not gazing at the camera or talking to it.	local consultant - anonymous children	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	70		3	medium close shot	The woman Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is sitting and talking to the camera.	Her voice	This is the end of the social state.	middle-aged woman	woman	Ayazma	in 2008	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking to the camera and looking at it.	local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	71		13	medium close shot, slightly below eye-level, slightly oblique angle	A man in a suit is standing in front of high-rise buildings and is talking, but Is not gazing directly at the camera.	his voice	Today if you want to take the bus, you have to pay for it. Yes, the social state should plan for these people,	middle-aged	man	high-rise buildings	not mentioned	Ali Agaoglu is talking and is depicted. But he is not looking at the camera.	Müteahhit (entrepeneur)	Ali Agaoglu
	72		1	from behind, medium long shot and long shot	A man is walking on a road, others are shaking a carpet	Ali Agaoglu's voice is heard. and background music.	but they have to make a contribution, too.	middle-aged	man (hearable)	poor neighbourhood	in 2008	A man is talking, but is not depicted. Other interact with each other, but are not gazing at the camera nor talking to it.	Müteahhit (entrepeneur)	Ali Agaoglu
	73		4	oblique and high angle, medium close shot	A woman is carrying her child.	Agaoglu's voice and music	I wish they could buy everything they need,	child and middle-aged woman (visible) and a middle-aged ma (hearable)	man (hearable) visually women	poor neighbourhood	in 2008	Ali Agaoglu is talking, but is not shown. Woman are walking, but not gazing at the camera or talking to it.	Müteahhit (entrepeneur)	Ali Agaoglu
	74		2	slightly oblique angle, and medium close shot	Agaoglu is talking in front of high-rise buildings.	His voice and background music	but only God can give without taking.	middle-aged	man	high-rise buildings	not mentioned	Ali Agaoglu is talking and is visually represented, but he is not gazing.	Müteahhit (entrepeneur)	Ali Agaoglu
	75		6	long shot, slightly below eye-level	The Olympia stadium is visible	music and a male voice	Tomorrow you'll see each apartment for 750.000 to 800.000 TL	middle-aged	man	the stadium	in 2008	A man is talking, but is not visible.	none	none
	76		4	long shot	people who are sitting or walking next to a dilapidated house.	A male voice and music	And they'll soon be worth one millions.	visually: different ages verbally: middle-aged	visually: all sexes verbally: male	poor neighbourhood	in 2008	people in the picture are neither talking to the camera nor looking at it, they are too far away. A man is talking.	none	none
	77		3	long shot, highangle	dilapidated house and people who live in it.	A male voice and music	Is that a speculative profit? Of course.	verbally: middle-aged visually: not perceptible	man visually: not perceptible	dilapidated house	in 2008	Man is talking, others are too far away.	none	none
	78		7	low angle, with a medium close shot. The child is at eye-level and is depicted with a close shot. Both are depicted from a slightly oblique angle.	A man and a child are sitting in a tent. He is talking. The girl is sitting on his lap.	A male voice and music	Give us our due. Let us pay for what we can afford.	visually and verbally: middle-ag Visually: child	visually: girl and man verbally: man	in a tent	in 2008	Man is talking, is not gazeing directly into the camera. Girl is not talking to the camera nor is she looking at it.	none	Ömer Akvaranli

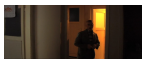
Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	79		7	long shot	poor neighbourhood	Male voice. Ömer Akvaranli still is talking.	We don't want it for free.	middle-aged	male	shanty town	in 2008	Man is talking, but is not depicted	none	Ömer Akvaranli
	80		40	medium close shot, slightly below eye-level	Agaoglu is looking and is talking to the camera. High-rise buildings in the back.	Agaoglu is talking.	I don't want them to suffer. I'm on their side. But if the state gives them apartments, then everyone should get an apartment. I'd be the first one to object to that. It'd be unjust and unconstitutional. I wish the state had the means to give everyone a free apartment. But if you were a tenant and you demand an apartment and got it, that would encourage criminality. It'd be unjust.	middle-aged	man	high-rise buildings	in 2008	Agaoglus is talking to the camera and is looking directly at the camera.	Müteahhit (entrepreneur)	Ali Agaoglu
	81		24	oblique and low angle, medium close shot	Men are sitting in a tent. One of them, Kasim Aydin is talking.	Kasim Aydin is talking.	Whether we're home owners or tenants, we should all be relocated from here to there. And because its social housing if others are in need, they should be relocated there as well. As part of this project!	middle-aged	all men	In a tent	in 2008	Kasim Aydin is talking and is surrounded by other men. None of the depicted men are looking directly at the camera.	none	Kasim Aydin
	82		9	medium close shot, oblique angle	woman is washing vegetables. She is surrounded by rubble.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking	In our constitution, we don't have a specific reference to a right to shelter.	middle-aged women	women	in Ayazma	in 2008	One woman are not gazing at the camera nor are they talking to it. The local consultant is talking.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + another woman
	83		5	close shot, slightly high angle	A woman is cutting tomatoes. Only her hands are depicted.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking.	From the clauses on privacy, housing, health-care and environmental rights,	middle-aged women	women	in Ayazma	in 2008	One woman is talking, but is not depicted. We are only shown body parts of the other women.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal + another woman
	84		3	close shot, low angle, slightly oblique angle	She is washing her dishes.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking.	clauses 20, 56 and 57, we inf era right to shelter.	middle-aged women	women	in Ayazma	in 2008	One woman is talking, but is not depicted. The woman in the picture is not talking to the camera and hardly gazing at it.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal and anoth woman
	85		9	close shot, low angle, slightly oblique angle	The woman is still washing her dishes.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal still is talking.	On the contrary,	middle-aged women	women	in Ayazma	in 2008	The local consultant is talking. The woman is not talking to the camera and hardly gazing at it.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal and anoth woman
	86		2	low and oblique angle, close shot	The woman is grabbing her dishes.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking.	these rights should stem from the right to shelter.	middle-aged	women	in Ayazma	in 2008	The local consultant is talking. We are only shown body parts of the other women.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal and anoth woman.
	87		6	low and oblique angle, medium long shot	Boys are passing by.	The local consultant still is talking.	You need a shelter before you can access education, health-care,	young boys (visually) middle-aged (verbally)	visually boy verbally woman	in Ayazma	in 2008	The young boys are just passing by, they are not talking to the camera or looking at it. And the local consultant is talking.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal and another anonymous children
	88		3	medium shot, slightly below eye-level	woman/local consultant is sitting in a chair in a poor neighbourhood	She is talking	and have the right to a healthy environment.	middle-aged	woman	in Ayazma	in 2008	The expert is talking to the camera and is looking at it.	none	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal.
	89		4	from behind, medium long shot, slightly below eye-level	Old man is looking after some very thin cows.	cow sound and music	-	old	man	in Ayazma	in 2008	-	-	-
	90		3	oblique and from behind, at eye-level, long shots	children are playing amongst trash	music	-	young	children (all sexes)	in Ayazma	in 2008	-	-	-
	91		7	high and oblique angle	A woman and a child is depicted in a dilapidated area. She is carrying a tire.	music and a male voice.	Unfortunately my children will no	young and middle-aged	visible: woman and a child hearable: man	in a poor neighbourhood	in 2008	Woman and child: no gaze, no speech. Man: is talking to the camera.	-	-
	92		7	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot and long shot, tracking shot.	Children are playing in a field.	music and male voice.	longer get an education. We've experienced two demolitions in two years	young kids - visible middle-aged man - hearable	boys visible man hearable	on a filed in a poor neighbourhood	in 2008	Children playing and isn't talking. A man is talking, but is not visible.	-	-
	93		6	low and oblique angle, tracking shot	Boy plays with a tire in a poor neighbourhood.	Man is still talking.	May children failed their classes. I took two of them out of school.	young child - visible middle-aged man - hearable	boy visible man hearable	on a street in Ayazma	in 2008	A boy is playing and man is talking.	-	-

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	gender	space	time	agency	job description	name
	94		3	medium close shot, slightly below eye-level	Man in a tent is talking.	His voice	And there's no work. They were in fourth or seventh grade	middle-aged	man	in a tent, in Ayazma	in 2008	Man is talking and depicted, but not looking directly at the camera.	-	Tacettin Acar
	95		6	low and oblique angle, tracking shot moves to a high angle	Two boys are playing with a tire.	Tacettin Acar is talking	Now they're working in textile factories for 300 to 400 TL a month	middle-aged man - hearable young - boys	male	on a street in Ayazma	in 2008	Children playing, but are not talking to the camera or gazing at it. Tacettin Acar is talking is not depicted.	-	Tacettin Acar is talking
	96		40	low angle switches to high angle, tracking shot, long shot	A man climbs over a wall and walks down a hill.	music and a male voice. (Ömer Akvaranli)	Where do we come from? The east. If there were jobs or factories there, we wouldn't have to come to Istanbul, Izmir or Ankara. Am I right? There'll be many victims of these urban renewal projects. Many will be left in poverty. They can't return to the village. There's no land anymore.	middle-aged men	man is heard. one man is depicted	poor neighbourhood	in 2008	A man is walking, another man is talking. The depicted man is not gazing at the camera.	-	-
	97		2	low angle, long shot	still walking	-	-	middle-aged man	man	poor neighbourhood	in 2008	A man is walking but not gazing at the camera or talking to it	-	-
	98		11	high angel	The man is walking towards a dilapidated house and puts off his shoes.	Male voice is heard (Ömer Akvaranli)	Build factories in the east and we'll go! Why should I work here? I earn 600 TL a month, minimum wage I'd rather work in my village.	middle-aged men	one visible and one man is heard	dilapidated house	in 2008	A man is entering a house and is not talking not gazing. Another man is talking.	-	-
	99		13	at eye-level, medium close shot	Two men sitting and one of them is talking.	His voice and music	Four factories were shut down in my village. Tobacco, sugar, sunflower oil factories. All of the idle.	middle-aged men	men	in a hut	in 2008	One man is talking, the other is listening.	none	Ömer Akvaranli
	100		27	high and oblique angle, partly from behind	A boy is playing with a tire.	Male voice and music (Ömer Akvaranli)	Open them and we'll go work there. Why should we put up with this?	young boy - visible middle-aged man - hearable	boy visible man is talking	on the streets, Ayazma	in 2008	Ömer Akvaranli is talking, but is not depicted. Boy is playing.	none	Ömer Akvaranli)

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
Tenth sequence number														
	1		1	oblique, from behind, long shot	street in a shanty district, 3 passer by are walking in the street	music	none	different	different	a street in Istanbul	not mentioned	People are walking, passing by. They are not talking.	-	-
	2		5	oblique, from behind, long shot	another street in a shanty district, people walking in the street.	music	none	different	different	a street in Istanbul	not mentioned	People are walking, passing by. They are not gazing at the camera or talking to it.	-	-
	3		7	still, long shot	A mosque and an urban area in Istanbul is depicted.	Male voice	Due to its proximity to fault lines, Istanbul	middle-aged	man is talking	Istanbul, mosque, sea of houses	not mentioned	No human being is depicted. A man is talking, but is not depicted.	not mentioned yet	none
	4		4	long shots, from behind, oblique angle	A street and houses in Istanbul. People passing by.	Male voice	is very vulnerable to earthquakes.	middle-aged	man is talking	Street in Istanbul	not mentioned	Others are visible, but are not talking, nor gaze. A man is talking, but is not depicted.	not mentioned yet	none
	5		5	medium close shot, slightly oblique and below eye-level	Ali Agaoglu in front of a street and a a high-rise building.	Agaoglu's voice + music	I can tell you from experience that 70% of the buildings in Istanbul	middle-aged	Man - visible+ hearable	business district in Istanbul	not mentioned	Agaoglu is talking and is depicted. He is not directly looking at the camera.	Müteahhit	Ali Agaoglu
	6		12	tracking shot from a high angle	Urban area in Istanbul. A sea of houses.	Agaoglu's voice and background music	are unsafe. Istanbul today has approximately 3.8 million buildings.	middle-aged	Man = hearable	Istanbul	not mentioned	Agaoglu is talking, but is not depicted.	Müteahhit	Ali Agaoglu

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	7		4	slightly oblique angle and slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Business district in Istanbul.	Agaoglu's voice and background music	If you renewed 50% of them, you'd have to renew almos 2 million buildings.	middle-aged	Man = is hearable and visible	Istanbul, business area	not mentioned	Agaoglu is visible and depicted.	Müteahhit	Ali Agaoglu
	8		4	at eye-level, long shot, still	A still of several houses in Istanbul	Agaoglu's voice and music.	We have to build safe and aesthetic buildings in Istanbul,	middle-aged	Man= hearable	Istanbul, sea of houses	not mentioned	Agaoglu is hearable, but not depicted. No other human beings are visible.	Müteahhit	Ali Agaoglu
	9		5	low and oblique angle, from behind, medium shot	Two boys are walking on a street. A child is riding a bike.	Agaoglu's voice and music.	raising the standard of living.	young boys = visible middle-aged man = hearable	all male	Urban area in Istanbul	not mentioned	Agaoglu is talking and heard, but not shown. Children are whether talking to the camera nor are they gazing at it.	Müteahhit	Ali Agaoglu
	10		4	high, long tracking shot, bird eye's view	Bird eye's view of Istanbul.	Another male voice	First of all, if you're driving us out of buildings that you made in 1987	middle-aged man = hearable	man is talking	Istanbul	not mentioned	A man, who is not depicted, is talking.	-	-
	11		6	long shot	A shanty house and some people sitting in front of it.	A male voice.	because they're unsafe in a first degree earthquake zone,	middle-aged= hearable different ages = visible	man = heard different sexes are visible	A shanty house in Istanbul	not mentioned	A man, who is not depicted, is talking. Others are shown, but too far away to be heard.	-	-
	12		4	high and slightly oblique angle, medium close shot	Ömer Kiris is talking to the camera.	his voice and music	then shame on the state!	middle-aged	man	in a park in Istanbul	not mentioned	Ömer Kiris is talking to the camera, but is not gazing at it.	Tozkoparan Mahalle Derneği (Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation)	Ömer Kiris
	13		3	low and oblique angle, long shot	Children are playing football on a street.	Ömer Kiris and background music can be heard.	Why should people in Tozkoparan, who bought their home with	visually = boys are playing verbally = Ömer Kiris	male	street in Tozkoparan	not mentioned	Ömer Kiris is talking, but is not depicted. Young boys are playing with each other. They are not talking or gazing.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
	14		4	at eye-level, medium close shot	Men and woman standing and gazeing at the camera	Ömer Kiris still is talking. Background music is heard.	hard work, pay for this?	visually = different sexes verbally = Ömer Kiris	different sexes = visually verbally = Ömer Kiris	street in Tozkoparan	not mentioned	Everyone is gazing at the camera, but they are not talking to it. Ömer Kiris is talking, but depicted.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
	15		6	still, long shot	Old ottoman houses and some other houses in a street.	Ömer Kiris is talking + background music.	You made these buildings in the state's name, and 20 years later you want to	middle-aged = hearable	man = hearable	Tozkoparan	not mentioned	No human beings are depicted. Ömer Kiris is talking.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
	16		8	still	A shot of a website, where a article about Toki and Erdogan is shown.	Ömer Kiris is talking, backgr ound music	demolish them? Then how can you guarantee for the ones you'll build in the future? Why should we trust you? We've seen pictures of Bezirganbahce.	middle-aged	man = verbally Man = visually	Web	not mentioned	Erdogan is depicted on a picture. Ömer Kiris is talking.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
17			5	tracking shot, medium shot	From the face of people to the columns where the metal is visible.	Ömer Kiris is talking, background music	The new buildings have exposed metal columns. They were built for "urban transformation" as well!	different ages –visible middle-aged = hearable	different sexes visible man hearable	Istanbul	not mentioned	He is talking, other people are depicted, but do not talk.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
18			2	medium shots, oblique angle, slightly low	Kids are playing in the streets.	music	-	young	boys	Tozkoparan, Istanbul	not mentioned	Kids are playing, but they are not talking to the camera or gazing at it.	none	none
19			2	close shot, slightly high angle	Kids are playing with marbles on the streets.	music	-	young	boys	Tozkoparan, Istanbul	not mentioned	Kids are playing, only body parts are visible. They are not talking to the camera.	none	none
20			6	medium close shot, slightly oblique and slightly below eye-level	A woman is sitting in a chair and is talking.	her voice and background music is heard	If enhancements are needed, they should be made. But with the dwellers' participation, without driving them away	middle-aged	woman	Ayazma	not mentioned	Expert is talking and shown.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal.
21			2	medium close and medium shot, low and oblique angle	A street somewhere in Istanbul. Two women are walking by and a guy is looking at the camera.	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal's voice and music	and by enhancing their existing housing.	all middle-aged	visible = different verbally = female	Istanbul	not mentioned	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted. Others are not talking.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal.
22			3	low angle, medium shot and long shot	A man and the things he is selling on the street. A shop in the back, where people are buying things.	background music	-	all middle-aged	different sexes	Istanbul	not mentioned	Seller is gazing at the camera. Others are not. Nobody is talking.	none	-
23			3	at eye-level, medium long shot, from behind	Two boys are looking at the view, while embracing each other.	background music	-	young	boys	Istanbul	not mentioned	Filmed from behind. They are not talking, they are too far away.	none	-
24			2	oblique angle, high, medium shot and long shot	A woman and a child in the streets.	nothing	-	different ages	not all perceptible	Istanbul	not mentioned	They are not talking or gazing, they are too far away.	none	none
25			3	low and oblique angle, medium close shot	A woman passes by in a street somewhere in Istanbul	nothing	-	middle-aged	woman	Istanbul	not mentioned	A woman is just walking by. She is not talking to the camera nor gazing at it.	none	none
26			4	high and oblique angle, medium close shot	A man is selling food in his shop. Two customers are buying something from him. He is wrapping it up.	A male voice. (Ömer Kiris)	They should keep their hands off our neighbourhoods	different hearable: middle-aged	visually: different verbally: man	Istanbul	not mentioned	A man is talking, others are depicted, but they are not talking to the camera or gazing at it.	not yet mentioned	not yet mentioned
27			5	low and oblique angle, medium close shot	Children are riding on the merry-go-round	A male voice is talking. (Ömer Kiris)	where we've lived for 50 years, where we were children, fell in love,	visually: kids verbally: middle-aged	visually: different sexes verbally: man	Istanbul, at a playground	not mentioned	A man is talking (Ömer Kiris), kids are depicted, but they are not gazing or talking.	not yet mentioned or visible	not yet mentioned or visible
28			4	oblique and from behind, at eye-level	Children are playing with a woman and other grown-ups.	A male voice is talking. (Ömer Kiris)	got married, shared sorrows and had funerals.	visually: different verbally: middle-aged	visually: different sexes verbally: man	Istanbul, at a playground	not mentioned	A man is talking (Ömer Kiris); others are not talking or gazing.	not mentioned yet or visible yet	not mentioned or visible yet
29			2	slightly above eye-level, over the shoulder shot, close shot.	A woman is painting a face of a lion on a child's face.	A male voice is talking. (Ömer Kiris)	I don't consider living in a skyscraper as wealth.	different verbally: middle-aged	visually: different verbally: man	Istanbul, at a playground	not mentioned	A man is talking (Ömer Kiris), but is not depicted. The child is not gazing at the camera.	not mentioned or visible yet	not mentioned or visible yet
30			6	high and slightly oblique angle, medium close shot	Ömer Kiris is talking to the camera. Still standing in a park.	Ömer Kiris is heard	We don't care about money,	middle-aged	man	Istanbul, in a park	not mentioned	Ömer Kiris is talking and is depicted.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
31			3	low , from behind, long shot	A woman is cleaning the street, children are walking around.	Ömer Kiris' voice	but we'll defend our housing rights	different ages verbally= middle-aged	visible = different sexes verbally= man	a small street in Istanbul	not mentioned	Ömer Kiris is talking, others are depicted. Others are not talking to the camera or gazing	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	32		4	high angle, medium long shot, oblique angle	Women are stuffing duvets with sheep's wool.	Ömer Kiris' voice	to the very end.	different ages = visually verbally = middle-aged	visible = different sexes verbally = man	in a neighbourhood in Istanbul	not mentioned	Ömer Kiris is talking, others are involved with themselves.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
	33		3	long shots	A street corner somewhere in Istanbul. People are passing by.	Another male voice can be heard.	In urban transformation	middle-aged	mostly men = visible verbally = man	in a neighbourhood in Istanbul	not mentioned	A man is talking, others are involved with themselves.	Tozkoparan neighbourhood organisation	Ömer Kiris
	34		2	medium close shot, slightly below eye-level, slightly oblique	Haluk Sur is talking and sits in front of a skyline in Istanbul.	Haluk Sur's voice	some people may unintentionally get hurt.	middle-aged	man	in a business district in Istanbul	not mentioned	Haluk Sur is talking, but is not gazing.	Real Estate Investment companies	Haluk Sur
	35		4	medium long shot, at eye-level	A homeless guy sits next to the street.	Haluk Sur's voice	It can only happen	middle-aged	men = one verbally, other visually	somewhere in Istanbul	not mentioned	Haluk Sur is talking, but is not depicted. The man in the picture is not gazing at the came	Real Estate Investment companies	Haluk Sur
	36		4	from behind, oblique angle, medium shot	A guy is walking along the street with his vendors tray.	Haluk Sur's voice	with social dialogue.	middle-aged= one verbally, on	men = one verbally, other visually	somewhere in Istanbul	not mentioned	Haluk Sur is talking, but is not depicted. The man in the picture is not gazing at the came	Real Estate Investment companies	Haluk Sur
	37		3	oblique, low angle, medium long shots	People are sitting outside on the street.	Haluk Sur's voice	It is not something we can	visually = different ages, verbally= middle-aged	visually= different sexes, verbally= male voice	somewhere in Istanbul	not mentioned	Haluk Sur is talking, but is not depicted. The people in the picture is not gazing at the ca	Real Estate Investment companies	Haluk Sur
	38		3	medium close shot, slightly below eye-level	Haluk Sur in front of skyscrapers and is talking.	His voice	achieve by force.	middle-aged	man	business district in Istanbul	not mentioned	Haluk Sur is visible and is talking.	Real Estate Investment companies	Haluk Sur
	39		3	low angle, medium close shot	A guy is looking directly at the camera and is talking.	his voice	We want to live and die here where we were born.	middle-aged	man	somewhere in Istanbul	not mentioned	The depicted man is talking to the camera and looking directly at it.	-	-
	40		9	at eye-level, medium close shot.	Another guy is looking at the camera and is talking.	his voice	We'll try to protect our neighbourhood as well as possible.	middle-aged	man	in the streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	The depicted man is talking to the camera and looking directly at it.	-	-
	41		12	high and oblique angle, medium long shots	Kids ride on the merry-goes-around	music	-	different ages	different	at a playground in Istanbul	not mentioned	They enjoy themselves. They are not talking to the camera nor gazing at it.	-	-
	42		22	high and oblique angle, long shots, still	Taksim square from above, the news are depicted in the sky.	music	-	different	different	Taksim square	not mentioned	People are walking. They are not gazing.	-	-
	43		8	high and oblique angle, medium close shot	Children in a home are cooking tea and eating chestnuts.	background noise	-	young	different sexes	in a house in Istanbul	not mentioned	Children are not talking nor gazing.	-	-
	44		2	close shot, oblique angle	A child is pouring tea in a cup.	background noises	-	young	not perceptible	in a house in Istanbul	not mentioned	Child is pouring tea. Only body parts are visible, nobody is talking.	-	-
	45		10	low, slightly oblique, a medium close shot	Kasim Aydin is talking on the phone to someone. A boy is watcheing him.	Kasim Aydin's voice.	Just take the fliers and the banner... Can you please open the banner in the park before we get there?	young and middle-aged	male	in a house in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking on the phone. Nobody is talking directly to the camera or gazing at it	none	Kasim Aydin
	46		10	at eye-level, medium close shot	Kasim Aydin is putting on his jacket. His wife is also getting ready to leave the house.	Kasim Aydin's voice	Sweethearts, lets hurry! We had some fliers somwhere.	middle-aged	male and female; only he is talking	in a house in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking. Both are getting ready, nobody is looking directly at the camera.	none	Kasim Aydin
	47		10	tracking shot, medium close shot, slightly below eye-level	The family is leaving the house.	Kasim Aydin's voice	On February 20th, 2010. Tokl and Kücükcekmece	different	different	Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, but not directly to the camera. He is leaving the house, his family is following him.	none	Kasim Aydin

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	48		8	long shot, at eye-level, oblique angle	The family is walking on the street.	Kasim Aydin's voice	municipally invited us to come and pick or apartments. So we went there for the drawing.	different	different	Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, but not directly to the camera. He is walking on the street, others are following him.	none	Kasim Aydin
	49		4	high and oblique long shots	People are gathering next to a well. Streets, busses and cars are depicted.	Kasim Aydin's voice	They had told us that they were aware of our situation	different ages	different sexes	in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are depicted, but are not talking or gazing.	none	Kasim Aydin
	50		5	high and oblique long shot	People are waiting next to a well.	Kasim Aydin's voice	and that their terms would be within our means.	different ages	different sexes	in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are depicted	none	Kasim Aydin
	51		3	low and oblique, medium close shot	Women are walking by.	Kasim Aydin's voice	But a month and a half later, we got a	middle-aged	women= visible man= hearable	in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are depicted, but are not talking or gazing.	none	Kasim Aydin
	52		4	high angle, long shot	On a bridge, in a traffic jam. The view of a driver.	Kasim Aydin's voice	letter from the bank.	middle-aged	man = hearable	in Istanbul	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, no other human being perceptible in the picture.	none	Kasim Aydin
	53		4	slightly above eye-level, medium close shot	In a bus: a woman is looking out of the window. On a bridge, crossing the Bosphorus.	Kasim Aydin's voice	asking for a down payment of 15.000 TL. Monthly installments between 350 and 400 TL.	visually = middle-aged verbally = middle-aged	visually = woman verbally = man	on one of the Bosphorus bridges	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, but is not depicted. Woman is depicted, but is not looking at the camera nor talking to it.	none	Kasim Aydin
	54		4	from behind, oblique angle, medium close shot	Two children take a look at the Bosphorus, while crossing the bridge in a bus.	Kasim Aydin's voice	They said	visually= kids verbally = middle-aged	visually = girls verbally = man	in a bus on one of the Bosphorus bridge	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, girls are depicted, but are not talking. They are shot from behind. Kasim Aydin is not depicted.	none	Kasim Aydin
	55		4	medium close shot, slightly oblique angle slightly below eye-level	Kasim Aydin is sitting on the bus. His friend is sitting next to him. Kasim Aydin is talking to the camera. Another man in the back is visible.	His voice.	If you can pay that, you're eligible.	middle-aged	men	in a bus	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking and is depicted.	none	Kasim Aydin
	56		5	low angle, medium close shot, oblique angle	Women are sitting on a bus.	Kasim Aydin's voice.	Our 18 families have lived in tents for three years.	verbally = middle-aged visually = different ages	verbally = man visually = women	in a bus	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking; women are depicted	none	Kasim Aydin
	57		2	low and oblique angle, medium close shot	Woman and a man on the bus.	Kasim Aydin's voice	Did they think we	middle-aged	verbally= man visually= man and woman	in a bus	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking; a man and a woman are depicted	none	Kasim Aydin
	58		3	low and oblique angle, medium close shot	Another woman and a man on the bus.	Kasim Aydin's voice	won the lottery last year?	middle-aged	verbally= man visually = man and woman	on a bus	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking; a man and a woman are depicted	none	Kasim Aydin
	59		5	at eye-level, medium close shot, slightly oblique	Kasim Aydin and his friend on the bus. Kasim Aydin is talking to the camera.	Kasim Aydin's voice.	Only one person is working in each family and at minimum wage	middle-aged	men	on the bus	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking and is depicted. Other men are also visible, but they are not gazing at the camera.	none	Kasim Aydin
	60		3	low and oblique angle, medium shot	People are getting out of the bus.	Kasim Aydin's voice	Our goal isn't only to restitute the rights of 18 Ayazma families,	different	different	at the bus station	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are depicted. The others are involved with themselves.	none	Kasim Aydin
	61		6	high angle, long shot	People demonstrating on the streets.	Kasim Aydin's voice	but also those of all	different	verbally = man visually = different	on the streets	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are demonstrating, gazing and making demands with banners	none	Kasim Aydin
	62		2	at eye-level, medium shot	Protesters on the streets.	Kasim Aydin's voice	the tenants and homeless	different ages verbally = middle-aged	visually= different sexes verbally= man	on the streets	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are demonstrating, gazing and making demands with banners	none	Kasim Aydin
	63		4	low and oblique angle, medium long shot	Protesters on the streets of Istanbul, the families from Ayazma are visible.	Kasim Aydin's voice	in all other neighbourhoods.	middle-aged = verbally different ages = visually	verbally= man visually = different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	Kasim Aydin is talking, others are demonstrating, gazing and making demands with banners	none	Kasim Aydin
	64		6	long shot, still	Istanbul, sea of houses, skyline	drums and a woman's voice	Against the forces that create divided and unsafe cities,	middle-aged = verbally	woman =verbally	Istanbul	not mentioned	A woman is demanding something, but is not depicted.	not mentioned yet	not mentioned yet

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	65		10	at eye-level, medium close shot	Protesters on the streets. Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is demanding things, is talking out loud. Benefactor speaks up.	drums and a Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal's voice	against usurpation of our right to the city and for the right to shape	different = visually middle-aged = verbally	different = visually woman = verbally	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking and is depicted. Other people in the picture are gazing at the camera. Benefactor is fighting with dispossessed people on the streets.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal.
	66		3	at eye-level, close shot	Protesters on the streets, holding up banners.	music and Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal's voice	our city ourselves,	different= visually middle-aged = verbally	different = visually woman = verbally	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted. Others in the picture are gazing at the camera, making demands with their banners, resisting.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	67		2	high, long shots, oblique angle	Demonstrating people on the streets in Istanbul.	music and Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal's voice	we declare that we'll stand united, moving	different= visually middle-aged = verbally	different = visually woman = verbally	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted. Others in the picture are gazing at the camera, making demands with their banners, resisting.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	68		7	high angle, tracking shot	People are demonstrating.	music and Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal's voice.	beyond all our differences.	different = visually middle-aged = verbally	different = visually woman = verbally	Kadiköy Istanbul, close to Haydarpasa.	not mentioned	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is talking, but is not depicted. The protesters in the picture are gazeing at the camera, making demands with their banners, resisting on the streets.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	69		4	at eye-level, medium close shot, over-the-shoulder, slightly oblique and from behind	Protesters on the streets are chanting.	music and different voices	Will we allow our homes to be demolished? No!	visually and verbally: different ages	visually and verbally: different sexes	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Protesters are shouting and are depicted.	-	-
	70		2	long shot, still	Old ottoman house made out of wood.	Protesters shouting and music	Will we allow our homes to be demolished? No!	verbally = different ages	verbally = different sexes	old ottoman house, Istanbul	not mentioned	Protesters are shouting and are depicted.	none	none
	71		4	at eye-level, long shot	A woman and a child is looking out of an old wooden house.	music	-	young and middle-aged	woman and a child	wooden house in Istanbul	not mentioned	Woman and a child are depicted, but they are not gazing or talking.	none	none
	72		4	at eye-level, medium close shot	Protesters on the streets, one guy plays the bagpipes.	music and shouting	No to urban and suburban transformation!	different ages	different sexes	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Different protesters are depicted, they are making music and chanting political slogans.	none	none
	73		5	at eye-level, medium close shot	Protesters on the streets.	music and shouting	We'll win by resisting!	different ages	different sexes	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Different protesters are depicted, they are making music and chanting political slogans.	none	none
	74		3	at eye-level, medium close shot	Protesters on the streets.	music and shouting	We want a human life!	different ages	different sexes	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Different protesters are depicted, they are making music and chanting political slogans.	none	none
	75		4	at eye-level, medium long shot	Protesters on the streets.	music and shouting	We're here because we want a more human city!	different ages	different sexes	streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Different protesters are depicted, they are making music and chanting political slogans.	none	none
	76		3	long shot and medium long shot. low and oblique angle	Police men and passer-by are crossing the picture	music and shouting	We won't allow the third bridge to be built!	different ages	different sexes	in front of a public building	not mentioned	Police men and passer-by are depicted, but are wether talking nor gazing.	none	none
	77		2	medium long shot at eye-level	Police men are barring the way to a building.	music and shouting	We won't allow the third bridge to be built!	different ages = verbally and visually	mostly men are depicted different sexes are heard	in front of a building	not mentioned	Police men are depicted. Protesters can be heard.	none	none
	78		3	close shot, at eye-level	A protester, who is playing the saxophone is shown. In the back we can see other demonstrators.	music	-	middle-aged man and others	man and other	in the streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Demonstrators, who are making music are heard and shown.	none	none
	79		5	medium close shot, slightly oblique	People protesting on the streets.	shouting and music	We won't let you build the third bridge!	different ages	different sexes	in the streets of Istanbul	not mentioned	Different protesters are depicted, they are making music and chanting political slogans.	none	none
	80		2	medium close shot, slightly oblique	There is a tussle with the police in front of a building	music and shouting	-	different ages	different sexes	in front of a building	not mentioned	People are fighting for their rights against the police.	none	none

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	81		3	medium close shot, slightly oblique	Police men are trying to bar the way to a building.	music and shouting	-	different ages	different sexes, although mostly men	in front of the building	not mentioned	People are shouting, gazing, demonstrating. Police is barring the house.	none	none
	82		3	at eye-level, medium close shot.	Protesters on the streets.	chanting	Emek Cinema is ours, Istanbul is ours!	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	People are shouting, gazing, demonstrating.	none	none
	83		4	low angle	The emek cinema - sign with a banner (that says: we won't let it be demolished).	chanting	We won't let you demolish it!	different ages	different sexes	on the street in front of the cinema	not mentioned	People can be heard, but not seen.	none	none
	84		4	low angle, tracking shot	A helicopter is shown. Later on we see the protesters again	chanting and music	Resist Istanbul!	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	People are shouting, gazing, demonstrating.	none	none
	85		5	at eye-level, close shot	Protesters on the streets.	chanting, music	People united will never be defeated!	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	People are shouting, gazing, demonstrating.	none	none
	86		2	at eye-level, medium close shot	Three boys are kneeling on the streets, while holding on to their banners.	chanting, music	-	young	boys	on the streets	not mentioned	The three boys are gazing and making demands with their banners.	none	none
	87		4	medium shots at eye-level	Protesters and the benefactor, Mücel, are protesting on the streets.	chanting, music	Capital, get out! Haydarpasa trainstation is ours!	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	The benefactor is demonstrating side-by-side with other people.	none	none
	88		5	high and oblique angle, long shot	Protesters are jumping on the street.	chanting and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	Protesters are jumping on the street, chanting their slogans.	none	none
	89		3	at eye-level, medium close shot	Critical mass protesters are riding bikes in Istanbul	chanting and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	Protesters are riding bikes and gazing at the camera.	none	none
	90		7	tracking shot, bird eye's view	of Istanbul, sea of houses	music and chanting	Leave my forest, water and neighbourhood alone!	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	The protesters are not depicted, but heard.	none	none
	91		2	at eye-level, medium long shot	Protesters on the streets.	clapping and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	People are chanting and depicted.	none	none
	92		3	at eye-level, medium close shot	Police is trying to bar the entry of a building.	clapping and music	-	different ages	different sexes	in front of a building	not mentioned	People are depicted.	none	none
	93		4	high and oblique angle	A crowd is demonstrating on the street.	clapping and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the streets	not mentioned	Lots of people on the streets are depicted.	none	none
	94		2	at eye-level medium close shot	Benefactor named Cihan and protesters clapping and standing outside on a street.	clapping and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the street.	not mentioned	Protesters and benefactor united against suppression and usurpation.	none	none
	95		4	at eye-level, medium shot	Critical mass and their bikes on the streets.	clapping and music	-	different ages	different sexes	on the street.	not mentioned	Critical mass protesters are protesting on the streets.	none	none
	96		11	high, long shot, tracking shot, bird's eye view	Bird's eye view of dilapidated, cleared out area.	clapping, chanting, music	No bridge! A human life!	different ages	different sexes	cleared area in Istanbul	not mentioned	No human beings depicted, but protesters can be heard.	none	none
	97		17	tracking shot, high, long shot, bird's eye view of Istanbul	Bird's eye view of dilapidated, cleared out area.	clapping, chanting, music	United against demolitions! No way out on your own! All together or none of us! Resist Istanbul!	different ages	different sexes	cleared area in Istanbul	not mentioned	No human beings depicted, but protesters can be heard.	none	none

Sequence number	Number	image	length (in sec.)	camera	image content	acoustic	English subtitles	age	sex	space	time	agency	job description	name
	98		12	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Mücella Yapici is sitting in an empty factory, talking to the camera.	Mücella Yapici's voice	Now what's left for us to do is to protect our living spaces.	middle-aged	woman	empty factory	not mentioned	She is talking to the interviewer, but is not gazing at the camera.	Istanbul Chamber of Architects	Mücella Yapici
	99		14	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Sükrü Aslan is sitting on a terrace and is talking.	his voice	Yes, the income level is important. But what's more important is how that income is distributed. Real development is measured by the latter.	middle-aged	man	on a terrace	not mentioned	The expert is talking, but is not gazing at the camera.	Sociologist at Mimar Sinan University	Sükrü Aslan
	100		8	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Yves Cabannes is sitting on a terrace close to the Galata Tower.	his voice	The system simply doesn't work. The cost of it is tremendous for humanity.	middle-aged	man	on a terrace, close to Galata tower	not mentioned	The expert is talking, depicted, but is not gazing at the camera.	Development planning unit, university college London, un Habitat AGFE chairperson	Yves Cabannes
	101		13	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Haluk Gercek is sitting next to empty trains.	his voice	This isn't just today's problem. It's the problem of future generations. We're leaving our kids and grand kids unlivable cities..	middle-aged	man	next to old trains.	not mentioned	The expert is talking, depicted, but is not gazing at the camera.	Istanbul Technical University Director, 1996 Istanbul Transportation Masterplan	Haluk Gercek
	102		12	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal is sitting in Ayazma, in a shanty neighbourhood.	her voice	We create these spaces. But in turn these spaces also create us. So we have to create cities that reflect what we aspire to be as humans.	middle-aged	woman	Ayazma, Istanbul	not mentioned	The expert is talking and depicted.	Local consultant	Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal
	103		18	slightly below eye-level, medium close shot	Mücella Yapici is sitting in an old, empty factory and is to the interviewer	her voice	The ecological limits have been surpassed. The population limits have been surpassed. The economic limits have been surpassed If you ask me where this will lead, I'll quote Dogan Kuban: Chaos.	middle-aged	woman	old, empty factory	not mentioned	The expert is talking and depicted.	Istanbul Chamber of Architects	Mücella Yapici

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2014	3rd International Conference: New Media Politics, Istanbul
2011 bis 2012	Istanbul Üniversitesi, Türkei: Radyo, Televizyon ve Sinema. Iletisim Fakültesi. (Auslandsjahr)
WS 2012	Istanbul Media Days, Kadir Has Üniversitesi
seit Juni 2011	Masterstudium in Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaften an der Universität Wien.
2006 bis 2011	Bakkalaureatsstudium in Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaften
1997 bis 2005	Matura am Bundesgymnasium Lienz, Osttirol

ARBEITSERFAHRUNG

Nov.2014 – Sept. 2015	Customer Relationship Managerin bei Modern Mind
August 2014	Mitarbeiterin bei Wien Heute und Radio Wien
Juli 2014	Praktikum bei Radio Wien
Dez.2013 – Dez.2014	Mitarbeiterin bei Radio Wien Service
Sept. 2013 – Dez.2014	Teamleiterin bei ORF Backstage / ORF RadioKulturhaus
April 2013	Praktikum bei Radio Osttirol
2011 bis 2012	Online-Redakteurin bei Amargi Istanbul
seit 2009	Organisatorin bei Rampenfiber (4 tägiges Musikfestival)
seit 2007	Backstage Guide im ORF Funkhaus

Abstracts

The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate the policy of silencing the urban poor and other vulnerable groups through restrictive mediations and the lack of a clear legal framework for home owners and tenants in Istanbul. It investigates the ongoing gentrification process in Istanbul and addresses mediations of forced evictions, forced migrations and gentrification through the analysis of a documentary. The case study was designed to investigate mediations of urban transformations through a critical discourse analysis of the documentary *Ekümenopolis* (2012), as well as interviews with the documentary's producer, grassroot media activists and people who have been affected by gentrification in Istanbul. Based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that some subaltern groups were silenced more than others. Human Rights are crucial regarding the alleviation of urban poverty and social inequities. Human Rights violations could be found on two levels: one is the displacement of urban dwellers, and the other is the mediation of forced migrants, vulnerable others.

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit befasst sich mit den Prozessen, in denen städtische Arme und andere verwundbare Gruppen in Istanbul durch restriktive Mediatisierungen und dem Fehlen eines klaren Rechtsrahmens zum Schweigen gebracht wurden. Die Arbeit untersucht die Gentrifizierungsprozesse in Istanbul und thematisiert dabei die Mediatisierung von Zwangsräumungen, erzwungener Migration und Gentrifizierung durch eine Fallstudie. Das Untersuchungsdesign besteht aus einer kritischen Diskursanalyse der Dokumentation *Ekümenopolis* (2012) und den Interviews mit dem Regisseur*, Medienaktivist*Innen und Betroffenen aus Istanbul. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zeigen deutlich, dass manche subalternen Gruppen weniger zu Wort kamen als andere. Menschenrechte spielen eine maßgebliche Rolle hinsichtlich der Beseitigung und Linderung von städtischer Armut und sozialer Ungleichheit. Allerdings ergab die Untersuchung, dass es auf zwei Ebenen zu Menschenrechtsverletzungen kam: einerseits bei der Verdrängung von Stadtbewohner*Innen aus dem Zentrum, und andererseits bei der Mediatisierung von Menschen, die gezwungen wurden zu migrieren.