ETHNIC OVEN UNITS
IN KADIFEKALE, IZMIR:
INVESTIGATING
A MIGRANT CULTURAL HERITAGE
AS A UNIQUE SOCIO-SPATIAL PHENOMENON

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**by
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ABSTRACT

ETHNIC OVEN UNITS IN KADIFEKALE, IZMIR: INVESTIGATING A MIGRANT CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A UNIQUE SOCIO-SPATIAL PHENOMENON

Kadifekale, since the ancient times, has been a significant area of the city of İzmir, hosting many civilizations, the traces of which reached our day. In the 1990s, the area received the rural populations, who were displaced due to forced migration. The *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Kadifekale, since the 1970s, have been homogeneous settlement areas because of the vast majority of Mardinite migrants. At the present time, the area has been evacuated as part of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* due to the imminent risk of landslide, and the residents were offered the TOKİ Uzundere apartment blocks as the resettlement alternative. Designation of Kadifekale and its surroundings as archaeological site is another valuable input regarding the area. As a result of these qualities, Kadifekale became a focal point to the innovative approaches of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, which, as of 2009, has entered into a process of change and transformation concerning its urban policies.

This thesis hereby examines a socio-cultural and urban phenomenon that strives to survive within the framework established above: *Tandır ovens*, which are generally observed in the rural parts of Anatolia, evoking domestic meanings, are now located inside the citadels of Kadifekale, and have been utilized by a group of İzmir-Mardinite migrant women to earn a living for their families. The women bake and sell tandır bread in order to hold on to the city economically and existentially. Besides, the tandır ovens act as a tool helping them reconstruct their identity and sense of belonging, which they unwillingly left behind. This multi-layered phenomenon, which—for now—exists in the urban public space in all its vulnerability, has been handled by the multi-disciplinary initiatives established by the local authorities, and raises the question of whether it is worth preserving or not. This thesis aims to analyze the tandır case in Kadifekale from these standpoints and record this phenomenon to the history and memory of the city.

Keywords: tandır, forced migration, *gecekondu*, Mardin, Kadifekale, place attachment, participatory design/governance, intangible cultural heritage.

ÖZET

İZMİR-KADİFEKALE TANDIR OCAKLARI: GÖÇMEN BİR KÜLTÜREL MİRASIN ÖZGÜN BİR SOSYO-MEKANSAL OLGU OLARAK İNCELEMESİ

Kadifekale, antik çağlardan beri İzmir'in önem arz eden bir bölgesi olmuştur. 1990'lara gelindiğinde bölge zorunlu göç sebebiyle yerinden edilmiş kırsal nüfusa barınma olanağı sunmuştur. Kadifekale'nin gecekondu mahalleleri 1970'lerden bu yana, Mardinli göçmenlerin çoğunlukta olmasından ötürü homojen yerleşim birimleri haline gelmiştir. Günümüzde ise bölge, heyelan riski taşıdığı gerekçesiyle, *Kadifekale ve Yeşildere Kentsel Yenileme Projesi* kapsamında boşaltılmış; bölge sakinlerine TOKİ Uzundere konutları yerleşim alternatifi olarak sunulmuştur. Kadifekale ve çevresinin arkeolojik sit alanı statüsünde bulunması da bölgeye dair kayda değer girdilerden birini oluşturmaktadır. Kadifekale taşıdığı tüm bu vasıflarla; 2009 itibariyle ürettiği kentsel politikalar bağlamında bir değişim ve dönüşüm sürecine giren İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin yenilikçi girişimlerinin odak noktalarından biri olmuştur.

Bu tez, Kadifekale'ye ilişkin yukarıda özetlenen tablonun içerisinde varoluş mücadelesi veren bir sosyo-kültürel ve kentsel olguyu ele alır: Anadolu'nun genellikle kırsal kesimlerinde görülen ve domestik çağrışımları olan *tandır ocakları*; Kadifekale sur içinde bulunmakta ve bir grup İzmir-Mardinli göçmen kadın tarafından kullanılmaktadır. Kadınlar burada tandır ekmeği pişirip satarak, aileleriyle birlikte ekonomik ve varoluşsal anlamda kente tutunmaya çabalamaktadır. Bunun yanısıra, tandır ocakları; göçmenlerin mecburen geride bıraktıkları kimliklerini ve aidiyetlerini kentte yeniden inşa etmelerine yardımcı bir araç görevi üstlenmektedir. Açık kamusal kent mekanında bütün kırılganlığıyla—şimdilik—var olan bu çok katmanlı olgu, yerel yönetimin zeminini oluşturduğu çok disiplinli tartışma platformlarında ele alınmakta ve korunmaya değer olup olmadığıyla alakalı soruları da beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu tez; söz konusu tandır ocaklarını bu açılardan irdelemeyi ve kentin tarihine ve belleğine bir not olarak kaydetmeyi amaçlar.

Anahtar kelimeler: tandır, zorunlu göç, *gecekondu*, Mardin, Kadifekale, mekan ve aidiyet, katılımcı tasarım/yönetim, somut olmayan kültürel miras.

dedicated to

Ayşe & Şükrü Bardakoğlu,

İhsan Çün,

and

Nurten Çarkçı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement

Kadifekale, literally *Velvet Castle* in English, has always been a significant settlement area in the history of the city of İzmir. Due to its rich reservoir of historic layers, Kadifekale has been declared an archaeological conservation zone in 1991, 2001 and 2004 (Çetin, 2011). Through a process starting with the appointment of Prof. İlhan Tekeli, PhD as the chairman advisor of Aziz Kocaoğlu, and the implementation of *İzmir Culture Workshop* in 2009, İzmir's urban policies have taken a different turn. Game-changing slogans that present İzmir as 'Mediterranean's city of *culture, art* and *design*' and the city of 'democratic and participatory design/governance' were introduced into İzmir's governance scene. In the light of these developments, Kadifekale emerged once again at the center of the visions of the local authorities concerned with the area.

Besides its historical background, Kadifekale is also a region, where the concentration of *gecekondu* has been high as an effect of the rural to urban migration starting in the 1950s. In the 1990s, the area continued receiving the rural populations, this time caused by conflict-induced internal displacement/forced migration. Due to having been announced disaster prone zone, the demolition and evacuation process in the area was started and completed within the scope of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*, and the inhabitants were given the only option for resettlement at the TOKİ apartment blocks in Uzundere. Although the actors of the phenomenon which inspired the main research subject of this thesis still live in the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Kadifekale, it is impossible to imagine this work without including the ones who *left*. It is the very story of an ongoing *exile*, a struggle for survival, starting off from Mardin to İzmir-Kadifekale, and ending up—for now—in Uzundere.

A group of women among the residents of Kadifekale—mostly Mardinite Kurds—bake and sell *tandır* bread inside the citadels of the ancient castle out of the need to support their families financially, an activity which they used to do back in

their villages in order to supply daily bread for the house. These women earn a living for their crowded families and send their children to school by means of this activity, which they have been carrying out in the urban public space of Kadifekale. Here, tandır practice has become free of its primary context that is merely *domestic*, and transformed into a tool, helping the migrant families hold on to the city economically and existentially.

The involvement of various actors related to the topic, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality being in the first place, initiatives such as *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* and events like *Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop*, created the environment for exchange of views concerning the present situation and possible future of tandır ovens, while emphasizing the interdisciplinary character and the participatory design intentions. With the effect of the local authorities that opened an innovative path aiming to make over the historical and cultural policies of İzmir, such a phenomenon as the tandır ovens in Kadifekale finds the opportunity to be discussed in detail, from the perspectives of different disciplines.

The tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale forms a frequently visited point by the people who stop by and purchase tandır bread. The ovens have become not only a source of income but also a device for *place making* for the Mardinite migrant women. It is because of these ovens that the women are able to revive some of the things that they had unwillingly left in their villages,—the smell of tandır bread, close neighbourhood relations, socialization opportunities between the women by the ovens while baking...— as well as their sense of identity and belonging.

The tandır ovens and the tandır practice itself inside the citadels of Kadifekale are in a very vulnerable position since Kadifekale and its surrounding area have archaeological site status. The related conservation plan, various projects, workshops and their reports indicate that the future of these informal oven units is utterly ambiguous. Even though they are currently in working order, there is no guarantee that they will not be destroyed tomorrow at the behest of the local municipality acting within the confines of law and order. This vulnerable and temporary situation the tandır case presents led the local authority and the engaged urban professionals to consider the case's potential even as a *cultural heritage* asset. This thesis follows the footsteps of such efforts, records and amplifies their findings and discussions that envision a future for the tandır practice in İzmir. Next step taken on this path is regarding the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale not only as an element of cultural

heritage in the physical, *tangible* sense, but with the possible *intangible* qualities it possesses with regard to (intangible) cultural heritage and heritage preservation discourse. The thesis tries to give an account of the theoretical discussions in similar cases and the possible policies implied in such an undertaking. Thus, the question of whether or not the tandır case is *worth* being preserved is discussed particularly through the lenses of such concepts as *cultural landscape* and intangible cultural heritage *and* migration, among many others.

Every moment these Mardinite women spend by their tandır ovens is recorded to the memory of the city as spatial, historical and cultural anecdotes. The tandır practice has held on to the urban public realm of Kadifekale, where it has proven itself as a dynamic and living phenomenon, *re*produced by the Mardinite migrant women as a tool of regenerating their sense of identity and belonging.

In brief, in this thesis, the tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale are considered as a unique urban phenomenon, in the midst of a historically very significant part of the city, with several layers worth examining through an interdisciplinary perspective.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

The main focus of this dissertation is to bring fore the unique case of the tandır ovens in Kadifekale along with the stories of their users, the Mardinite migrant women that bake and sell tandır bread in dire need of earning a living for their families. Thus, the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale is chosen as a case to investigate the *past* and the *present* situation of the practice as well as its *future* prospects from the perspectives of determined disciplines and theoretical connections.

When going through the literature concerning socio-economic structure and employment opportunities of low income groups e.g. migrants from the eastern and southeastern Anatolia (Mardin, in our case) living in metropolitan cities of Turkey (İzmir, again in our case), it is clearly seen that mussel selling is perceived as the trademark of Mardinite migrants. When it comes to the literature concerning the Kadifekale region, carpet and *gevrek* selling as street vending activities closely follow mussel selling. However, very little work, if at all, mentions the tandır practicing women that have been there for years—some even for decades—involved in a certain

routine on a daily basis. Thus, one of the foremost goals of this thesis is to make clear that these women as the living practitioners of a tradition do exist inside the citadels of Kadifekale and continue doing what they used to do back in their villages in a same, but different way.

Practicing an ancient and rural culinary tradition not in its natural environment but in a totally different context implies a drastic change in terms of the new socio-spatial circumstances caused by forced migration that opens it up to new interdisciplinary interpretations. Hence, this thesis aims to investigate the concepts of *forced migration* and *internal displacement*, and to present their consequences for the migrant through the tandır case in Kadifekale. Kadifekale, as the receiving locality, is thoroughly examined, since it has been at the center of various ongoing urban discussions due to its historical, archaeological and cultural values as well as the land speculations concerning the region. In order to better comprehend the nature of tandır practice as a rural culinary tradition, the characteristics of the practice in its places of origin, and the way it has been carried out inside the citadels of Kadifekale are explored.

In Kadifekale, the typical traditional tandır practice, while keeping its primary character, gains several new qualities; it begins to obtain new meanings to its practitioners with regard to establishing a sense of place and regenerating identity. On that account, this study also examines the relationship of the tandır case with the concept of *place attachment*, and the effects of involuntary displacement on the concept and the case.

As a result of the positively changing governance scene of İzmir, the phenomenon of tandır practice in Kadifekale could not be overlooked by the local authorities. Thus, this thesis reviews the events that have directly or indirectly contributed to make tandır ovens in Kadifekale a topic of discussion, which allows us to make further theoretical connections. One of these connections this study focuses on is the concept of *intangible cultural heritage* and the potentials the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale has as a constantly changing, ever-adapting, dynamic, living traditional practice. Accordingly, this study attempts to discuss the case for its *worthiness of preservation* as a cultural asset possessing intangible heritage qualities, and as a *cultural landscape* by itself.

On the other hand, this thesis does not engage with the concept of *migrant's home*. Investigating what is inside the *gecekondu* houses of migrant tandır women in

Kadifekale could have provided the thesis with a better understanding of the tandır practice—e.g., the dough of tandır bread is prepared in the house—and the notions of *place attachment* other than the tandır ovens. Due to the ongoing state of emergency in Turkey since July 2016, contacting even the agent that made possible the group interview (G.mtg, May 2016) with the tandır women could not be possible, let alone the women themselves. Unfortunately, the heavy political atmosphere directly affected the scope of this thesis and did not allow me to actualize some of the research ideas that I had.

In brief, this thesis intends to analyze the tandır case in Kadifekale according to the key concepts above, which are structured and selected carefully to examine this unique phenomenon with a scholarly concern, and to record the story behind it as completely and accurately as possible.

1.3. Methodology

The literature involving the key concepts which provided this thesis with a conceptual field is reviewed (Table 1.1). Apart from the familiar data sources such as books, journals/periodicals, theses, websites, etc., documents concerning the urban policies of the city of İzmir are scanned, sorted according to relevance and analyzed. These include master development and conservation plans, operation plans and their reports, reports and end products of various events and organizations (workshops, forums, meetings, summer schools, etc.).

In "Analyzing Social Settings," Lofland et al. (2006, cited in Babbie (2008: 315) sort several elements of 'social life' appropriate to field research. Since multiple items among them match with the occurrence of tandır ovens in Kadifekale, *qualitative field research* seemed the most suitable method for this dissertation. To elaborate the reason of this choice, here are the elements of 'social life' appropriate to field research and to the case of this thesis:

- *Practices:* Baking tandır bread is, all in all, a traditional practice.
- *Roles and Social Types:* There is a specific ethnic group practicing a specific activity in a specific location.

Table 1.1. Major fields of the literature reviewed (in order of the structural progression of the thesis).

CHAPTER 2. TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION AND URBAN POVERTY	**CHAPTER 3. TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF MUNICIPAL EFFORTS TOWARDS MAKING İZMİR A CITY OF INNOVATION, CULTURE, ART AND DESIGN**	**CHAPTER 4. TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE DISCOURSE**
- (internal) migration (Mardin-İzmir, Kadifekale) - rural to urban migration - forced migration - internal displacement - *gecekondu* culture (in Kadifekale) - informal urbanization - urban poverty - poverty in turns - house of the poor - urban renewal (Kadifekale-Uzundere) - tandır practice in Mardin and in Kadifekale (Tandır: "There" and "Here") - place attachment (and migration)	Instead of scholarly work, in Chapter 3, I reviewed the events, which have directly or indirectly contributed to make the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale a topic of discussion regarding the urban policies of İzmir, and their officially published reports. Additionally, I got the chance to participate at some organizations in person.	- evolution of *intangibility* as a concept in the cultural heritage discourse - intangible cultural heritage - living history in the present - participatory conservation of cultural heritage - intangible cultural heritage and migration - cultural landscape

- *Groups and Cliques:* Similar to the previous element, this small group of tandır bread making migrant women is considered an element of social life fit for field research.

- *Settlements and Habitats: Gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Kadifekale set a perfect example for a small-scale society.

- *Subcultures and Lifestyles: Gecekondu* culture counts as an urban underclass subculture which is shared by a large population throughout Turkey. Kadifekale is no different from its counterparts.

Due to the motives above, the story of a group of migrant women who were forced to leave their hometowns, come to the city, and found a way to survive there through baking tandır bread was handled as the case study of the thesis. The completion time of the dissertation allowed it to be a longitudinal study, which made possible to observe the same phenomenon over an extended period, to participate in the related organizations, and record the progress, as well as being a witness.

I found the chance to attend in person to *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop* introductory presentations and site trip on August 24, 2015, and the first and only meeting of *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* on December 19, 2015. They were recorded both in written form and via an auditory device by myself, and transcribed for use in the thesis. *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* group meeting is referred to as *G.mtg., 2015* throughout the thesis, while the participants of the meeting is referred to as *G.mtg. 1, 2, 3, ...,* etc.

An overall three individual interviews were conducted for this study. Firstly, an interview was conducted with a tandır oven core manufacturer family (husband and wife) in Asarlık, İzmir on March 16, 2016, which is referred to as *Int. 1, 2016* in the thesis. Secondly, an interview was conducted with Gökhan Kutlu, PhD, as the Head of the *Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties*, and the General Coordinator of *İzmir-History Project* on November 22, 2017, which is referred to as *Int. 2, 2017* throughout the thesis. Third interview was conducted with Nûpelda Sibel Acat, one of the participant students of *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop*, which is referred to as *Int. 3, 2017* throughout the thesis (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. List of interviews conducted and events participated in person (in chronological order).

Name of the event	Type of the event	Date of the event	Location of the event	Abbreviation used in the thesis for the event	Recording methods used for the event
İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop	Workshop	August 24 - September 2, 2015	İzmir History Design Atelier	—	site photos, unstructured field observation, written notes
Kadifekale Tandır Platform first meeting	Group meeting	December 19, 2015	İzmir History Design Atelier	(G.mtg., 2015) for the overall event; (G.mtg. 1, 2, 3, ..., 2015) for the participants	voice recording, written notes
Interview with the tandır women	Focus group interview	March 15, 2016	HDP district organization office	(G.int., 2016) for the overall event; (G.int. 1, 2, 3, ..., 2016) for the participants	video & voice recording, photos
Interview with the tandır oven core manufacturer	Individual interview	March 16, 2016	Asarlık, İzmir	(Int. 1, 2016)	video recording, photos
Interview with Gökhan Kutlu	Individual interview	November 22, 2017	İzmir-History Project Center	(Int. 2, 2017)	voice recording, written notes
Interview with Nûpelda Sibel Acat	Individual interview	November 23, 2017	via e-mail	(Int. 3, 2017)	e-mail

The site where tandır ovens are located was visited multiple times and numerous photographs were taken. During these visits, having conversation with the women working by their ovens could be possible. Since most of the women cannot speak Turkish but their daughters who are also their helpers can, communication was established through them. During *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop*, the participants who know how to speak Kurdish could also talk to the women and asked them questions mainly about their daily lives and the tandır practice in Kadifekale. I thereafter conducted an individual interview via e-mail with one of these participants, Nûpelda Sibel Acat, who kindly shared the information she gathered from the tandır women themselves during the workshop.

Nine women among the same group of tandır women were gathered together and interviewed again on March 15, 2016, this time not by their ovens but under the roof of the district organization in their neighbourhood. It was a group interview, and it was strategically important to use open-ended questions here because gathering information on socio-cultural and economic aspects of their lives and daily struggles in Kadifekale had primary importance for the study. Their stories, from the beginning until the present time without being interrupted with solid questions, mattered the most. For conducting this interview, the aid of a volunteer from the neighbourhood who can speak Turkish and Kurdish was received. The whole interview was recorded via visual and auditory devices with the permission of the interviewees, and is referred to as *G.int., 2016*.

According to Babbie (2008), in social research, there is always a risk of harming the participants while conducting a social study. He explains as follows:

> Because subjects can be harmed psychologically in the course of a social research study, the researcher must look for the subtlest dangers and guard against them. Quite often, research subjects are asked to reveal deviant behavior, attitudes they feel are unpopular, or personal characteristics that may seem demeaning, such as low income, the receipt of welfare payments, and the like. Revealing such information usually makes subjects feel at least uncomfortable. (2008: 41)

That is why, another reason to choose open-ended questions and not a survey was to make the women feel a bit more comfortable while remembering and talking about saddening—even traumatic—issues from their pasts and their lives in Kadifekale. Throughout the thesis, their identities are kept anonymous for the sake of confidentiality. Each interviewed woman is given a name such as *G.int. 1, 2, 3, ...,* etc.

and used so.

Babbie (2008) describes qualitative interviewing as "an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry including the topics to be covered, but not a set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in a particular order." (2008: 335-336) Therefore, while structuring the interview questions, the flexible nature of the method was taken into consideration. In the general sense, the women were asked about:

- where they are from,

- when and why they left their hometowns and came to İzmir,

- the general situation when they first arrived in İzmir and how they built a life from the start in the city,

- their family structures (the number of the people in the household, the number of the children, how many of them are going to school and how many of them are married, etc.),

- which members of the family are employed and sources of income of the households,

- when and how they started baking tandır bread in Kadifekale,

- the specifics of the tandır practice (the construction process of the ovens, bread dough preparation, baking and selling processes, etc.),

- their daily routines (apart from the tandır practice),

- the general situation at the moment, how they find living in İzmir, in Kadifekale...

Richard Kruger (1988, cited in Babbie (2008: 339)) states that focus groups like the interviewed group mentioned above, which is also the main subject of my thesis, have some advantages as well as several disadvantages. Being a "socially oriented research method capturing real-life data in a social environment," and a flexible and practical one at that, it is quite advantageous and appropriate for my case. What is more, adds Babbie (2008), group dynamics often reveal some other aspects of the topic that would not have been come into the picture from separate interviews. On the other hand, continues Kruger (1988) with the negative side, it could be really hard to assemble a focus group over and over again, and it is more difficult to have control over compared to an individual interviewer. Both the positive and negative points apply to the case study of this thesis. Fortunately, it was sufficient for the study to

assemble the group only once, so that was not actually a handicap. However, the number of the interviewees plus the language barrier caused some information to be lost in translation and due to speaking in unison from time to time.

1.4. Structure of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters in total. First chapter is an introduction to the study and presents the case study with the main lines as well as drawing the theoretical framework of the dissertation. It introduces the research questions that steer this study in the right direction and the methodological tools used in the research.

Chapter 2, 3 and 4 elaborates the subject and unfolds the established connections between the conceptual level of the research and the case study. Instead of structuring a separate chapter only for describing the case study, it is preferred to integrate it into each of these chapters, which handles one major theoretical focus of the thesis at a time.

Chapter 2, namely "Tandır in the Context of Migration and Urban Poverty," describes the case in relation with the concept of migration, specific to 'forced migration,' '*gecekondu* culture,' 'urban poverty,' etc. and their particular effects on the case. In the process of building a—compulsorily—new life on a different setting, certain traditional practices like tandır, which is the case study subject of the thesis, is also carried along with the migrants and adapted into the new environment. Chapter 2 investigates this (re)generation of the senses of identity and belonging, and examines the similarities and differences between the same activity practiced on different settings and for different purposes. The significance of Kadifekale as the location of the case is also presented in detail in this chapter, from its urban historical background to the present-day developments concerning the area.

Chapter 3, "Tandır in the Context of Municipal Efforts Towards Making İzmir A City of Innovation, Culture, Art and Design," starts with introducing the transformation period of the governance approach of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality that opens an innovative path, aiming to make over the historical and cultural policies of İzmir. This chapter lists and examines particular actors, institutions, organizations, initiatives, etc. that come after this shift in thinking at the top and contribute an the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale to be further discussed.

Chapter 4, namely "Tandır in the Context of Intangible Cultural Heritage Discourse," evaluates the present condition of the tandır case and its potentials regarding the cultural heritage and urban preservation discourses. The chapter mainly focuses on the concept of 'intangible cultural heritage,' and how the tandır case can be informed from intangible cultural heritage discourse. In this chapter, the concepts of 'cultural landscape,' 'living history in the present,' 'the intangible heritage of the involuntary migrant," etc. are utilized.

In brief, Chapter 2 represents the *past* of the story while Chapter 3 reflects the *present* time, and Chapter 4 intends to predicts the *future* of it. In Chapter 5, "Conclusion," all the concepts and the main arguments are juxtaposed, discussed and the research is concluded.

CHAPTER 2

TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF
MIGRATION AND URBAN POVERTY

In this chapter, I trace back to the roots of the tandır practice in order to better understand the tandır phenomenon in the urban realm of Kadifekale, İzmir. Thus, this part concerns with the *past*, and the *migration* of tandır to the urban public space along with its practitioners. Under the umbrella concept of migration, secondary concepts such as rural to urban/forced migration, internal displacement, *gecekondu* culture, etc. are utilized.

The case study conducted for this thesis consists of two main aspects: The first is the living and the second is the inanimate part of the case. The living part, the leading role of the story is the migrant women, who were forced to abandon their homes in the southeastern Anatolia—mostly in Mardin—with their families and built a new life in one of the largest metropolitan cities of Turkey: İzmir. The inanimate part is, naturally, the tandır ovens. What makes the women the main actors of the story is that they undertook the very mission of earning a living for their families in urban realm. In order to accomplish this mission, they *re*started doing the most essential domestic activity that they routinely practiced back in their hometowns: baking tandır bread. However, this time they did it not just to provide the household with daily bread, but more significantly, to sell them and earn money.

Thus, the specifications of tandır bread baking as a traditional practice is introduced as a first step. After covering that, the similarities and differences of this practice when performed in its "natural" habitat (the southeastern Anatolia, specifically Mardin in this case) and in another environment (in the city, inside the citadels of Kadifekale) are compared. The spatial qualities of either case are exhibited in detail.

The aspect of the tandır practice in Kadifekale which attracts a rather scholarly interest is the location the women chose to place their tandır ovens: the public realm of Kadifekale, the ancient heart of the city of İzmir. Thus, the significance of this location is discussed, regarding a) Kadifekale's urban historical background, b) its informal urbanization history, c) its archaeological conservation zone status and d) its potential

tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets evaluated together with the phenomenon of tandır practice carried out at the heart of Kadifekale.

2.1. Urban Historical Background of Kadifekale

2.1.1. From Ancient Times to Recent History

The city of İzmir has always been an important western gate of Anatolia opening to the Mediterranean world throughout its history. Inhabited since 4000 BC continuously, the city has been home to many civilizations. Kadifekale, the acropolis of ancient Smyrna since 324 BC, has heretofore witnessed all (Belge, 2005; Mutlu, 2009).

After the Lydian occupation in the 7th century BC, the ancient Smyrna was refounded on Mount Pagus/Kadifekale by Alexander the Great. In the Roman Republican Period, beginning in 133 BC, Smyrna lived its most magnificent times. In that era, Mount Pagus/Kadifekale was believed to be its southern border, which could not be exceeded until the 1800s (Belge, 2005) (Figure 2.1-2.2).

Figure 2.1. View of the Mount Pagus (Kadifekale), Smyrna. Ca. 1890.
(Source: Getty Images)

Figure 2.2. Mount Pagus (Kadifekale), 19th century.
(Source: Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APİKAM))

In the era of Çaka Bey, the founder of the first Turkish principality on the Western Anatolia coasts, upon the treaties signed with the Venetians and the Genovese in 1261 and 1304, the Turks took shelter in Kadifekale Citadel. This caused a dual city structure as 'Upper/Lower İzmir.' The duality continued until the second half of the 17th century, when the residents in Kadifekale abandoned here and settled in the inner city. From that time up until 1950s, no occupation had been seen in the area (Belge, 2005).

2.1.2. Internal Migration (1950s-1980s)

The concept of migration corresponds to the movement of individuals—on their own or along with their families—from one place to another. According to *the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO), it is "the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time," and "includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants." (UNESCO.org, accessed: February 3, 2018). Kaygalak (2009), on the other hand, emphasizes that migration, in modern capitalist societies, is more of a movement of labour force rather than a demographic relocation process. Forms of migration are, in the general sense, categorized according to the reasons for movement, the direction and the duration of movement—with relation to the borders of home country—, the number of people involved in movement, etc. Migration can occur in two basic ways: internally or internationally. 'Internal

migration' refers to a move from one area (a province, district or municipality) to another within one country.

The reasons for migration can be economic, social, political or environmental. They are also called as 'push and pull factors.' Push factors include lack of services, lack of safety, high crime rates, natural disasters, crop failure, drought, poverty and war, while pull factors include higher employment opportunities, better services, better climatic conditions, low crime rates, political stability and lower risk of natural hazards (TMMOB, 2003).

In 2006, *The Institute of Population Studies at Hacettepe University* (HÜNEE) completed an in-depth research upon request by the Turkish government, concerning the reasons for and the outcomes of migration from the fourteen Eastern Anatolian cities with the highest migration-out rates to the ten western Turkish cities with the highest migration-in rates. The report of this research, "Migration and Internally Displaced Population Study in Turkey," reviews the reasons for migration in six categories: a) *economic*: looking for a job/lack of job opportunities, insufficient income, desire to make savings/for better life conditions; b) *individual*: marriage, educational reasons, job change/reassignment, retirement; c) *familial*: moving in with spouse and/or parents, job change/reassignment of spouse and/or parents, migration of parents; d) *security-related*: concern for safety of life and property, evacuation of villages/settlement areas, pressure for joining the terrorist organization (PKK), pressure for joining the village guard system, prohibition of access to highlands; e) *return migration*: returning to the place of origin or to nearby settlement areas after security-related migration; and f) *other reasons*: natural hazards, settlement law applications, feud, honour killings, health issues (HÜNEE, 2006: 23).

Starting from the 1950s, the increased unemployment rates in the rural areas of Turkey due to agricultural mechanization as a push factor caused a rural to urban migration wave. This internal migration dynamics, also defined as 'urbanization', is a transformation process rural populations leave their homes to resettle in the cities and make a living there by working in non-agricultural jobs (Tekeli, 2007). İzmir as a major city, rich with employment opportunities, surely got its share of this people flow. Early migrants were mostly from the eastern and the southeastern regions of Turkey. They settled at the northern hillside of Kadifekale to form the first *gecekondu* (literally means 'built overnight' in English; it refers to squatter houses built illegally on state and/or private land) settlements there, which come to our day as a remarkable urban

phenomenon of İzmir. Kadifekale first welcomed migrants from the cities of Erzurum, Konya and Tokat. Mardinite people began to settle in the district in the 1970s (Çetin, 2011).

2.1.3. Internal Migration (1990s): From Mardin to Kadifekale

Following the period of internal migration due to urbanization as the major factor, the phenomenon of migration in Turkey continued in the early 1990s. However, it has been reshaped by the neoliberal transformation of the Turkish economy and the war between the Turkish armed forces and PKK (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan* [Ku], Kurdistan Workers' Party [Eng]) as a combination of structural and contingent factors and causes. This time, in addition to economic factors, intensified security concerns of those who got caught in the line of fire would bring about the 'internally displaced people' (UNHCR.org, accessed October 31, 2017) and their 'forced migration' (ForcedMigration.org, accessed October 31, 2017), as will be further discussed. This intricate combination of causes for migration is reported in the *United Nations Refugee Agency* (UNHCR) document "Protecting Internally Displaced Persons: A Manual for Law and Policy Makers" (2008) as follows:

> Turkey experienced significant internal displacement as a result of conflict with insurgency groups in its southeastern provinces during the early 1990s. One factor complicating a response was the fact that it took place during a period of rapid urbanization and high internal migration, leading to uncertainty regarding the number of IDPs *(internally displaced persons – note by the author)* and the distinction between them and economic migrants. (2008: 26)

After the 1980s, İzmir started to fall short of employment opportunities for newcomers due to its dormant economy. Lacking the proper education and skills required to compete in the job market, most of the migrants coming from the rurals of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia resorted to informal businesses as a solution. Relatedly, they plunged into the quest of finding affordable accomodation in the city, and as a result, the migrant Kurdish population in the existing *gecekondu* zones such as Kadifekale has drastically increased. In fact, this generation—migrants of the last thirty five years—were not as "fortunate" as their predecessors who were able to build their own *gecekondu* houses. They had to rent their dwellings from the previous generation who already had their *gecekondu* legalized by the state. This situation of handing down

the poverty from one migrant generation to another is referred to as *poverty in turns* (*nöbetleşe yoksulluk* in Turkish) by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001).

However, it should be noted that most Kurdish migrants have not been able to hand over their turn to the newcomers anymore since it is impossible for them to break the chain of unemployment and low standards of life in the city (Saraçoğlu, 2010, 2011). At the present time, this group, including the İzmir-Mardinite women practicing tandır in Kadifekale with their families, compose the major segment of the urban poor in the city of İzmir.

2.1.3.1. Forced Migration and Internal Displacement

In what conditions exactly did the generation of migrants in the 1990s make the decision to migrate? The important point here for this study is to determine whether migration had been a choice or compulsion on the migrants' part. Because, the latter calls the concept of *forced migration* to be involved in the tandır scene. Thus, it is necessary to further elaborate the terminology to be able to address our topic more specifically within the general migration literature.

In obligatory cases of migration, the term 'forced migration' gets involved in the scene. Forced migration is defined by the *International Association for the Study of Forced Migration* (IASFM) as "a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects." (IASFM.org, accessed February 4, 2018). *Forced Migration Online* (FMO) adopts this definition and focuses on three separate, but frequently interdependent types of forced migration: 1) Conflict-induced displacement, 2) development-induced displacement, and 3) disaster-induced displacement. Among the three types of forced migration, it is the 'conflict-induced displacement' category that best suits to describe the situation of our migrant community to a large extent. Seven out of the nine interviewed women who practice tandır in Kadifekale present *government pressure* as their primary reason of migration. One woman out of the remaining two does not indicate clearly their family's motivation to migrate while the other indicates that it is merely because of economic reasons (G.int., 2016). Below is one of these statements taken from the focus group interview:

"We have been living in İzmir for 23 years. We are from Mardin, Ömerli, İkitepe Village. We were forced to migrate due to government pressure. My husband was humiliated and tortured; we could not endure this anymore. We did not have any jobs and our children were all too little when we first arrived here. We have been dealing with poverty since then.[1] (...) The only source of income of the family is tandır. I bake the breads, and my husband sells them to the neighbours by taking them to the coffeehouse everyday." (G.int. 6, 2016)

The situation also applies to the people of Mardin who underwent conflict-induced displacement. According to the report of *Akdeniz GÖÇ-DER* (2011), the very first reason for migration with a percentage of 65.9, stated by the Mardinite people is the pressure for joining the village guard system or the imposing acts of village guards towards them (Akdeniz GÖÇ-DER, 2011; GÖÇ-DER, 2013).

According to FMO, there are also types of forced migrants, which are described with various terms such as refugees, asylum seekers, development displacees, environmental and disaster displacees, smuggled people, trafficked people, and internally displaced persons. Again, relevant to our case is the term 'internally displaced persons'. Kurban et al. (2008) state that the term 'forced migration' is not sufficient to depict the internal migration period between the mid-1980s and the late 1990s in Turkey; the concept of 'internal displacement' must also be put to use.

In 1998, the "UNHCR Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement" identify internally displaced persons as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters," but, "have not crossed an internationally recognized state border." (UNHCR.org, accessed February 4, 2018). UNCHR strikingly describes these persons as "...unlike refugees, *they are on the run at home.*" As of the end of 2016, there are 40.3 million internally displaced people out of 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide.

Internal displacement causes dire effects on the displaced persons as well as the local authorities. The UNHCR manual "Protecting Internally Displaced Persons: A

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[1] "O gün bugündür yoksulluk çekiyoruz."

Manual for Law and Policymakers" (2008) states these effects as follows:

> The effect of internal displacement on IDPs *(internally displaced persons – note by the author)* themselves, as well as on the local authorities and communities that host them, can be devastating. While the act of displacement itself often may violate the human rights of those affected, *the subsequent loss of access to homes, lands, livelihoods, personal documentation, family members, and social networks can negatively affect the ability of IDPs to assert and enjoy an entire range of fundamental rights.* Most obvious, IDPs immediately become dependent on others for basic needs such as shelter, food and water. At the same time, their vulnerability may be increased by barriers to accessing health care, education, employment, economic activities, and electoral politics in their areas of displacement. Moreover, *the longer displacement continues, the greater is the risk that traditional family and social structures break down,* leaving IDPs dependent on outside aid and vulnerable to economic and sexual exploitation. Such dependency, in turn, reduces the chances of durable solutions and sustainable reintegration into society once political and security conditions have changed to enable such solutions to take place. [emphasis mine] (UNCHR, 2008: 2)

The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (*Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği*, TMMOB) *Commission of Human Rights* follows UNCHR in their report on forced migration (2003), and emphasizes that forced migration is the most brutal way of migration and is considered as a violation of human rights. The report affirms that forcefully migrated persons are exposed to extremely overwhelming physical and mental changes individually and/or family-wise. HÜNEE (2006) reveals that over the last three decades, 87 percent of the security-related migrations in Turkey occured against the will of the migrants, and a vast majority of them are rural to urban migrations. For one quarter of them, the decision of migration was made only in 2-7 days. Following the decision, 40 percent of the migrations occured in just one week.

More than 80 percent of the displaced population within the scope of HÜNEE's study declare that they owned a house, agricultural machinery and animals back in their villages; three out of every four people had arable lands. According to the results of the study, in almost every forced migration incident, the displaced people had to abandon their assets completely. The rate of home ownership after migration decreases to 24.2 percent in comparison to pre-migration period, which is 89.2 percent. Additionally, the inadequacy level of household welfare also drastically increases to 70.7 percent, while it is 18.2 percent before migration (HÜNEE, 2006: 77, 79, 82, 83).

The Turkish government, in compliance with the "UNHCR Guiding Principles on Internal Displacemet" (UNHCR, 1998: Principle 3.1, p. 11), launched *Return to Village and Rehabilitation Project* (RVRP) in 1994. Additionally, *Law No. 5233: Law on the Compensation of Losses Resulting from Terrorist Acts and the Measures Taken Against Terrorism* entered into force on July 27, 2004. *Damage Assessment*

Commissions are assembled in order to process the compensation claims (MFA.gov.tr, accessed March 11, 2018). These efforts have been highly criticized by various national and international institutions and non-governmental organizations. *Human Rights Watch* published a report about Turkey's RVRP efforts in October 2002, titled "Displaced and Disregarded – Turkey's Failing Village Return Program," pointing out the factors blocking return and recommending the Turkish government to develop an effective return plan hand in hand with relevant international and non-governmental organizations.

While the Ministry of Interior (1998) reported the approximate number of the displaced people in Turkey is 380,000, the report of HÜNEE in 2006 estimated this number between 953,680 and 1,201,000 (HÜNEE, 2006; Saraçoğlu, 2011). UNCHR asserts a number of 2 million internally displaced people in total; GÖÇ-DER anticipates between 3,5 and 4 million. TMMOB *Commission of Human Rights* (2003) stated that over 3 million people from nearly 3,700 settlement areas were forced to leave their homes between the mid 1980s and the year 1999.

In short, forced migration cannot be perceived as just a physical relocation of people and things; it is indeed a very traumatic experience of displacement which leaves the displaced rootless, homeless, and confined to live in poverty in an unfamiliar urban realm.

2.1.3.2. *Gecekondu*: The Case of Kadifekale

In Kadifekale, reside the largest *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of İzmir, with Mardinite Kurds forming the vast majority of the population. Today's Kadifekale still remains as one of the main settlements particularly letting in forced migrants in İzmir (Karayiğit, 2005; Çetin, 2016). Due to the concentration of the Mardinite Kurds in the region, Kadifekale gained a rather homogeneous social structure, which earned it the name *Mardinkale*, or *Small Mardin* (Çetin, 2016). It is a curious coincidence that according to Syriac sources, the name of their hometown Mardin is derived from *Merdo*, a Syriac word meaning *castle*.[2]

According to Karayiğit (2005), there are three main reasons why Kurdish

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[2] "Bir kez daha göçmemek acılara son vermek için...," evrensel.net, accessed October 31, 2017, https://www.evrensel.net/haber/242264/bir-kez-daha-gocmemek-acilara-son-vermek-icin.

migrants opted to settle in Kadifekale:

> • First, housing costs are relatively low, primarily because most houses are in poor condition and are located in a dangerous landslide zone. The potential for landslides in this area has posed a threat to local people for decades.
> • Second, the overwhelming majority of Kurds in the region provides new Kurdish migrants with the benefits of patronage relations and solidarity networks.
> • Third, the proximity of Kadifekale to the very centre of the city—roughly a 15-minute bus ride to Konak—reduces transportation costs, and facilitates engagement in informal jobs in the city centre (Karayiğit, 2005, cited in Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz, 2014: 181).

Belonging to the lowest income group in the city, this Mardinite community in Kadifekale, just like every other community living in *gecekondu* constantly struggle to make ends meet, to survive in the urban realm. Having abandoned their villages, their *memleket,* and arrived to a new city against their desire, poverty lays a very heavy burden on them. They have turned from the "rural poor" into "rootless destitute city dwellers." (Zucconi, 1999, cited in Saraçoğlu, 2010: 254) In other words, rural poverty gives place to 'urban poverty', a multifaceted phenomenon mentioned in Ersan Ocak's work "*Yoksulun Evi* (House of the Poor)" (2007).

Ersan Ocak begins his article with this phenomenon and emphasizes its multidimensionality (financial, socio-cultural, political, etc.), and adds that regardless of the approach taken, the concept of urban poverty is always related to space and spatiality. And with *space*, Ocak (2007) argues, not just a physical area, but a combination of economic, political, social, cultural, and pyschological relations is concerned and thus creates space, and space is created again and again as a result of these relations. If we are claiming to talk about *urban* poverty, then we should accept that poverty has certain unique qualities in the context of the city (Ocak, 2007).

Ocak then proceeds to the question where the poor live in cities in Turkey, and answers: *Gecekondu*. At this point, it is important to comprehend the formation process of *gecekondu*, its strong connection with the post-World War II period and the rural to urban migration. Thus, instead of putting the blame on the migrants, what needs to be taken into consideration is the lack of a social-state power to make them stay in their hometowns and villages, and to find ways that will solve the increasing housing problem in cities (Ocak, 2007).

House of the poor, states Ocak, is basically called a *gecekondu*, generally located in a *gecekondu* neighbourhood, far away from the sights of the other parts of the city, both physically and mentally—even if the neighbourhood is located at the

heart of the city as in Kadifekale. The house of the poor is invisible, always ignored by the rich. The poor live in a never-ending, continuous, isolated condition of poverty in their *gecekondu* (Ocak, 2007).

Due to the lack of proper building materials and workmanship, house of the poor is always a potential danger for its residents. Together with the unhealthy surroundings, sicknesses come over very often and accumulate inside the house and the bodies of the poor. The rooms are never enough, and the number of the family members (with their relatives and the families of the children altogether most of the time) is too many. Balconies, thresholds and gardens (if they exist) are privilaged spaces that offer the ways of socialization with neighbours. Gardens are used to grow vegetables, fruits, etc. if the costs could be covered (Ocak, 2007).

The socio-spatial analysis conducted by Demirli, Ultav and Demirtaş-Milz (2015) in Kadifekale neighbourhood supports the general claims of Ocak (2007), and presents the communal life going on *between* the *gecekondu*, which are the semi public/private spaces of the neighbourhood: the streets, the balconies, the thresholds, the gardens, etc (See Figure 2.3). These spaces are continuously used by the residents for gatherings in small and/or large numbers for social occasions and collective activities.

Figure 2.3. Scenes from Kadifekale neighbourhood, 2010.
(Source: Meltem Eranıl Demirli archive, Demirli et al., 2015)

Every day, the narrow streets between and the thresholds of *gecekondu* houses (*kapı önü*) witness gatherings of the women residents of neighbourhood. The women may come together on the threshold of any house for a chit-chat while their children play on the streets in safety. The streets also host gatherings in large numbers from time to time, such as weddings, funerals, etc. Weddings are held in outdoor public spaces in the neighbourhood, e.g. football fields in fine weather; in winter, coffee house of the neighbourhood is preferred. The coffee house is basically the place where the men of the neighbourhood socialize (Demirli et al., 2015).

Balconies are also significant spatial components of the *gecekondu* houses in Kadifekale. They are used as a private space for some members of the family due to the lack of adequate private spaces inside the house, e.g. separate bedrooms for everyone. They are also used for hosting the guests, smoking outside the house, or keeping domestic animals. Gardens, too, are important and frequently used spaces. They are utilized to grow fruits and vegetables, keep domestic animals, keep dry food, make winter preparations such as pepper/tomato paste, dry laundry, and have barbecue (Demirli et al., 2015).

Demirli et al. (2015) connect the daily life in Kadifekale to the forced migration issue, which most of the residents of the district went through in the 1990s:

> Kadifekale inhabitants, as members of a largely forced migrant population from Mardin, have struggled to keep their traditional values alive in order to sustain their own cultural characteristics in the neighborhood. According to the interview respondents, *Kadifekale reminds them of their homeland back in the East in that they have recreated social relations in a quite similar way in Izmir to those they experienced back in their hometowns.* (...) Social solidarity, though decreasing in intensity, particularly due to emerging class differences in Kadifekale, still plays an important role in the daily survival of poor families. Linguistic and cultural commonalities give migrants a feeling of still being in a cultural community that reminds them of their former village communities in Mardin. *Spatially, their homes in Kadifekale, the streets and the smells all seem reminiscent of their homeland.* [emphasis mine] (2015: 157)

Ocak (2007) claims that women are the members of poor families that are affected from the condition of poverty at the greatest extent. They are physically locked into their houses, because it is their duty to take care of the children, the elderly, and the disabled members of the family. Besides, the housework always waits for them to be done. The cost of leaving the neighbourhood is just unaffordable, and even if

they can do it, they cannot find the self-confidence to exist in the outer world. Being at home becomes their habit in a peculiar way.

Even though most of Ocak's discussion about women living in *gecekondu* apply to our case, the İzmir-Mardinite women living in Kadifekale did something different: They have decided to hold on to something that once belonged to their *memleket*, in order to be able to financially support their families. They *re*started to bake tandır bread. There, back in their villages in Mardin, they used to bake merely to provide their families literally with daily bread, whereas here, in Kadifekale, they started to do it for the purpose of earning their "daily bread" as well. They started to perform this activity in the public space outside their *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, inside the ancient citadels of Kadifekale. Beyond their major role as income generators, the ethnic oven units used by them also constitute a device for generating a sense of identity and belonging for the Mardinite community. Accordingly, tandır practice confronts us as the migrants' both economic and existential survival tool, by reexpressing the capabilities and memories of the domestic sphere out in the public space of Kadifekale.

2.1.4. Exile Continues: From Kadifekale to Uzundere

Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project (also known as *Konak/Kadifekale Urban Transformation/Renewal Project* (Mutlu, 2009; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz, 2014; Demirli et al. 2015)) is a large-scale urban project implemented by Konak Municipality, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and *Mass Housing Administration* (*Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*, TOKİ). The project area includes nine neighbourhoods in Kadifekale district; Altay, Hasan Özdemir, İmariye, Kadifekale, Kadriye, Kosova, 19 Mayıs, Vezirağa, and Yeşildere, which are all located around the ancient castle and accommodate 21,272 inhabitants. The project aims to expropriate and demolish more than 2000 houses throughout the site and relocate the residents living there to the apartment blocks built by TOKİ in Uzundere. The project started in 2005 and was prioritized by the local authorities among the total fourteen urban renewal and rehabilitation areas in the agenda due to the imminent threat of landslide the project area carries (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2009).

Among the rulings concerning Kadifekale and its neighbouring districts, *Cabinet Decree No. 15319* (1978) which declared the district disaster-prone for the first time is significant. The mandatory evacuations as part of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* are justified with this and the following official recognitions with relation to the risky topographic condition of the area. Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz (2014) and Demirli et al. (2015), while accepting the landslide risk potential of the area, question the delay of the municipality's decision to start the project. Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz (2014) state: "The discourses of 'urgency' and that of 'natural disasters' served to conceal the structural problems and to depict the project as an unquestionable technical intervention to address the imminent dangers posed by a landslide."

Additionally, *İzmir Regional Council for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage No. 1* declared the citadels of Kadifekale 1st Degree Archaeological Site and the neighbouring area Conservation Zone as per *Decree No. 3234* (1991). In 2001, as per *Decree No. 9513*, the council registered the area that was declared Conservation Zone in 1991 as 2nd Degree Archaeological Site, and kept the 1st Degree Archaeological Site area as it were. All the structures remaining inside the boundaries of these areas were decided to be determined and demolished. Lastly, in 2004, *Decree No. 152* reregistered the 1st and the 2nd Degree Archaeological Sites in the light of new findings (Çetin, 2011).

Despite the obvious landslide risk in the area, the density of *gecekondu* houses and the number of inhabitants in Kadifekale district have gradually increased over the years. According to Yılmaz (2010), regarding the tenure status of households in the project area, almost all of the buildings were illegally built. Besides, more than one third of the residents were tenants. İmariye neighbourhood, in comparison to other eight, stood out in terms of its potential for affordable houses for rent (Yılmaz, 2010). It hosted a population of almost 10,000 before the execution of the project. As of March 2013, about 80 percent of the neighbourhood was demolished (Demirtaş-Milz, 2013). As of today, the demolition process in Kadifekale and Yeşildere was completed. Nearly 20,000 trees were planted in the evacuated disaster prone area to form an urban forest (izmir.bel.tr, accessed May 5, 2018) (See Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

In the scope of the project, the deal was that İzmir Metropolitan Municipality would purchase the apartments built in Uzundere from TOKİ and sell them to the former residents of aforementioned neighbourhoods in Kadifekale. The property

owners would receive an amount of compensation money from the municipality, calculated according to the value of their houses.

Figure 2.4. Satellite images of Kadifekale before (former image) and after (latter image) the demolition within the scope of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal P.* (the images are not to scale). (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, İzmir-History Project Center.)

On most occasions, the compensation money would not be enough to buy an apartment in Uzundere district, so the ones that want to move in Uzundere would have to pay the remaining amount to the municipality. The second option was just to accept the compensation money in cash and look for another place to settle (Demirtaş-Milz, 2013). According to İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (2009), 43.5 percent of the right-

holders accepted the TOKİ apartments in this case, while 40.5 percent accepted the offered compensation money. As a third option, 55.5 percent of them applied to court (Yılmaz, 2010). Gökhan Kutlu (the Head of *the Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties*, and the General Coordinator of *İzmir-History Project*) stated that the greater part of the inhabitants among which accepted the expropriation money resettled in Ballıkuyu and Patlıcanlı Yokuşu areas, preferring to stay close to their neighbourhoods, as tenants or property owners (Int 2, 2017). On the other hand, the interviews conducted during the field trips exhibit that certain families, especially the ones that have been carrying out mussel or tandır businesses chose Kosova neighbourhood to move in, despite the fact that it is also inside the project boundaries (Int. 3, 2017).

Figure 2.5. Drone image of Kadifekale (edited by the author).
(Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, İzmir History Project Center)

The planned relocation area for the former inhabitants of Kadifekale is in Uzundere, which is located at the periphery of the city, close to Aydın-Çeşme highway. The property owner of this nearly 47 ha. area is TOKİ. Uzundere district is nine kilometers from Konak and takes 30-35 minutes to access via public transportation, while Kadifekale is merely 15-minute walking distance to the center of the city. What is more, unlike the one or two-storey houses in Kadifekale district, TOKİ apartment blocks are 16-storey buildings. These remarkable spatial differences between the two settlement areas surely generate a subject of discussion. However, according to Demirtaş-Milz (2013), it must be emphasized that under normal

circumstances, none of the people of Kadifekale would have chosen Uzundere over Kadifekale, even if they could afford it. Then again, they did not have much of a choice.

> *"I am from Mardin, Midyat. We have been living in here* (İzmir) *for 25 years. Since İmariye neighbourhood was demolished as part of the urban transformation project* (meaning Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project - added by the author)*, we lost our house, too. The freeholder of that house was another person, not us.*
> *I have got seven children, three boys and four girls. One of my daughters is graduating from high school at the end of this year; two of my sons are fourth-graders. My other daughter is studying accountancy in İzmir. My husband cannot work due to health issues. Our only source of income is tandır."*
> (G.int. 5, 2016)

The statement above belongs to one of the interviewed migrant women that used to live in İmariye neighbourhood with her family before *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* like the majority of the Mardinite families which are included in the scope of this thesis. As mentioned before, most of the population in the area are from Mardin and of Kurdish origin, who strongly depend on their solidarity networks and community ties to survive in the urban realm. According to them, *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* unfortunately does not symbolize attaining safer, modern and quality housing, better life conditions and social opportunities in the city as the public authorities claim. On the contrary, the migrants' sense of seclusion, insecurity and not belonging immediately comes back as a second round of the internal displacement experience they went through in the early 1990s. From their perspective, having forced to abandon their long-standing homes once again is nothing but a continuation of an exile which puts them in a severely disadvantaged position in the city.

> *"I am 38 and from Mardin. We were forced to migrate, running away from government pressure. I have got nine children; two of them married, others attending school. I am illiterate.*
> *We came from Mardin to Kadifekale, and our house here in İmariye*

neighbourhood is gone, too. It is demolished. We were paid 9,000 TL; we could not afford a TOKİ apartment either. We live in a rented house at the moment. My husband sold mussels and bagels for a while; he was banned by the municipal police forces over and over again. We are in debt." (G.int. 8, 2016)

'The right to the city' is a concept popularized by Henri Lefebvre in 1968. The idea is basically defined as a cry, a demand for a reshaped and transformed urban life and the right to access it. As David Harvey (2008) describes it, the right to the city is nothing about individual demands but a product of collective power and thinking. In order to achieve a new, improved, fulfilling urban life, he argues, people in a city have to act collectively and start changing themselves to change their city, and see this issue as a matter of human rights, nothing less important than that. Additionally, Peter Marcuse (2009), in his work "From Critical Urban Theory to the Right to the City," expands the core idea and signifies *whose* right, *what* right, and *what* city it is concerned about.

Lefebvre (1996 [1968]) claims that the right to the city is a right to the use of *city center*. Marcuse (2009) supports this with his analysis on whose right we are talking about, and indicates that, among economically and culturally divided groups, the right to the city is of those who are excluded, alienated, marginalized, oppressed, the most underpaid, and the most insecure members of a society. Thus, we must talk about *their* rights, not everyone's right to the city, or the ones who already have it.

Marcuse (2009) supports this claim by giving the powerful example that a homeless in Los Angeles will not have the right to the city when he is allowed to sleep on a park bench in the center. Similarly, I would like to adapt into our case, the residents of a gecekondu in Kadifekale will not have it when they are relocated into an apartment in Uzundere and are forced to fit into the patterns of modern urban life. The issue is much more complicated and fragile than that. Thus, the question is bound to remain unanswered: From Mardin to Kadifekale, from Kadifekale to Uzundere—where to next?

2.2. Tandır: "There" and "Here"

Proceeding with the title "Tandır: 'There' and 'Here,'" my aim is to present an understanding on three perspectives of the phenomenon of tandır: a) The *history*, as

discussed under "Tandır: A General Overview," which covers the geography—worldwide and Anatolia— and the basic tools utilized by tandır practice, b) "Tandır *There*," the practice as it has been carried out in the rural areas of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, i.e., where it comes *from*, and c) "Tandır *Here*," the practice as it is currently being carried out publicly at the urban context of Kadifekale İzmir, i.e., where it comes *to*. The terms chosen to draw the conceptual framework—*history*, *there*, and *here*—, together with their proximity indicating references, are also interpreted by means of socio-cultural and spatial aspects of the phenomenon.

History of tandır, despite being independent from *there* and *here*, informs both. The conceptual relation between *there* and *here* is not isolated, and represents a maybe not spatial but temporal continuum. *There* speaks for the Eastearn and Southeastern Anatolia, what is rural, relatively private, domestic, not commercial, etc. while *here* speaks for Kadifekale, İzmir, what is urban, public, commercial, what is brought along from *there* and adapted to *here*, etc. Between them is a noteworthy story of migration, of losing and finding home, of the same but different persons. Thus, the *and* in the title "There *and* Here" implies a continuity rather than a comparison of isolated cases as in "There *versus* Here."

2.2.1. Tandır: A General Overview

The word *tandır*, supposedly derived from *tinūru* (Akkadian language) (Reiner, 2006, cited in Erdem, 2013: 112) and eventually being passed into Arabic and Hebrew as *tanūr* (Greppin, 1991, cited in Parker, 2011: 603) primarily means "a well-shaped oven made from clay." Apart from geographic areas such as Iran, Caucasia, India, Azerbaijan, Mesopotamia, Syria, Iraq, and the Levant, tandır ovens are commonly seen in the rurals of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and the Eastern Black Sea region (Altın, 2010; Erdem, 2013). Archaeological data belonging to the several locations in the southeastern Anatolia reveals the existence of tandır ovens beginning from Middle and Late Bronze Age (Erdem, 2013).

Ethnographic field researches in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia, cities such as Erzurum, Bayburt, Van, Bitlis, Elazığ, Ağrı, Malatya, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Şanlıurfa etc. indicate that tandır ovens are broadly used in these locations at the present time. However, it should be taken into consideration that these researches are

quite insufficient and do not go further than merely giving general information on the situation (Erdem, 2013). Aside from different types and construction methods of tandır ovens and a variety of breads, the main concept stays the same: an oven in the shape of a well, constructed mainly from clay, used for baking bread.

Tandır ovens are quite large in size and difficult to construct. As the first step of construction, suitable clay is procured. In the rural areas of the city of Mardin, the customarily used tandır ovens are constructed from red soil, where it is perceived as a purifying material in Anatolian culture (Işık, 2012). According to Işık (2012), embracing the red soil as a pure and clean material might result from its being local people's choice in tandır oven construction.

Secondly, the proper clay is mixed with chaff and goat hair or cotton and the mixture is kept for one day before starting the construction. The next day, the clay dough is kneaded again and the construction starts. Tandır oven is built via *sucuk* technique (also known as *halka şerit* technique, or coiling; this is a technique commonly used in producing circular cross-sectioned, rotary-formed objects. It is based on placing clay coils on top of one another and generating a circular form) and the walls of tandır are kept at a 7-8 cm. thickness in order to maintain stability. The oven cannot be completed at once, the level of the walls are raised gradually so that the lower parts can drain and carry the load of the upper parts without collapsing. That is why the overall construction time for a tandır oven is about a week and its physical life is 5-10 years (Altın, 2010: 92). The construction steps of tandır ovens in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia, specific to particular villages, will be described in the following sub-section.

The depth of an average tandır oven in the eastern regions of Anatolia is 80-100 cm. Its diameter is 60-80 cm. at the base and 40 cm. at the top opening (the loading hole) (Parker, 2011). In order for fire to burn well, there is an air hole (20x20 cm.) called *külve* on the lower side of the oven. Wood, brush, cattle dung and charcoal are used as fuel in these ovens. It is known that, in the past, pit ovens—*çukur tandır*, a type of underground tandır ovens—used to be a common component of traditional household architecture in the eastern Anatolia, used for heating as well as baking. These pit ovens were placed inside the houses and the toxic fume was discharged through *külve*. This way the living space was heated and, at the same time, various types of food were baked inside the ovens (Altın, 2010: 93; Köşklü, 2006).

According to Prof. Dr. Sedat Cereci (Van YYÜ), academician and director of

the documentary *Ağzı Açık Alamet*—a documentary about tandır ovens in Bitlis, Adilcevaz, İpekçayır village (2007)—, there are two main types of tandır according to their position in relation to the ground: a) *Surface (on the ground) ovens*, which are generally observed in moderately mild climates such as in Mardin, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, etc. and b) *Underground ovens*, which are seen in harsh climatic conditions, e.g. in Bitlis, Van, Erzurum, Ağrı, etc. Whether the oven is located inside or outside of the house depends on again climatic conditions as well as traditional habits. Oven inside the house brings together all the members of the family around itself and creates a social environment while oven outside the house gather around neighbours and forms a place for conversation (Altın, 2010: 94).

2.2.2. Tandır "There"

It does have importance for this study to be acquainted with the ways of tandır practice in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia where tandır is a familiar component of the food culture. That is because the women who have been practicing this culture in Kadifekale are the very people who came to the city of İzmir from those regions due to forced migration. How the migrant women brought along this practice with them and how they adapted it into the urban context are worth exploring within the scope of this research. In order to make this comparison, one should start from the beginning, from the rurals of eastern Anatolia, where tandır practice has continued its existence for thousands of years.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to indicate that the vast majority of the migrant families—naturally including the women practicing tandır there—are from Mardin, which gives Kadifekale the nickname of *Small Mardin*, or *Mardinkale* (Çetin, 2016). However, the literature review presents that sources concerning the tandır culture specific to Mardin region are next to nothing. That is why the title of this sub-section is decided as "Tandır *"There"*," geographically referring to the rurals of eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

Tandır oven core manufacture

The construction of tandır oven core can be perceived as a first step into the subject. Erdem (2013) reports that the number of the people and/or the villages that

have been performing this craft has considerably decreased in the present time. For instance, in Van - Ayanis Village, it is recorded that the last two craftswomen quit constructing tandır oven cores due to old age, and so there is no one left in the village anymore to carry on this traditional craft. Nonetheless, ethnographic field researches on the case present that tandır oven manufacture still continues in several locations such as Diyarbakır - Bismil region, Çarıklı and Çöltepe villages; Erzurum - Şık Village and other villages in neighbouring cities (Bayburt, Kars, Van and Malatya) (Köşklü, 2006; Parker and Uzel, 2007; Erdem, 2013).

The main ingredient for tandır oven core construction is a certain type of clay soil (Figure 2.6). When it is not available in the villages where tandır oven manufacture is held, the necessity of transporting the soil from some distant location rises. Although tandır culture, starting from the construction of tandır oven cores to the baking process as the last stage, is a culture carried out predominantly by women (Parker, 2011; Erdem, 2013), some instances requiring physical power or leaving home/the neighbourhood demands the aid of men. Transporting clay soil from one village to another is an example to that. These involvements of men of the house will be mentioned again below.

Figure 2.6. Clay soil in Ayanis Village, Van.
(Source: Erdem, 2013)

After obtaining the clay soil, it is sifted out, added water and kneaded until the soil dough with the right consistency is procured. The similarity of this process to the process of forming the tandır bread dough is noteworthy. The variety of skills and the dough on the hands of these women deserve admiration, putting the Turkish phrase

"*Elinin hamuruyla erkek işine karışma*"[3] to shame.

The prepared clay dough is let rest for a day, added chaff and regionally-varying other ingredients such as goat hair, salt, mullein—*sığır kuyruğu*, a kind of local herb—etc., and kneaded again, this time with feet. Male children of the household contribute to this step (Erdem, 2013) (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. Boy helping his mother mix goat hair and salt into the clay soil and knead it with feet in Çarıklı Village, Diyarbakır. (Source: Parker, 2011)

The construction of tandır oven core starts when the dough is completely ready for being shaped. Approximately 1-meter-long clay coils are prepared and they are placed on top of one another, creating the circular form of a tandır oven. This method is called *sucuk* or *halka şerit* technique (coiling) (Köşklü, 2005; Altın, 2010) (Figures 2.8, 2.9, 2.10). Another way of construction is molding the soil dough around a tire or a large metal cylinder. In that method, clay coils are not used (Parker, 2011). The amount of the dough and/or the number of the clay coils depend on the size of the oven core and vary from one village to another. Tandır oven core is completed once the opening at the top (the loading hole) is given its final shape and the air hole (the ash removal hole; *külve*) at the bottom is made.

When the shaping process is completed, tandır oven core is left to dry in the shade (Figure 2.11). Summer months are the most appropriate time of the year for the construction of tandır oven cores due to the warm and dry weather.

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[3] A Turkish phrase addressing women, advising them not to try to do *men's* job.

Figure 2.8. Woman preparing clay coils in Şık Village, Erzurum.
(Source: Köşklü, 2005)

Figure 2.9. Woman constructing the tandır oven core through coiling in Şık Village, Erzurum. (Source: Köşklü, 2005).

Figure 2.10. Woman adding up the clay coils (left) and polishing the almost-complete tandır oven (right) in Şık Village, Erzurum. (Source: Köşklü, 2005)

Figure 2.11. Drying tandır oven cores in Çarıklı Village, Diyarbakır.
(Source: Parker, 2011)

While the core gets dry, it is polished (*perdahlama*) with river pebbles or other locally-preferred materials (lately, glass bottles in Erzurum - Şık Village, for instance) and the treatment is finished when the surfaces of the tandır oven core are smooth and burnished. After that, if the core belongs to an underground tandır oven, it is lowered down into the ground and the gap between the earth and the core is filled with again locally-alternating materials (pebblestone, ash, cattle dung; broken pieces of old tandır ovens, adobe, etc.). The men assist the process of relocating the core since a complete tandır oven core weighs about 70-80 kg. Finally, the first firing is started; the tandır oven core itself is baked for hours, and gets ready for use (Erdem, 2013).

Some families manufacture tandır oven cores not just for their own use but for generating a side income by selling them. For instance, the tandır ovens manufactured in Diyarbakır – Çarıklı are demanded by families living as distant as in Mardin, Nusaybin, Cizre regions, etc. The men of the manufacturing house are responsible for the selling process (Parker, 2011).

The knowledge of tandır oven core production, just like tandır practice in general manner, is transferred from mother to daughter. While elderly women members of the family supervize the manufacturing process, female children run errands, being included into the practice at an early age. In Diyarbakır – Çarıklı, women reserve about six hours a day (two hours each in the morning, afternoon, and evening) for tandır oven core manufacture and they spend the rest of their days doing housework and child rearing (Parker, 2011).

Types and physical qualities of tandır ovens

In terms of typology, *underground* tandır ovens which are buried completely into the ground—to the level of the loading hole—are the most familiar in the Eastern Anatolia. A subgroup of the same type is the *half-buried* tandır ovens which are common in Erzurum region. The baking process is carried out while sitting with this type of tandır ovens (Erdem, 2013) (Figure 2.12).

Figure 2.12. An underground tandır oven in rural Muş.
(Source: Köşklü, 2005)

Surface (on the ground) tandır ovens are the second main type. All the parts of a surface tandır oven are visible since its bottom sits on the ground. They are common in specifically Diyarbakır - Bismil region in the Southeastern Anatolia. Surface tandır ovens usually have additional clay surfaces on both sides of the oven, which could be described as a counter. The baking process is carried out while standing with this type of tandır ovens (Erdem, 2013). According to Sabbağ (2015), as mentioned in "Mardin'de Yeme İçme Kültürü," some tandır ovens in Mardin region also belong in this group. They are about 1 m. high and placed on a flat ground.

Most of the time, especially if the oven is located on the ground and outside the house, it is protected with a shelter structure in order for the users to work in unfavourable weather conditions and to keep the fire burning as long as it is needed. This protective shelter structures could be hastily put up as well as built in a more meticulous and detailed way. Brick walls surrounding the oven from three sides and a tin roof are frequently observed (Parker, 2011) (Figure 2.13).
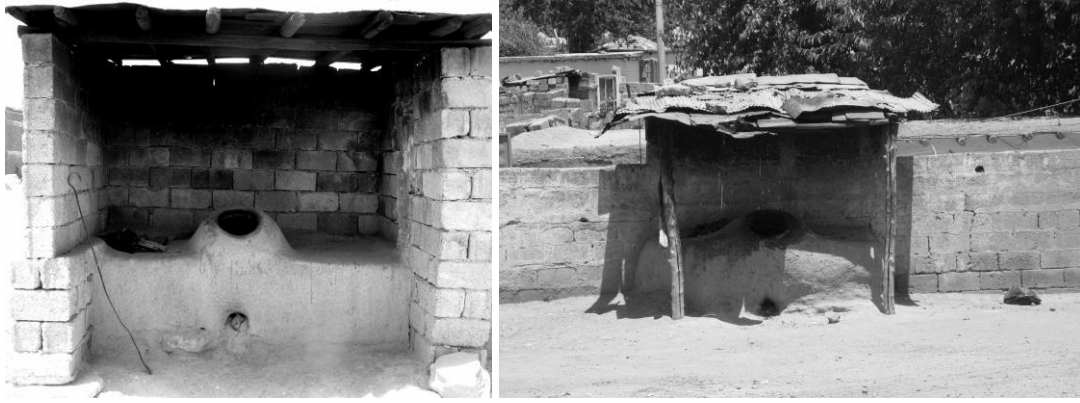
Figure 2.13. Surface tandır ovens with protective shelter structures in the town of Bismil, Diyarbakır (Source: Parker, 2011).

Tandır bread preparation

Tandır ovens are mostly used for baking bread. Ethnographic field researches conducted in Diyarbakır, Erzurum, and Van regions exhibit that each region names these breads differently (*lavaş*, *taptapa*, etc.) (Erdem, 2013). However, throughout this research, the term "tandır bread" is used as a general name of breads baked in a tandır oven. Baking part of tandır practice is too, unsurprisingly, a job completely attributed to women.[4]

The main ingredients of tandır bread dough are flour, salt, water and yeast. It is made ready to bake by kneading and splitting it into round pieces according to the size of one loaf. Baking is generally conducted in the afternoon, so that the heat of the day is avoided as well as the bread is kept fresh for supper. Before baking, the interior of tandır oven is wiped clean and the oven is heated using cattle dung—primary fuel for the oven—, dry brush, sticks and dried cotton plants. Afterwards, the bread dough pieces are flattened one by one, brushed with egg yolk and stuck to the interior of the oven. When the breads are baked, they are taken out quickly by hand. Approximately 8-12 breads can be baked simultaneously in one tandır oven.

Tandır practice with regards to socio-cultural and spatial aspects

Tandır ovens may be used individually or collectively. The result of the interviews conducted with the Mardinite migrant women in Kadifekale presents that the rural-urban migration and the high cost of the tandır oven cores have decreased the

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[4] for an exceptional case: "Eşlerine kızdılar, tandır evi açtılar," merhabahaber.com, accessed January 1, 2018, http://www.merhabahaber.com/eslerine-kizdilar-tandir-evi-actilar-608032h.htm.

number of individually owned tandır ovens in Mardin region, and thus, have increased the use of shared ones. Some of the shared-use tandır ovens are placed by local municipalities.

In the examples of Diyarbakır – Bismil and Diyarbakır – Bozçalı, most houses do not have tandır ovens (except for a few economically advantaged families); instead, several shared-use tandır ovens (one oven per about 7-8 families) with protective shelters are scattered around on the streets. Families decide together on which days the oven will be heated and take turns to use it. Tandır ovens' being located outside of the houses are reportedly considered as a solid opportunity for socialization by the women of these villages. That is because the time spent in the afternoon bread baking sessions by the tandır ovens is the only time of the day when women and children from neighbouring families gather together and are able to be outside of their houses for that much long. It is recorded that the men of the neighbourhood are evidently absent in the area during this time (Parker, 2011).

Parker and Uzel (2007) describe this scene as follows:

> The tradition of tandır cooking is deeply ingrained in the fabric of rural society in many parts of the Middle East and Central Asia. Any traveler passing through these regions cannot help but notice the ubiquitous domed clay ovens that punctuate compounds and neighborhoods in many villages and towns. Particularly in traditional communities, tandır ovens can be found in nearly every alley way, in yards and on street corners. Often alive with fire and surrounded by women and children, tandır ovens are more than just traditional cooking facilities. They are, in many cases, communal spaces utilized and shared by a number of families that serve as anchors for local female social networks. (2007: 7)

Parker (2011), in his another related work "Bread Ovens, Social Networks And Gendered Space: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Tandır Ovens in Southeastern Anatolia," approaches the tandır practice in rural Southeastern Anatolia with regard to the concept of gendered space. Citing Abu-Lughod (1987), he interprets the situation:

> In her discussion of Islamic cities, Abu-Lughod noted that women from poorer families were often unable to meet Islamic ideals about gender seclusion. When the practical needs of daily life make seclusion within one's house or compound impractical, groups of women may temporarily take over outside spaces such corridors or alleyways for intermittent communal activities. This "liminal space" thus functions as a device for achieving a "compromise between the exigencies of life and the directives of female seclusion" (Abu-Lughod 1987: 168). Baking tandır bread operates in a similar way since what are normally public spaces are often annexed and turned into gendered space for several hours each day. At this time women from different households come together at ovens not only to bake but also to socialize. (2011: 613)

Apart from the community tandır ovens which are located in the public realm

of the rurals of eastern and southeastern Anatolia, tandır practice is indeed a domestic practice that is carried out in the private realm of home. As Dalkılıç and Halifeoğlu (2006) and Aksulu and Dalkılıç (2004) report, in Mardin – Savur and Mardin – Midyat, tandır ovens are observed in the courtyards of traditional houses as well as at the junctions of the streets.

Erdem (2013), in her research "Archaeological and Ethnographic Evidence on Eastern Anatolian Tandırs," categorizes tandır oven structures inside the home into two groups considering the seasons: summer (*yazlık*) and winter (*kışlık*). According to this, winter tandır ovens are generally located in a separate closed space called *tandır house*, while summer tandır ovens are placed either just in front of the house or in the courtyard (Erdem, 2013: 119). Spatial differences this traditional way of utilizing tandır ovens create are quite noticeable.

Tandır houses are significantly important spaces in the village houses throughout Anatolia; they could be found particularly in Erzurum, Van, Kars, Ağrı, Iğdır, Elazığ, Malatya, Muş and Bitlis regions of the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Tandır houses are occasionally observed as a simple four-walls-one-roof architectural addition to the house (such as in Van region), or as a more detailed and sophisticated spatial component with an arch and a chimney (as in Erzurum and Bayburt region). The walls of a tandır house is generally built of mudbrick, and its ground is of compacted soil. It has a rectangular plan, a flat roof and no windows; it is commonly built next to the living space. Tandır house is also connected to certain spaces that have special functions such as the cellar, the dung storage, etc. for the sake of practicality (Erdem, 2013) (Figures 2.14 and 2.15).

Inside the tandır house, as encountered in Van – Ayanis Village, there are two underground tandır ovens of different sizes: one large and one small one. The large-sized tandır oven is heated only once in 7-10 days in order for the women—the women from at least two households come together for this job—to bake tandır bread adequate for the whole neighbourhood. They also get the chance to socialize. The small-sized tandır oven, on the other hand, is heated every day and used for daily necessities like cooking, boiling water or milk, etc. (Erdem, 2013). When not in use, the opening holes of these ovens are covered with a tin sheet, otherwise they could make a deadly trap for the small children of the house.

Figure 2.14. The spatial relation of tandır house and dung storage in Ayanis Village, Van. The smudge on top of the door frame (left) indicates the existence of tandır house (edited by the author) (Source: Erdem, 2013).

Figure 2.15. Tandır house and an outside tandır oven in Ayanis Village, Van (edited by the author) (Source: Erdem, 2013).

Figure 2.16. Women baking tandır bread in tandır house, Ayanis Village, Van.
(Source: Erdem, 2013)

Tandır house as a spatial component of the private realm of domestic life belong to the female members of the household. The men do not even set a foot in it; the responsibility of *keeping the home fires burning* is completely attributed to the women (Figure 2.16) (Parker, 2011).

In this sub-section, tandır practice in rural eastern and southeastern Anatolia is presented in a nutshell, in order to provide a familiarity with the culture and related terminology. The following sub-section is about the same practice, only in totally different circumstances.

2.2.3. Tandır "Here": Migrant's Survival Tool in the City

Tandır ovens are mostly a traditional and ethnic component of rural areas. However, in Kadifekale, at both the ancient and the metropolitan heart of İzmir, such a domestic element of the rural food culture confront us publicly at an urban context. Thus, our case also debunks the myth of domesticity when tandırs are concerned, and that the practice of baking tandır bread could be carried out merely to provide the household with daily bread. In Kadifekale, the practice emerges out of a desperation to secure the means of household subsistence, to earn a living for the family. Accordingly, this domestic practice leaves the privacy of home, *expands* to the urban public realm, and is *redefined* as a commercial activity in itself.

The main practitioners of tandır inside the citadels of Kadifekale are the migrant women, who had to leave their hometowns behind and come to the city of

İzmir due to forced migration. How they brought along this practice and adapted it into the urban realm of one of the largest metropolitan cities in Turkey is considered worthy of investigation. Thus, in this section, based on the field observations and the interviews conducted with the migrant women in Kadifekale, I explain and discuss the technical and socio-cultural aspects of the tandır practice, how it is specifically practiced here in Kadifekale.

> *"I am 65 years old; I have been living in İzmir for more than 35 years. Our main reason of migration is government pressure; my son was being sought* (by the Turkish armed forces - added by the author). *We went to Ankara first, and stayed there for five months. After that, we headed to İzmir. When we first arrived in İzmir, we did not have identity cards. We issued them later here.*
> *At the beginning, my family and I stayed at my brother-in-law's, then found ourselves another house. I have got nine children, five boys and four girls; most of them were born here. One of my children was studying journalism before (s)he quit. Most of the children were married and left the house, only one boy and two girls are still single. We make a living from tandır.*
> *When we first arrived, I did textile weaving for a while, but then started baking and selling tandır bread* (tandırcılık is the most commonly used term by the interviewees for the tandır business they carry on in Kadifekale - added by the author), *which I have been doing for 11-12 years. I am one of the oldest; the others started after me. I used to bake in tandır ovens back in my village. I had to do it in İzmir because my family was pressed for money."*
> (G.int. 1, 2016)

Table 2.1. The conceptual framework mechanism of tandır practice.


```
t   h   e   r   e                    h   e   r   e
M A R D İ N        ———————▶          KADİFEKALE
private realm                        public realm
rural context                        urban context
a domestic act                       a commercial act
```
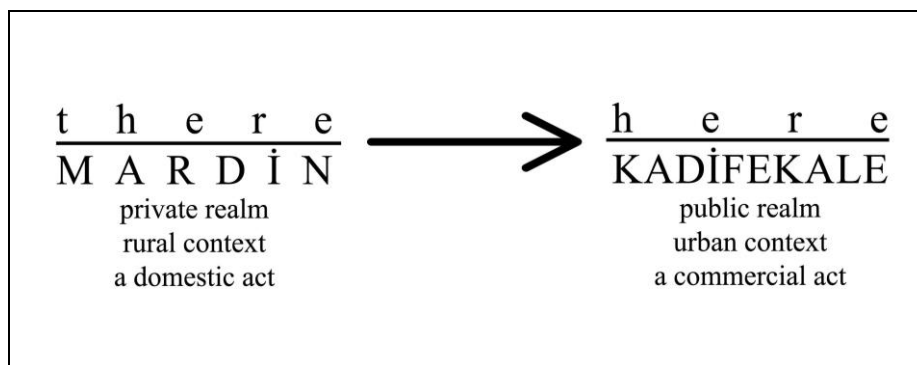
The outcome of the interviews shows that the majority of the women share similar background stories. All of the interviewees migrated from the Southeastern Anatolia years ago—3 years ago at the earliest, 35 years at the latest—, mainly from Mardin. This Mardinite community composes the majority in the region compared to other Kurdish and Syrian population. Demographic information and field researches display that the population, regardless of their ethnic roots, belong to low and lower-middle income group, for whom the lack of access to stable employment is the major social problem (Burgan, 2012; Çetin, 2011; Karayiğit, 2005; Mutlu, 2009; Yılmaz, 2010). Multi-child families are especially in a constant struggle with poverty. Of the household, those who are physically able to do so try to contribute to the family budget in whichever jobs they find.

Apart from part-time or seasonal jobs, Mardinite community is known for mussel (*midye dolma*) selling throughout İzmir (Saraçoğlu, 2011). This informal business is carried out in a collaborative effort among the family members: Women take care of cleaning and stuffing mussels inside the house, while men sell them outside on the street, ordinarily on the seaside. Mussel selling is a highly popular street vending activity and stuffed mussel is one of the most demanded street food in the city of İzmir.

It is significant here to emphasize the distinctive way of contribution to the household's money-making process by women and men. Women generally tend to stay at home helping with the preparations while men go out and do the things that needs to be done outside of the house. After all, most of the migrant women in Kadifekale almost never leave the neighbourhood in their lives due to economic issues and language problems (most of them cannot speak Turkish) as well as for the reason that their domain is simply defined by the patriarchy as *inside* the house.

According to the report of HÜNEE, "Migration and Internally Displaced Population Study in Turkey," (2006) a vast majority of the migrant women do not work in wage-earning jobs in the cities and are just occupied with housework. Tandır practice, however, changes this men-only money-making system completely, for it requires a different arrangement from mussel selling or other possible jobs. When examining the tandır culture in the rural areas of eastern and southeastern Anatolia, where our Mardinite community came from, it is observed that women are responsible for nearly the whole process. In Kadifekale, the situation is more or less the same. What is more, here in Kadifekale, the *women* are the ones among their family members

who earn a living for the family, not the men. Selling tandır bread, reveals the interviews, is the only source of income for these families, contrary to the situation back in Mardin, where baking tandır bread only serves domestic purposes, not for money-making.

Figure 2.17. Location of the tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale, aerial images. (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, İzmir History Project Centre)

There are 8-10 tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale at the moment, one per each family and one shared oven (Figures 2.17 and 2.18). This system surely is not inclusive of all the families of the neighbourhood, because, apart from the first families that thought of constructing an oven and selling tandır bread in the area, all the remaning families have to share just one oven, and that is highly problematic.

Figure 2.18. Location of the tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale, view from Buca. (Source: İzmir History Project Centre)

Besides, there are several families which are interested in baking bread just enough for their own domestic consumption. In order to avoid the arguments and reach a common ground, they have decided to take turns with each other and make use of the shared oven as equally as possible. Still, the case is on thin ice, just like most of the parts of their lives.

Tandır oven core manufacture

In Kadifekale, the women who practice tandır buy their tandır oven cores mostly from Menemen – Asarlık in İzmir. Menemen is also well-known for its clay soil and pottery work, which, as a craft, uses the same type of clay soil as tandır oven manufacture. It is a family business; the female member constructs the oven cores while her husband collects the soil from the nearby territory (Figure 2.19). One tandır oven costs approximately 350-400 TL including transportation and adding up to a total of 500-600 TL for the complete oven. Finished tandır ovens are transported to Kadifekale via pickup trucks (Int. 1, 2016).

The construction process is similar to the Southeastern Anatolia counterparts, except, some materials have to be replaced for the ones that could be supplied more easily in the city (cotton and sack cloth are used instead of goat hair, etc.). Regarding the overall construction method, there is no essential difference (Figures 2.20 and 2.21). However, after the manufacture process, a major distinction is noticed: Instead of placing the oven inside the house or in an independent tandır house, tandır ovens in Kadifekale are located outside of the house, in the open public space inside the citadels of Kadifekale, which is a 1st degree archaeological site. The ovens' being outside the houses is mostly because the *gecekondu* houses that the Mardinite migrant families live in lack the indoor and outdoor space fit for the tandır ovens.

Figure 2.19. Man loading his tractor with clay soil in Asarlık, Menemen.
(Source: photo by Can Gündüz)

Figure 2.20. Woman burnishing tandır oven with a piece of wood in Asarlık,
Menemen. (Source: captured from the video by Can Gündüz)

Figure 2.21. Complete tandır ovens in Asarlık, Menemen.
(Source: photo by Can Gündüz)

Types and physical qualities of tandır ovens

The location selected for the ovens' placement is walking distance to women's neighbourhoods but still outside of it. According to the field observations, the distance between the tandır ovens themselves varies from 4 m. to 10 m. In addition, the distance of the ovens to the road varies between 2 to 5 m. With regard to user typology, three main actors can be defined in the area: a) Migrant women carrying out the tandır practice, b) their children–mostly daughters–as their helpers, and c) tandır bread buyers (See Figures 2.22 and 2.23).

All the tandır ovens in Kadifekale are of the *surface oven* type that sits on the ground as a whole. This is mostly related to their illegal, stuck in-between, temporary nature. They are *illegal*, in terms of both the unauthorized nature of their commercial activity and the land they occupy. They are *stuck in-between* public and private realms, because the activity being carried out there is inherently domestic, but it has to be performed outside of the private realm of the home due to economic necessities. In order to earn a living, this is the only possible arrangement. Moreover, they are *temporary* and *vulnerable* linked to their illegal and informal character, which is also the reason why their jerry-built protective shelters are occasionally destroyed by the local municipality in response to complaints by third parties (Figure 2.24). Their continued existence despite all these challenging factors is mostly at the mercy of the local municipality.
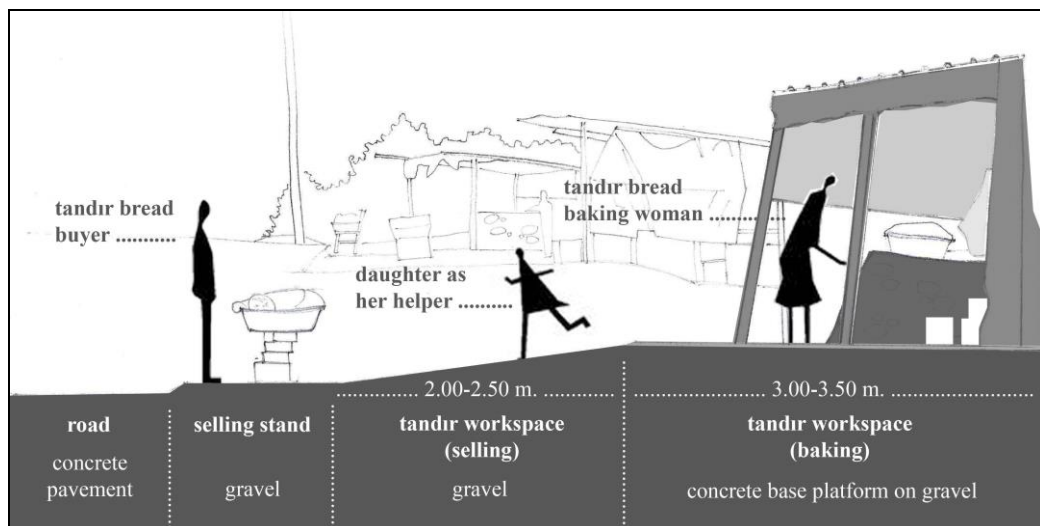
Figure 2.23. General view of tandır ovens in Kadifekale (illustrated by the author). Drawing is not to scale.
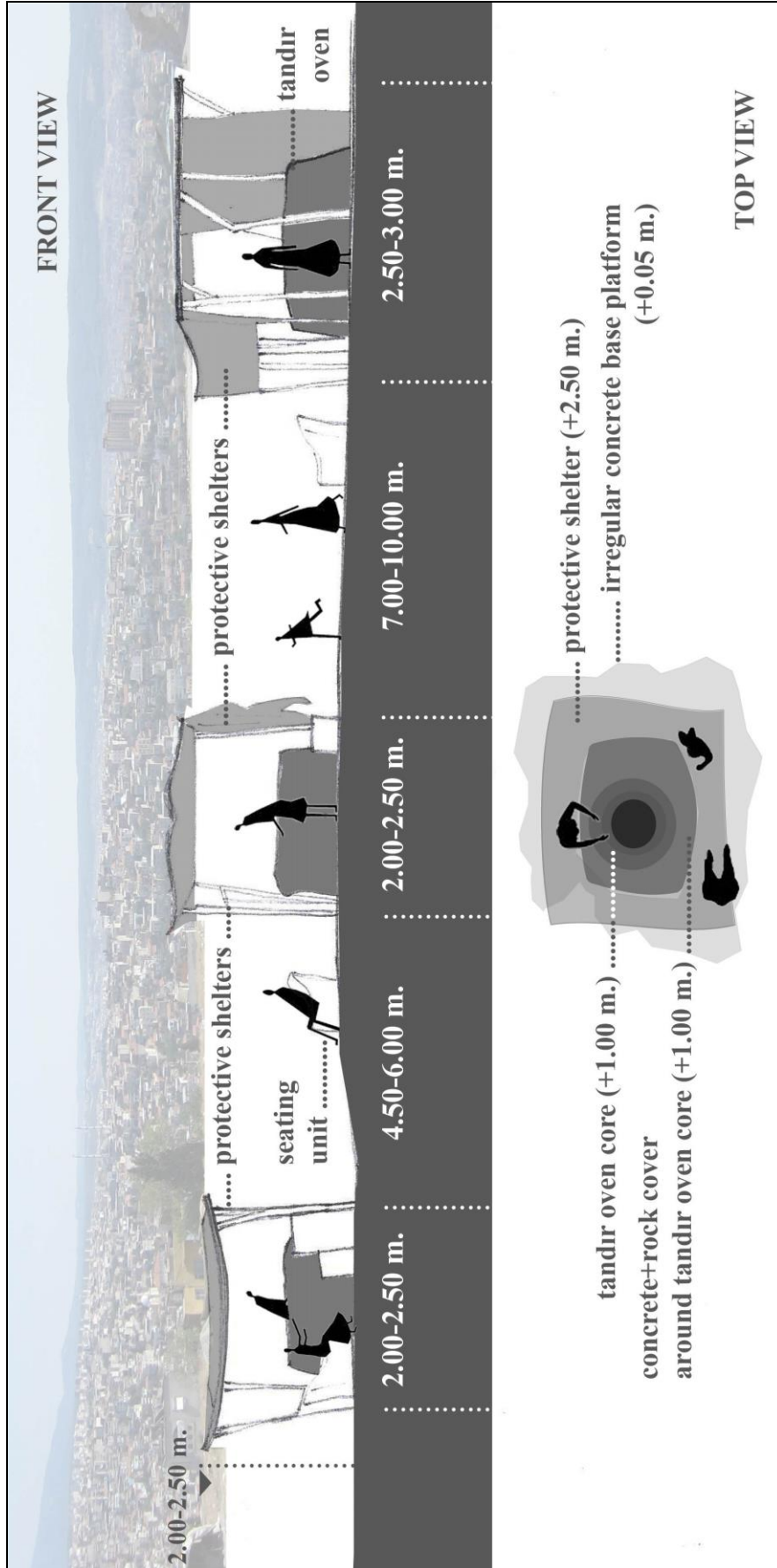
Figure 2.22. Front and top view of tandır ovens in Kadifekale (illustrated by the author). Drawing is not to scale.

Figure 2.24. Tandır ovens in Kadifekale before (former) and after (latter) the intervention of the local municipality.

The destroyed protective shelters of the tandır ovens were built of wooden posts as the main structure and tin sheets, chipboard pieces, old carpets, cloth pieces and such for the roof and the side surfaces. Compared to their three-side-brick-wall counterparts in the Southeastern Anatolia, they looked quite flimsy and jerry-built but still provided protection from the heat and the rain (Figure 2.25). Almost every tandır oven in the area has clay, concrete or wooden counter-like platforms on the sides to put the dough bowl, the brush, other equipments, etc. In addition, some ovens have seating units in front of them which consist of old single chairs and sofas (Figure 2.26). Besides, in place of a selling stand, crates on top of paving stones and chairs are utilized.

Figure 2.25. Different protective shelter adjustments.
(Source: photos by Can Gündüz)

Figure 2.26. Various old household furniture reutilized as part of the tandır culture in
Kadifekale.

Tandır practice with regards to socio-cultural and spatial aspects

The life stories of the women who have been carrying out this adapted tandır culture in Kadifekale and their families are quiet parallel to one another in spite of some minor differences. Their daily routines are also very similar and actually *shaped* by the tandır practice around-the-clock. They start the day with the morning call to prayer in order to make time for both housework inside and tandır work outside.

Tandır bread dough kneading generally starts in the morning hours, at 8.00-9.00 a.m. or a bit later, depending on the practitioner. Then the dough is put to rest for about one to three hours, depending on the yeast used. After it is ready, the dough is split into pieces. Daily bread dough preparation is generally done individually and inside the houses. Thereafter, the dough balls are put inside a plastic bowl and carried to the tandır ovens (Figure 2.27).

As the second step, the women go out to their ovens with their dough bowls and heat the ovens using broken furniture, chipboard pieces, dry brush and sticks (Figures 2.28 and 2.29).[5] Tandır ovens get ready for baking approximately in fifteen minutes, depending on the thickness and quality of the firewood. When the firewood turns to cinder, bread making process starts. The women prepare the tandır breads by giving the dough a round shape, and brush a mixture of egg yolk and black sesame on them. After this, breads are stuck to the inside of the oven core by hand (Figures 2.30 and 2.31).

Baking session is generally conducted in the late afternoon in the Southeastern Anatolia in order to avoid the hottest time of the day, but in Kadifekale, it is earlier. At about 3.30 p.m., baking should be finished and selling should start. Between 4.30-5.00 p.m., it is ideal to sell out the breads and call it a day. However, the whole timetable may somewhat vary from one practitioner to another.

The number of tandır breads that can be baked simultaneously depends on the diameter of the bread and the internal volume of the oven (Table 2.2). Numerically it can be said that it varies between twenty and thirty. The diameter of the bread affects its weight, which differs from 300-400 gr. to 500-600 gr. The price changes accordingly between 1-1,5 TL. Sixty to eighty breads can be baked daily, the amount of wastage included. Wastage here involves the breads that are put aside for household

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[5] There are people who exchange scraps of various construction materials and old furniture with tandır bread. See also Figure 2.29.

consumption and the ones that fall down from the interior surfaces of tandır ovens.

In the evening hours, tandır work outside is concluded for the day, however, housework awaits the women: cooking, cleaning, laundry, ironing... The responsibility of all the housework that needs to be done regularly lays on the shoulders of them. Resting is a luxury. If there is any extra time left for it, they watch television for a change. Even if there is no spare time for following long-term productions such as TV series, they watch Kurdish television channels every now and then.

Figure 2.27. Woman carrying her dough bowl to tandır oven.

Figure 2.28. Working tandır ovens and various materials to be used as fuel collected on the backside.

Figure 2.29. Man cutting the wood furniture scraps into smaller pieces.

Figure 2.30. Woman working by the tandır oven. On the left, she is flattening the dough piece by hand; on the right, sticking the flattened dough to the interior surface of the oven.

Figures 2.31. View of a tandır oven in Kadifekale. The tandır core is covered with concrete and rocks from the outside to increase the durability.

Table 2.2. Tandır oven sizes in eastern Anatolia and in Kadifekale (prepared by the author). (Source: Erdem, 2013; Parker, 2011; "Kadifekale Tandır Platform" first meeting, December 19, 2015)

Location	Small-sized tandır ovens	Mid-sized tandır ovens	Large-sized tandır ovens
Erzurum region	opening diameter: 30-35 cm base diameter: 50-60 cm depth: 60-75 cm	45-55 cm 90-100 cm 110-130 cm	60-70 cm 110-130 cm 140-160 cm
Van region	opening diameter: 35-40 cm base diameter: 55-70 cm depth: 60-80 cm	50-55 cm 90-100 cm 110-125 cm	58-80 cm 110-130 cm 125-160 cm
Kadifekale	opening diameter: 55-60 cm base diameter: 80 cm depth: 100 cm		

During the whole preparation, baking and selling process, women and their daughters are in charge of everything. Men are non-existent in the area. Since tandır breads pull a lot of people into the site, women who do not speak Turkish get help from their children in communicating with customers. Children also assist them with running errands, especially when their mothers get pregnant. Since tandır bread sale is the only source of income of these women and their families, the majority of them express that they have to continue working by the ovens until they are nine-months-pregnant. Moreover, about one week after giving birth, they have to get back to work. There seems to be nobody else who could replace them, even for a while. Contrary to the collaborative use of tandır ovens in the Southeastern Anatolia, there is kind of a rivalry between the women who carry out tandır business in Kadifekale. That is simply because that each woman have their own concerns about maintaining their families, and they have to make sufficient sales every single day in order to achieve this aim.

In addition to economic issues and language problems, the women do not know anywhere else apart from their neighbourhoods in Kadifekale, because they simply

cannot leave their tandır ovens. They cannot leave the neighbourhood, even for paying a visit to one's daughter or other close relatives.[6]

2.3. Place Attachment and Regenerating A Sense of Identity and Belonging: Tandır as Migrant's Home, Expanded to the Public Realm of Kadifekale

This section handles the concept of 'place attachment' with relation to migration, reconstruction of place, disaster psychology and community behaviour. It analyses the community relationship of the Kurdish [Mardinite] migrants living in Kadifekale and the regeneration of their sense of identity and belonging after the experiences of forced migration and relocation to Uzundere. Taking the tandır ovens and their socio-spatial organization as a departure point, I question how they are utilized as *migrant's home, expanded to the public realm of Kadifekale*.

Theoretical framework of place attachment

Place attachment is defined as the bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments as one of the main concepts in environmental psychology. According to Scannell and Gifford (2009), the concept of place attachment as an emotional bond is a significant subject of study because of its connection to many important processes such as "the distress and grief expressed by those who are forced to relocate" (e.g., Fried, 1963; Fullilove, 1996) (2009: 1). Hence, they proceed, place attachment has been applied to disaster psychology (e.g., Brown and Perkins, 1992), immigration (e.g., Ng, 1998), and mobility (e.g., Giuliani et al., 2003; Gustafson, 2001), which are all relevant notions to the subject of this thesis.

Scannell and Gifford (2009) developed a significant conceptual framework on the concept of place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework, which defines the dimensions of the concept as the three Ps: *Person*, *Process*, and *Place* (2009: 2). According to this, the first dimension is the actor, and it answers the question of "*who is attached?*" Is the actor an individual or a community, which attributes meaning to the attachment? The second dimension is the psychological process, and it gives

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[6] "Zaman olsa para yok, para olsa zaman yok." one of the interviewees expresses the situation (G.int.1).

answer to "*how* does the attachment exist?" This dimension, similar to other concepts in social psychology, depends on the collective effects of *affective*, *cognitive*, and *behavioral* aspects manifested in the attachment. The third dimension is the object, possibly the most important part, the place itself: "What is the attachment *to*, and what is the nature of, this place? What is it about the place to which we connect?" This dimension has typically been divided into two levels: *social* and *physical* place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2009).

Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) emphasize that both social and physical levels of attachment influence the overall bond, while social aspect has a stronger influence. According to urban sociologists, place attachment is necessarily social, and is connected with 'sense of community' (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Perkins and Long, 2002). Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) define *community* as "a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes." McMillan and Chavis (1986) distinguish two types of community: community of *interest*, where members are connected through common interests, and community of *place*, where members are connected through geographical location. Hunter (1974), on the other hand, claims that local social ties are created by the broader social system of the society, which determines class, race and religion-based status. According to their status, lifestyles and economic capabilities, similar individuals select similar locations and type of dwellings. As a result, relatively homogeneous groups of communities form neighbourhoods, where interpersonal attachments, networks and relations develop.

Nonetheless, place attachment is also related to the physical qualities of the place. Stokols and Shumaker (1981) mentions the concept of 'place dependence', which means being attached to a place mainly for its physical characteristics, resources and conveniences. Relatedly, it can be assumed that the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Kadifekale set a very good example of place attachment on both social and physical levels. Saraçoğlu (2011) delivers this successfully as follows:

> *Kurdish migrants settle in these zones [the poorest* gecekondu *zones] mostly because they cannot afford to live in other places. The desire to live close to solidarity networks and informal or largely inaccessible formal employment opportunities is another reason why they live in these districts.* However, the relationship between urban space and socio-economic conditions is not a one-sided, deterministic one, because the characteristics of the space where Kurdish migrants live, in turn, reproduces and perpetuates their existing socio-economic conditions and segregation. [emphasis mine] (2011: 119-120)

Recently, however, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has articulated an interest in an urban transformation project that would destroy the squatter settlements in Kadifekale and move Kurdish migrants to newly built high-rise apartments in Uzundere, which is quite far from the city centre. Many people living in Kadifekale are unwilling to move to Uzundere, partly because their present proximity to Konak and Alsancak, the consumption centres of the city, facilitates access to informal jobs such as selling mussels and flowers, and polishing shoes. In Uzundere, they will be deprived of this advantage. (2011: 121)

Brown and Perkins (1992), in their work "Disruptions in Place Attachment," claim that "...attachment involves *familiarity*, *stability*, and *security*, that develop over fairly long time spans. (...) Yet, place attachments are not static either; they change in accordance with changes in the people, activities or processes, and places involved in the attachments." (1992: 282) However, instead of changes which are naturally anticipated in the course of life, when a staggering change occurs, such as an involuntary relocation, a severe disruption emerges and damages what is familiar and stable. This experience may feel overwhelming at times (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Fried, 1963). In our case, the displacement experience that the Mardinite migrant families went through can definitely be considered as such a traumatic and devastating experience. For this reason, as Scannell and Gifford (2009) point out, in the immigration and refugee literature, the emphasis is on *displacement* and "the intensity of longing for places that are lost."

Brown and Perkins (1992), when exemplifying involuntary relocation, regard urban renewal projects as a type of sudden, stability-threatening change. So, the evacuation of neighbourhoods that are included in *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*, as well as the forced evacuation of the Eastern Anatolian villages caught in the cross-fire has the characteristics of an involuntary relocation, which "can involve injury or loss of life and possessions, losses that are integral to self-definitions." (1992: 291)

The behavioral level of place attachment, which is the third aspect of the psychological dimension, is expressed through actions. Many individuals unknowingly experience the effects of place attachment through *homesickness* and will carry out proximity-maintaining behaviors to satisfy their desires to relieve it by returning home or reinventing their current environments to match the characteristics of home. This reinvention of meaningful places is called 'reconstruction of place'. Reconstruction of place as a behavioral expression can be observed in post-disaster settlement areas. However, another form of this behaviour occurs when individuals must relocate to a new place (Scannell and Gifford, 2009). In that case, people tend to regenerate their

homes, which they left behind, in their new, current surroundings to recreate a meaningful place yet again.

The case of Kadifekale and tandır ovens

The *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Kadifekale present to us a rather homogeneous—with regards to class, *memleket* and ethnic roots—community composition. This migrant community regenerates their sense of belonging by recreating their homes from their *memleket* in Kadifekale, and so, embracing Kadifekale as a new home. According to Saraçoğlu (2010) and Ok (2011), due to the almost homogeneous Kurdish population and the common socio-cultural and economic conditions the members of this community share, the area provides a convenient environment to reproduction and reinforcement of the Kurdish identity.

Burgan (2012), in her thesis "A Subculture in the Transforming City: A Case Study of İzmir Kadifekale Youth," reveals that the youth of Kadifekale attributes meaning to three places: *Memleket*, the city center of İzmir, and Kadifekale. *Memleket* is in which parents were born; it is historic, sacred and imaginery, almost a myth. For most of them, *memleket* is the city of Mardin, which they have never been to, but holds a significantly symbolic meaning. It represents the roots, abandoning the roots and forced migration. The city center of İzmir, for them, only consists of the places they get to chance to experience, such as Kültürpark, Konak square and the clock tower, Konak sea coast, etc.

According to Burgan (2012), more than half of the young residents in the district indicate that they feel belongingness towards Kadifekale. The community ties play an important role in this. At the beginning, choosing Kadifekale as the location to migrate to is caused by *hemşehrilik* ties. Due to the corresponding solidarity relations, it is relatively easy to build a house or rent one and settle immediately. The statements below present that the tandır women and their families also chose Kadifekale because some family members had settled there before their arrival:

> *"I am 41 and from Mardin. Our reason of migration is that my sons came to İzmir before us, and my husband was taken into custody for 9-10 times. He was arrested here by the tandır ovens for guilt by association, got handcuffed and taken. He has been in jail for a year, and has another year to serve."*
> (G.int. 2, 2016)

"I am from Mardin, Midyat, Çalpınar (Sîtê) Village. I have been living in İzmir for 9 years. We were forced to migrate due to government pressure. When we first arrived here, we stayed with my brother for a while. We bake and sell tandır bread for a living ever since."
(G.int. 3, 2016)

To the young family members of migrant families, Kadifekale is the place where they were born and grew up, made social ties such as friendships; it is secluded, private and intimate. It is *home*. The interviews conducted with the migrant women by their tandır ovens in Kadifekale also support this claim: They perceive themselves as İzmirians now and consider Kadifekale as home. Most of them do not ever think of returning to Mardin; some of them do not have a place to return to anymore. Demirli et al. (2015) present this emotional bond as follows:

> Most of the respondents referred to the strong emotional bond that they have for Kadifekale, having lived there for more than 15 years. *Kadifekale's streets and its historic castle gave the inhabitants a means of visual recognition, from which they developed their feelings of intimacy toward it.* Informal conversations, particularly with young people, who prefer meeting in front of the old walls of the castle, revealed its meaning as a socializing place for many inhabitants of the neighborhood. (2015: 157)

Relatedly, the biggest problem of Kadifekale, according to them, is *yıkım*, meaning the demolition and the evacuation as part of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*. The demolition process damages the sense of security and stability, thus, causes another severe disruption in the place attachment dynamics after the forced migration experience most of the community members went through years ago. Demolition of the houses means the *disintegration* of the Kurdish migrant community. The thought of separation rises fear among them: fear of losing the social network, fear of not being able to bring home the bread, etc. (Burgan, 2012).

Scannell and Gifford (2010) emphasizes the importance for the newly migrated residents to be able to invent/create similarities between themselves and the place they are in. In order to maintain and/or strenghten the bond with the place, making adaptations is of vital importance (cited in Rishbeth and Powell (2013: 162)). In order to construct a meaningful place that individuals are inclined to bond with, the migrant women in Kadifekale utilize their tandır ovens. The ovens have become not only a

commercial tool of income source, but also a device for *place making* and creating a new *place experience* for them at the historic and metropolitan heart of the city. It is because of these ovens that the women are able to *revive* some of the "things"—the smell and taste of tandır bread, close neighbourhood relations, chit chat by the ovens while baking...—that they left in their villages back in Mardin. Demirli et al. (2015) state: "In the case of Kadifekale, in terms of olfactory recognition, the public smell of baking on the street and the cooking aromas from houses create a sense of familiarity with the neighborhood and village life back in Mardin. People are used to baking their own bread in the communally-used public ovens so a certain aroma of baking permeates all the neighborhood streets." (2015: 158)

The location selected for the ovens is walking distance to their neighbourhoods but still outside of it. Once the physical components of tandır practice become a part of the outside world, the women dealing with it also start belonging to that part of the city. Thus, assigning the tandır ovens as a part of their homes, expanding to the public realm of Kadifekale, the migrant women reproduce their sense of identity and belonging. They start to *belong* in the city.

The materials used for shelter structures of tandır ovens such as old carpets, alongside with other rambling additions—old sofas, nightstands, coffee tables, chairs and various furniture pieces—obviously belong to a domestic setting (Figures 2.32 and 2.33). Tandır ovens are detached from the private realm of home, yet, at the same time, adapted to reconstruct that very same home in a flimsy, vulnerable way in the middle of the public realm.

Figure 2.32. Tandır ovens, tandır bread selling stands and a passer-by vehichle in Kadifekale.

In a single gesture, the ovens transform a public space into a domestic setting, and a domestic use into a commercial one in public space.

Figure 2.33. Shelter structure, seating units and the wooden counter of a tandır oven in Kadifekale (Source: photos by Can Gündüz).

CHAPTER 3

TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF MUNICIPAL EFFORTS TOWARDS MAKING İZMİR A CITY OF INNOVATION, CULTURE, ART AND DESIGN

İzmir's urban policies has started to take a different turn since 2005. The objective of 'democratic and participatory design/governance' as well as the aspiration of creating 'Mediterranean's city of *culture, art* and *design'* out of İzmir were introduced into İzmir's governance scene. In order to realize these game-changing aims, the brand new directorates were founded, such as *İzmir Mediterranean Academy* (İZMEDA), *İzmir History Project Center* and *İzmir History Design Atelier*. Kadifekale district, due to the potentials it carries with regards to the changing governance scene of İzmir, has greatly received its share of attention from these new directorates.

Alongside of and apart from this innovative approach of the local authorities, their regular municipal duties and operations concerning the city of İzmir are also in progress. Having been declared 1st Degree Archaeological Site (*Decree No. 3234*, 1991; *Decree No. 9513*, 2001; *Decree No. 152*, 2004) and disaster prone area (*Decree No. 15319*, 1978; *Decree No. 3864*, 1981; *Decree No. 11100*, 1998; *Decree No. 5817*, 2003) (Çetin, 2011), Kadifekale emerges once again, standing at the center of urban debates with "renewal" and "regeneration" projects developed and led by the local authorities. Due to its historic value and being at the heart of the city center, Kadifekale remains under the spotlight of municipal interest from both perspectives.

In the light of these developments, the phenomenon of tandır practice which have been carried out by the İzmir-Mardinite migrant women inside the citadels of Kadifekale could not be overlooked by the local authorities. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality made an effort to gain a clear understanding of the phenomenon through several events such as *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır*, and initiatives like *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* and *Kök: Basmane Project*. These events and actors focused specifically on the present situation and possible future of tandır ovens in Kadifekale as well as emphasizing the interdisciplinary character of the

phenomenon and the participatory design intentions of the involved actors in the governance scene.

Thus, in this chapter, I introduce, in chronological order, those events that have directly or indirectly contributed to make tandır ovens in Kadifekale a topic of discussion. My objective is to unfold the present situation of tandır practice in Kadifekale from the perspective of İzmir's transforming governance mechanism and current participatory planning approaches.

In order to accomplish this, I studied the events (namely *İzmir Culture Workshop*, 2009; *İzmir Design Forum*, 2011; *The First* and *Second Sub-regional Workshop*; 2014-2015) organized by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and related directorates through their officially published reports and operation plans. I had access to "İzmir Culture Workshop Report" (2009), "İzmir Design Forum Report" (2012), "Historic Hotels District, Havralar (Synagogues) Region and Anafartalar Street 2nd Stage Operation Plans" (2016), and "İzmir Agora, Kadifekale, First and Second Circle Residential Areas Operation Plans" (2016). I preferred using the English version of a document whenever such a version existed, and cross-checked the terminology from the Turkish and English versions. I utilized "İzmir-History Project Design Strategy Report" (2016) for understanding and explaining *İzmir-History Project*.

Additionally, I benefitted from the information given in the official websites of *İzmir Mediterrenean Academy* (izmeda.org), *İzmir-History Project* and *İzmir-History Design Atelier* (izmirtarih.com.tr), *Kök Projekt* and *Kök: Basmane* (projektkok.com, tr-tr.facebook.com/projektkok, imece.com/proje/kok-basmane) in order to present them in my work.

Lastly, I got the chance to participate in person at *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop* (August 24-September 2, 2015) and *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* first meeting (G.mtg., December 19, 2015), where I used a voice recorder and took notes during the discussions, and took photographs during the site trips.

3.1. İzmir Culture Workshop

On March 29, 2009, following the local election, Prof. İlhan Tekeli, PhD was appointed as one of the chairman advisors of Aziz Kocaoğlu, the mayor of İzmir

Metropolitan Municipality.[7] Followingly, on October 24, 2009, *İzmir Culture Workshop* was held in İzmir Historic Gas Plant Cultural Center. As Kocaoğlu expressed in the opening speech, this event was considered as a big concrete step to "the attempt of building a participatory city democracy." (İzmir Culture Workshop Report, referred to herein as ICWR, 2009)

Thus, 120 people who live/work in or outside of İzmir, yet produce ideas on it—actors of culture, art and design; artists; academicians; national and local opinion leaders on art and culture; and media representatives—were invited by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The invitation of these people who belong to a wide range of occupational groups and disciplines put emphasis on the interdisciplinary character of the event. The level of participation was quite high as 91 out of 120 people attended.

The workshop was organized under the coordinatorship of the chairman advisors İlhan Tekeli, Serhan Ada, and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality executives, and was designed as three consecutive sessions: a collective session, workshops and workshop presentations. The three focal points throughout the event were declared by Tekeli as a) imagining İzmir as a *culture, art* and *design* metropolis, b) connecting İzmir to the network of *Mediterranean* cities, and c) following a participatory planning/governance approach instead of the out-of-date top down mentality (ICWR, 2009: 22).

The participants carried out six simultaneous workshops, which were:

- Cultural Policies Workshop,
- Theater-Cinema and Literature Workshop,
- Visual Arts, Music, Performance Arts Workshop,
- Cultural Heritage Workshop,
- Urban Design Workshop,
- Culture Industries Workshop (ICWR, 2009: 11).

Among these six workshops, *Cultural Heritage Workshop* is the most relevant

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[7] http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bir-baskana-on-danisman-12720478, accessed March 22, 2018.

Tekeli, having been an academic member of Middle East Technical University (METU) Department of Urban and Regional Planning since 1970, and carrying out the duty of advisory committee membership for many local municipalities and institutions, is the founder and member of *World Academy for Local Government and Democracy* Executive Board. Therefore, signing on Tekeli as the chairman advisor of Kocaoğlu was an indicator of the forthcoming transformation process in the governance scene in İzmir.

in the scope of this thesis, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4, "Tandır in the Context of Intangible Cultural Heritage Discourse."

In *İzmir Culture Workshop*, the proposal of founding an 'urban academy' in order to pursue the vision developed for İzmir was also adopted for the first time.

3.2. İzmir Design Forum

After *İzmir Culture Workshop* in 2009, another significant event, *İzmir Design Forum*, was held by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in İzmir Historic Gas Plant Cultural Center on May 31, 2011.[8] The idea of organizing *İzmir Design Forum* was a result of *İzmir Culture Workshop*, which envisioned İzmir as "a city of *design* and *innovation* in the Mediterranean region." (İzmir Design Forum Report, referred to herein as IDFR, 2012: 6)

In *İzmir Design Forum*, the vision of İzmir established in *İzmir Culture Workshop* was underlined once again. In addition, the idea of an 'urban academy' to put this vision into practice is referred for the first time as "İzmir Mediterranean Academy," with the announced three missions: a) advancing the efforts in cultural and historical fields, b) embracing organic agriculture and building the scenario of ecological settlement, c) envisioning İzmir as a city of design and innovation (IDFR, 2012: 14-15).

In the forum report, these main questions concerning the projection of İzmir as a city of design were asked:

1. How can İzmir become a city and a center of design?
2. How can İzmir become a city and a center of design in the Mediterranean region?
3. How can a city be transformed into a city of design? (IDFR, 2012: 80)

In response, this answer statement followed: "In order for İzmir to be a city of design, providing it with designed elements will not suffice. At the same time, the city must produce and the İzmirians must indigenize the idea of design. The goal is to raise

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[8] 77 experts from different industrial fields such as shoe, leather, furniture, fashion, textile, jewelry, etc. participated in the two sessions of the forum. In the morning session, a general discussion on the advantaged and disadvantaged aspects of İzmir on the subject of design took place, while in the afternoon session, eight sector groups came together and associated themselves with the detection and solving of the sector-specific problems.

the quality of life in İzmir, to make it more livable. During the process, İzmir as the city of design will emerge." (IDFR, 2012: 80)

3.3. İzmir Mediterranean Academy

In *İzmir Culture Workshop* in 2009 and *İzmir Design Forum* in 2011, certain decisions, which have shaped the vision of İzmir as a Mediterranean city of innovation, culture, art and design, had been taken. At both events, the necessity of an 'urban academy' to help fulfill this vision was pronounced. As a result, *İzmir Mediterranean Academy* (İZMEDA)[9] was founded on March 12, 2012.

Repeating the aforementioned leading decisions in its manifest, İZMEDA would be actively working to achieve the goals set for İzmir's vision by means of culture, history, innovation, and governance. Here are some of the noteworthy events that İZMEDA organized through the years (in chronological order):

- Publication of the "Design Strategy Report for the Reinforcement of the İzmirians Relationship with the Sea," October 2012.
- First meeting of İzmir History Project in cooperation with the Historical Environment and Cultural Heritage Branch Office, March 9, 2013.
- Archaeology and History Talks – 2: "Smyrna: The Pioneer of City Planning in the West," Prof. Meral Akurgal [Smyrna Excavations Team Leader], November 16, 2013.
- İzmir Ecology Forum, December 7, 2013.
- Archaeology and History Talks - 3: "On the Traces of Contemporary İzmir: Nea Smyrna," Assist. Prof. Akın Ersoy [Nea Smyrna Excavations Team Leader], December 21, 2013.
- Discussion with Ece Temelkuran entitled "Mediterranean Women" as part of the "History and Culture Talks" program, March 22, 2014.
- Discussion with Thierry Fabre, international relations representative of MuCEM of Marseille, entitled "Mediterranean Culture and the Future" as part of the "History and Culture Talks" program, September 25, 2014.
- "International Symposium on History, Culture and Politics of the Mediterranean," 27-28 November, 2014.
- First publication of Pla+form journal, August 2015. (The journal is prepared collectively by İzmir Culture Platform, the initiation of which was facilitated by İzmir Mediterranean Academy Culture and Arts Coordination Unit. Pla+form aims to strengthen the communication between İzmir's arts and culture practitioners and to make their cultural productions more visible.)
- "İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır," organized by İzmir History Project's

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[9] Official website: http://www.izmeda.org, accessed March 24, 2018.

The founder honorary presidents of İZMEDA is Prof. Halil İnalcık, PhD, and Prof. İlhan Tekeli, PhD. The academy has four coordinators; the design coordinator Prof. Tevfik Balcıoğlu, PhD, the history coordinator Assoc. Prof. Alp Yücel Kaya, PhD, the ecology coordinator Prof. Ayşe Filibeli, PhD, the culture and arts coordinator Assoc. Prof. Serhan Ada, PhD.

History Design Atelier group, August 24-September 2, 2015.

- Exhibition at the İzmir History Design Atelier of the ideas produced in "İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır," 15-22 December, 2015.

(selected and edited by the author)

3.4. İzmir-History Project

İzmir-History Project (http://www.izmirtarih.com.tr, accessed March 25, 2018) was launched in 2013 with the intention of "strengthening the relationship of the İzmirians with the history on a 248-hectare area, consisting of the 1st Degree, 2nd Degree and 3rd Degree archaeological and urban listed site areas and Kadifekale urban transformation project," as stated in "İzmir-History Project Design Strategy Report" published in September 2016. The ongoing long-term *İzmir-History Project* has been conducted according to this report, which was put together through a participatory process. In order to carry out the project and facilitate coordination among the actors (i.e., all the related official and private institutions and users of the area), *İzmir-History Project Center* was constituted within the body of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The center administrates the activities of the four sub-units; Project Coordination Unit, Design Atelier, Public Relations, and Archaeology Management Unit. The General Coordinator of *İzmir-History Project* is Gökhan Kutlu, PhD.

According to the design strategy report (2016), *İzmir-History Project* has two main goals:

> Our first goal is to improve the relation of İzmir with its history. This will be done by means of *developing and reconstruction of the urban memory of the İzmirians* concerning their cities. (...) The stock of [archaeological] sources and buildings will build up a visual starting point for creating a historical memory of İzmirians.
> (...)
> *Our second goal is to prevent and reverse the process of rift areas in the project area when the transition of İzmir from a single-centered city of the industrial society to a multi-centered city of the information society is being experienced.* (...) Functions that already exist in the project area are moving out, (...) so that the interdependent relations of the district will not be developed, and buildings in these districts lose their qualities and become damaged. Diversity of the services offered in these areas are reduced, and homogenized by being offered only to *low income people*. Because of the selectivity of the immigration to there, some parts get self-enclosed and turned into ghettos. [emphasis mine] (2016: 71-72)

While criticizing the homogeneous demographic structure of the low income migrant people concentrated in the area, the project surprisingly claims that the *local* community is to be the primary *beneficiaries* of it. Additionally, the İzmirian people and visitors coming from outside the city are designated as the other beneficiaries. The

design strategy report states that *İzmir-History Project* makes an effort to handle a very delicate and difficult dual situation, and describes the problem like this:

> If our purpose was only to reverse this becoming a *rift area* process, the solution would be easy. In a way, as in the 1984 reconstruction plan, a plan by private investors that allow renovations could have been made. But also the historical heritage would have been damaged. The difficulty of our problem is to achieve both the *vitalization* and the *preservation* goals. The existence of reserve areas with different qualities in the project area and the preservation plans make it difficult to execute such vitalizing processes. [emphasis mine] (2016: 72)

İzmir-History Project focuses on Kemeraltı and Its Environment 3rd Degree archaeological and urban site areas, as well as the disaster prone area south of it. The area also includes Kadifekale, Theater, the Agora, Stadium, Altınyol and Altınpark 1st Degree archaeological site areas and the Varyant natural site area (See Figure 3.1). The total size of the project area is approximately 252 ha. (izmirtarih.com.tr, accessed March 24, 2018).

İzmir-History Project area is divided into 19 sub-areas based on the conservation master plans in force, provincial borders, and underground culture layers. These sub-areas are as follows: 1. Agora, 2. Synagogues, 3. Kemeraltı, 4. Fevzi Paşa Avenue, 5. Hotels Area, 6. Kestelli, 7. Konak, 8. Bahribaba, 9. Değirmandağı, 10. Altınyol-Damlacık, 11. Anafartalar Street 2nd Stage, 12. Aya Vuklo Church and its Vicinity, 13. 1st Circle Housing for Public Texture, 14. 2nd Circle Housing for Public Texture, 15. Northern Slope Slum Area, 16. Kadifekale-Antique Theater Area, 17. Southern Slope Landslide Area, 18. İkiçeşmelik-Eşrefpaşa Street, and 19. Anafartalar Street 1st Stage (See Figure 3.2).

Among the 19 sub-areas, the 16th and the 17th are of vital importance to the scope of this thesis. First, the tandır ovens of the migrant women are located within the 16th sub-area, Kadifekale-Antique Theater Area. According to Gökhan Kutlu, that is the main reason İzmir Metropolitan Municipality was interested in the tandır practice in Kadifekale in the first place (Int 2, 2017). Second, the 17th area, which is the Southern Slope Landslide Area is roughly the project area of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*; it consists parts of İmariye, Vezirağa, Hasan Özdemir, Kosova, Yeşildere and 19 Mayıs neighbourhoods.
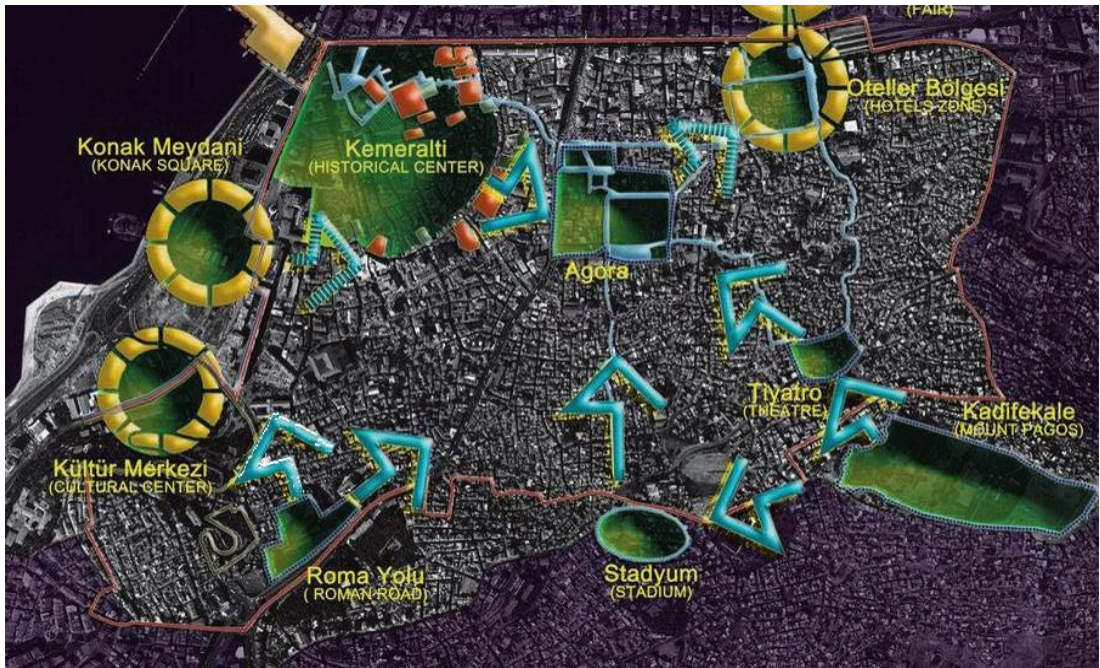
Figure 3.1. İzmir-History Project area conceptual mapping on aerial image. (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties; taken from https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/design_strategy_report, p. 36)
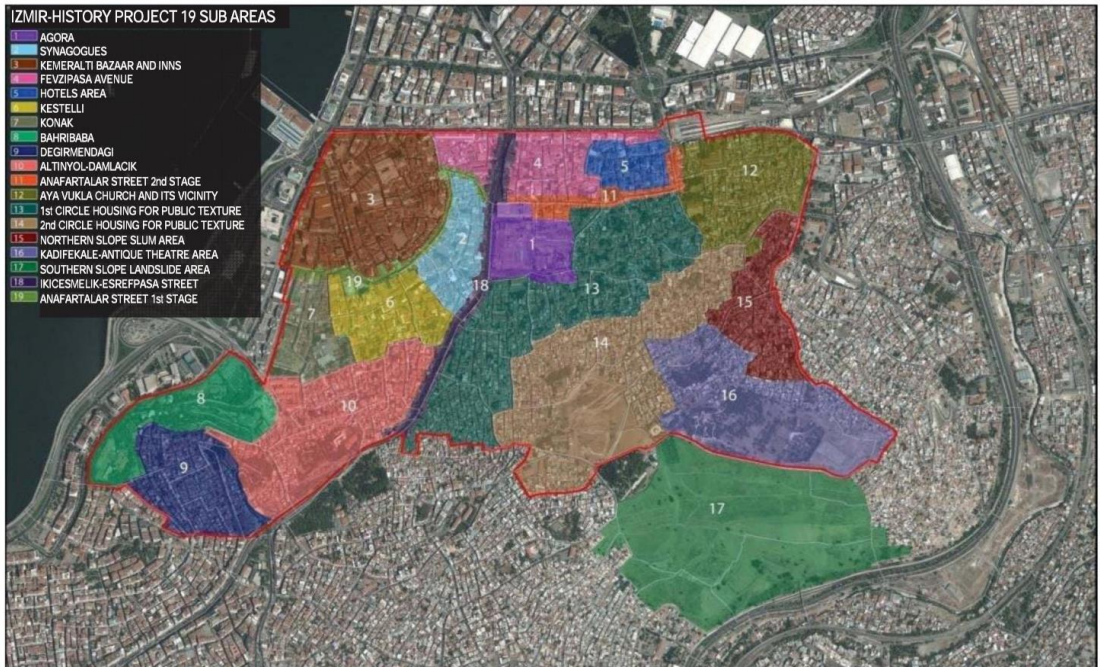
Figure 3.2. İzmir-History Project 19 sub-areas.
(Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/design_strategy_report, p. 100)

3.4.1. İzmir History Design Atelier

İzmir History Design Atelier (http://www.izmirtarih.com.tr/izmir-tarih-tasarim-atolyesi/, accessed March 26, 2018) is one of the four sub-units of *İzmir History Project Center*. Having been active since February 2015, it is located in Pazaryeri neighbourhood, one of the oldest and preserved neighbourhoods of İzmir. The atelier building is at the heart of *İzmir-History Project* area. It is on the walking route which connects the remarkable historical and archaeological areas, starting from Konak Square, along Anafartalar Street, Synagogues, the Agora, and Hatuniye Square to Ancient Theater and Kadifekale.

İzmir History Design Atelier was founded for the purposes of:

- creating a democratic design platform that will produce quality living spaces *for* the local community *with* the local community,

- utilizing design as a driving force to adopt the interventions of urban transformation, urban development and urban revitalization, and developing micro-scale organizational models,

- presenting the area as a source of inspiration for all İzmirians by means of its rich historical background, various types of structures, and different ways of life,

- helping the community dwellers explore their neighbourhoods and popularizing historical consciousness among them,

- bringing out the potential design skills of the local community,

- developing design processes for women, children, the elderly and handicapped people of the community,

- adopting design studies with the local community and designers in order to generate a base for the infrastructure and superstructure work within the scope of İzmir-History Project (selected and translated by the author from http://www.izmirtarih.com.tr/izmir-tarih-tasarim-atolyesi/, accessed March 26, 2018).

In the direction of these purposes, *İzmir History Design Atelier* administrates its event schedule under the title of eight secondary thematic programs which belong to the four main programs: *Araştırma* (Research), *Bilgilen(dir)me* (Inform), *Açığa Çıkarma* (Reveal), *Aktarım* (Transfer). Besides, the eight thematic programs are each

named after a spatial term that refers to the content of the program. For instance, *Avlu* (Courtyard) involves forum-like community meetings where the residents gather together to share ideas, point out their problems and determine their priorities. On the other hand, *Kapı Önü* (Doorstep) consists of low-budget, innovative open and temporary public space designs that allow young designers for application. There are also *Bahçe* (Garden), *Salon* (Living Room), *Misafirlik* (Visit), *Çatı Arası* (Attic), *Depo* (Warehouse), and *Mutfak* (Kitchen).

The program *Mutfak* is significant for this thesis since it is described as a mutual learning platform, where students, designers and residents come together, share knowledge and experience, and produce collectively. Moreover, one of the early events organized as part of *Mutfak* was *Hamurumda Tasarım Var! - İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop* in August 2015, which focused closely on the tandır ovens used by the İzmir-Mardinite migrant women in Kadifekale. This particular event will be further discussed below, for it is one of the few events which centers on the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale, and provides the thesis with the perspective of the local authorities and the changing governance mindset concerning this issue.

3.4.2. The Second Sub-regional Workshop

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality started its studies under the title of *İzmir-History Project* with a meeting held on March 9, 2013. In line with the determination of revitalization, development and conservation activities in the project area, the area was divided into 19 sub-regions which was stated in *İzmir-History Project Design Strategy Report*. Through participation platforms, giving an active role to all the actors concerned with the project was aimed in order to create concrete ideas and proposals for the operations to be performed in the sub-regions (Agora, Kadifekale, First and Second Circle Residential Areas Operation Plans, 2016: 4).

Accordingly, two sub-regional workshops were held in İzmir Historic Gas Plant Cultural Center and their reports were published. *The first sub-regional workshop* was held on August 13-14, 2014. There, operation plans concerning Historic Hotels District, Havralar (Synagogues) Region and Anafartalar Street 2nd Stage were produced and the workshop report was later published in September, 2016. On the

other hand, *the second sub-regional workshop* was held on March 27, 2015, and it was about the Agora, Kadifekale, First and Second Circle Residential Areas. The report containing the operation plans about this area was published in September 2016. It is the second sub-regional workshop and its report that I made use of in the scope of this thesis, since it provides the shared opinions of users and actors from different disciplines on the area. Additionally, it presents the potentials of and the future plans concerning the area, and reveals the current position and the possible future of tandır ovens in Kadifekale with regards to these plans.
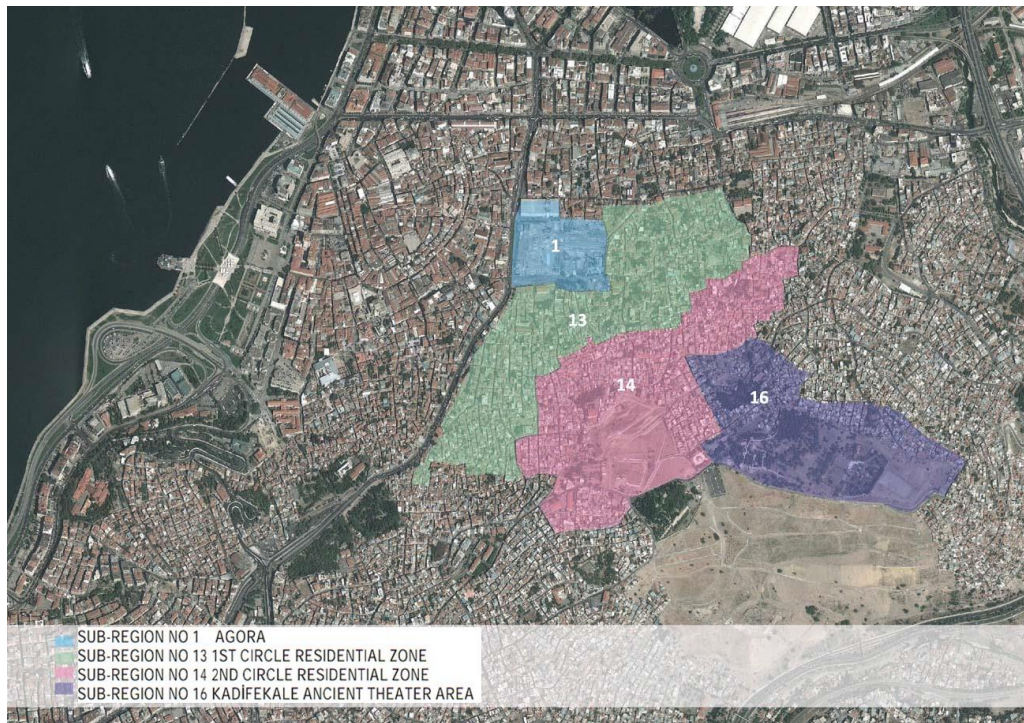
Figure 3.3. Scope of the second sub-regional workshop.
(Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/operation_plans_2, p. 8)

The second sub-regional workshop includes four—the 1st, 13th, 14th, 16th—of the 19 sub-regions of *İzmir-History Project* (See Figure 3.3). The following table shows the distribution of representation in the workshop with regards to occupations. According to the workshop report, it was on purpose to have more numbers of tradesmen and other regional users at all three study desks of the workshop (Agora, Kadifekale, First and Second Circle Residential Areas Operation Plans, 2016: 9). However, significantly low participation level of this group and *muhtar*s (the headmen of neighbourhoods) are noteworthy (See Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. The representation status of İzmir-History Project Second Sub-regional Workshop. (Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/operation_plans_2, p. 10)

Occupation	Invited	Participated
Academician	12	10
Local Authority	10	9
Professional Chambers	6	3
Non-governmental Organization	13	6
Other Public Institutions	8	5
Mukhtar	14	4
Tradesman, User of the Region	8	3
Investor	4	4
Total	**75**	**44**

The workshop results declare the evaluations of participants towards the positive and negative physical qualities of the residential zones—the 13th and 14th sub-regions, northwest neighbours of Kadifekale—(See Table 3.2). Nevertheless, the effect of the absence of *muhtar*s on this evaluation remains a serious issue of concern.

Followingly, the participants of the workshop were asked about their socio-spatial amenity-wise necessities apart from dwelling. After children playgrounds and green spaces, common production spaces for women were the most demanded type of spatial arrangement (ibid, 2016: 15).

What is more, it is stated in the report that a variety of site-specific methods of production that attract attention are observed in the area. To exemplify, gastronomic elements such as stuffed mussels, pickles, *salça* (tomato paste), *Mardin çöreği*, *boyoz* (kinds of traditional pastry), etc. are regarded as products that carry cultural, touristic and commercial value (ibid, 2016: 16-18, 71). It is without a doubt that the same potentials can be seen in the tandır bread baked by migrant Kurdish women inside the citadels of Kadifekale.

In collaboration with İzmir-History Design Atelier and İzmir University of Economics (IUE) Department of Industrial Design, the 3rd year students spent their term by conducting a study on this issue, regarding product design and design management. They proposed a selection of project ideas for different products observed in the area. Among them, the most intriguing one in my opinion was "Pita Lavash" Project developed by Kardelen Cici (ibid, 2016: 71-72), due to its striking resemblance to the tandır practice in Kadifekale.

Table 3.2. Positive and negative physical qualities of the residential zones in the scope of İzmir-History Project Second Sub-regional Workshop (table prepared by the author). (Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/operation_plans_2, p. 14-15)

(+) positive physical qualities	• its views of the city and inspection points created by the topography • providing an experience by being full of surprises due to the narrow streets of the region which were developed as a residential fabric in Ottoman period • the historical and cultural heritage of the region, richness of texture, and layers of traces of history including the Ancient Agora of Smyrna, the Antique Theater, Kadifekale, extremely rich and high quality of the Ottoman residential architecture • being extremely close to the city center
(-) negative physical qualities	• poor condition of the historic buildings: their being worn, destroyed or on the verge of collapse • the existence of unlicenced constructions made in the late period and licenced constructions incompatible with the texture of the region • difficult access by public transportation and lack of parking space • extremely difficult pedestrian traffic • little or no green space • safety issues at night due to insufficient lighting • problematic waste management and pollution of the streets • other infrastructure deficiencies • small number of parks, no definition of public spaces such as squares, lack of urban facilities

In her project, Cici aims to create a production-distribution-consumption chain of *lavaş* bread, which was originally produced by Syrian migrants and demanded by everyone. Cici emphasizes that *lavaş* bread in İkiçeşmelik district is a cultural item which brings people together, and that she intends to utilize this togetherness by also

connecting these three actors: a) the Syrian women who are in need of employment, b) the street vendors who live in the district, and c) the consumers who work in the city center.
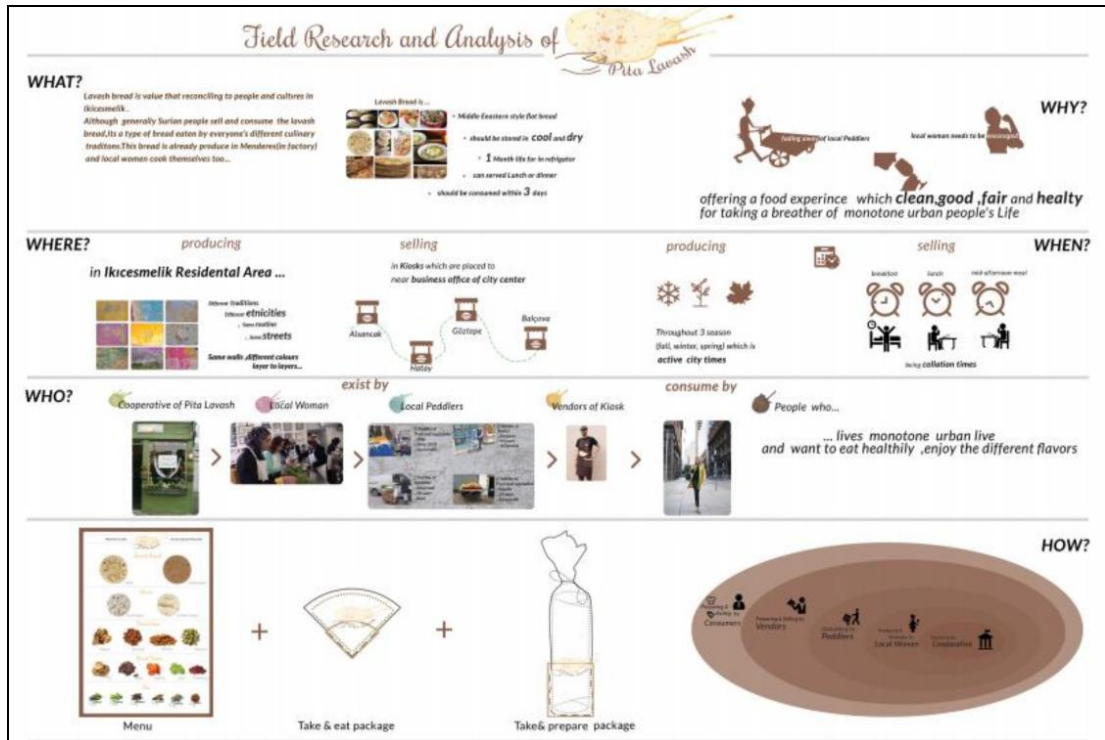
Figure 3.4. "Pita Lavash" Project by Kardelen Cici, IEU.
(Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/diver_city, p. 12)

Cici's system design takes *lavaş* bread from the hands of the migrant women and delivers it to the vendors. As the medium between the producer and the consumer, the vendors deliver it to the people at their lunch breaks in the city center. She proposes to gather the migrant women under the single roof of a cooperative. She utilizes kiosk units as the last step (*"Diver_City" Project*, issuu.com, p. 22, accessed March 27, 2018) (Figure 3.4).

3.4.3. Archaeology and History Park Project

Within the scope of the operation plans of *İzmir-History Project Second Sub-regional Workshop*, *Archaeology and History Park Project* was also involved. *Archaeology and History Park Project* is presumably the second most indicative

project decision made by the local authorities concerning Kadifekale district after *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*. The report of the workshop expresses the idea behind and the execution stages of *Archaeology and History Park Project* as below:

One of the projects that will be addressed on a macro scale is the arrangement of Kadifekale, the Antique Theater and its surroundings as an archaeology and history park. Studies have been started first in approximately 42 ha. geologically hazardous areas located in the west and south of Kadifekale. Approximately 2,000 immovables which were built as squatters in the late period but later gained their titles were demolished after the expropriation by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Reforestation efforts were conducted in the area to prevent soil movement.

In accordance with the 1/1000 scale conservation plan prepared, approved, and enacted by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, Konak Municipality and the relevant district councils and the Conservation Regional Board, expropriation and demolition works were completed. Expropriation of buildings in the 2nd Degree Archaeological Site were included in the 2015-2019 investment program.

This area is intended to be designed as a holistic archaeopark. The purpose is to present a learning place where the excavation activities can be actively monitored, and science of archaeology and the history of the region are introduced and experienced. Many other activities can be implemented in the region such as creative drama, activities for different age groups, etc. (2016: 68-69, edited by the author) (Figure 3.5)
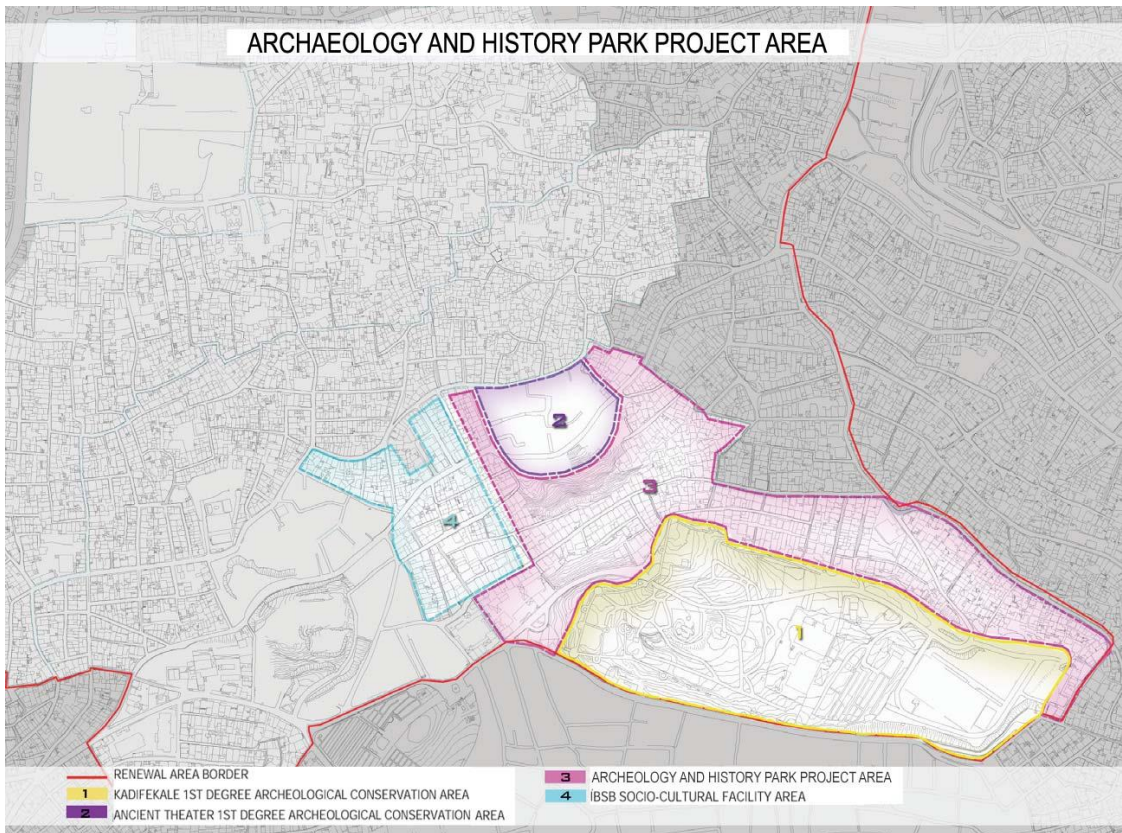
Figure 3.5. Archaeology and History Park Project Area.
(Source: https://issuu.com/izmirtarih/docs/operation_plans_2, p. 70)

Gökhan Kutlu states that Archaeology and History Park Project, guided by the objectives presented above, will be obtained via a national or international competition as decided in the 2018-2019 program of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (Int 2, 2017).

3.5. İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır

İzmir Design Summer School (http://www.izmirtarih.com.tr/hamurumda-tasarim-var/, accessed March 30, 2018) was conducted between August 24-September 2, 2015 in collaboration with İZMEDA and *İzmir History Design Atelier* (Figure 3.6). The main focus of *İzmir Design Summer School* was the tandır ovens which have been mainly used by the İzmir-Mardinite migrant women living in the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Kadifekale.

The summer school was an exceptionally important and meaningful event with regard to İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's primary goal of "transforming İzmir into a city of culture, art and design," and achieving this goal through democratic and participatory practices. In line with these objectives, 20 undergraduate students from different cities of Turkey and from different disciplines were selected as the participants of the summer school. The students conducted their studies as five groups consisting of four people from different disciplines, which were architecture, urban planning, sociology, industrial design and culinary arts. The summer school was coordinated by Nuri Aydın (Architect), and conducted by Murat Arıkut (Industrial Designer) and Can Gündüz, PhD (Architect).

İzmir Design Summer School aimed a design intervention directed to the tandır ovens in Kadifekale. This intervention, according to the structure of the workshop, was intended to be made by interdisciplinary study groups and with a user-driven focus. While the students found the opportunity of working with other disciplines, they also gained consciousness about the user involvement in the design process. The process was prioritized over the end result.

The participants handled the phenomenon of tandır practice in Kadifekale as a potential *tangible*, as well as *intangible* cultural heritage asset which requires conservation through design. The main idea was to improve the conditions of tandır ovens in Kadifekale while keeping them more or less where they are.

Figure 3.6. Call posters of İzmir Design Summer School.
(Source: İzmir History Design Atelier, poster design by Aliosman Kurtuluş)

The discussions and studies were carried out in the light of the late period internal migration history of İzmir, urban memory, and users' positive and negative experiences of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project*. The participants developed their design approaches on the tandır ovens' physical and spatial conditions of use with respect to the socio-cultural structure of Kadifekale and its surroundings.

In order to provide the participants with background information, Ayşegül Sabuktay, PhD, the director of İZMEDA, summarized their goals and achievements. Following this, Çağlayan Deniz Kaplan, PhD, the director of *İzmir History Design Atelie*r, presented the activities İzmir Metropolitan Municipality have carried out in Basmane, Tilkilik, Namazgâh, Kadifekale, Kemeraltı Bazaar, and around Smyrna-İzmir Ancient City Agora. Additionally, Sinan Işık and Serkan Çolak from *Mahzen Photos* (http://www.mahzenphotos.com/, accessed March 30, 2018) shared their experiences in Kadifekale.

After the briefing, the participants were divided into five groups and started their site analyses. They met the migrant women by their ovens, conversed with them and asked them questions about the specifics of the tandır practice they have been carrying out there for years (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). Asst. Prof. Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz,

PhD (IUE Faculty of Science and Literature, Department of Sociology), Assoc. Prof. Zehra Akdemir, PhD, and Asst. Prof. Ferhat Hacıalibeyoğlu, PhD (Dokuz Eylül University [DEU] Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture) also gave presentations.

Figures 3.7. Study groups of İzmir Design Summer School on the site.
(Source: photo by Can Gündüz)

Figures 3.8. A study group of İzmir Design Summer School conversing with a tandır woman. (Source: photo by Mahzen Photos)

Figure 3.9. Workshop poster of Group 2: *Tandır Cepte, Ekmek Ateşte*.
(Source: İzmir History Design Atelier, edited by the author)
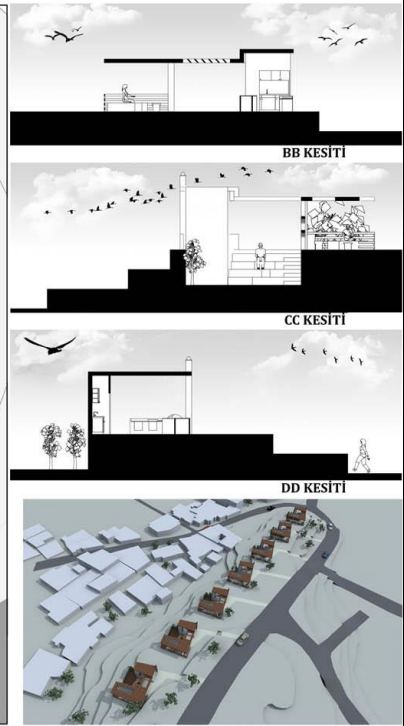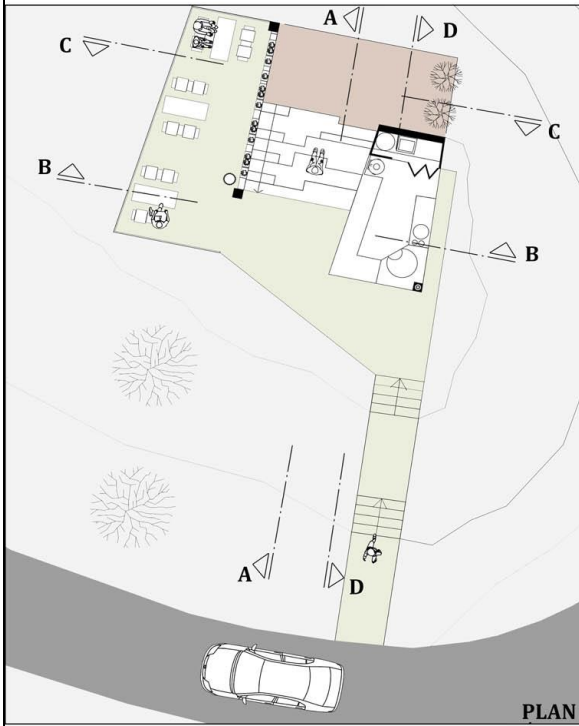
Figure 3.10. Workshop poster of Group 5: *Ateş, Su, Toprak / TANDIR*.
(Source: İzmir History Design Atelier, edited by the author)

The project names of the study groups were as follows:

- Group 1: *Sosyal Koridor* (Social Corridor)

- Group 2: *Tandır Cepte, Ekmek Ateşte* (Tandır in Pocket, Bread in Fire)

- Group 3: *Açıl Tandır Açıl* (Open Tandır!)

- Group 4: *Ekolojik Tandır* (Ecological Tandır)

- Group 5: *Ateş, Su, Toprak / TANDIR* (Fire, Water, Earth / TANDIR)

As a result of the studies of the five groups, here are some of the highlighted arguments and proposals:

- The area should be approached with a holistic view.

- Design interventions should not be limited with the area where the tandır ovens are located and its surroundings. Kemeraltı, the Agora, Basmane, Kadifekale should be handled together with a participatory approach and needed physical improvements should be made. Walking routes covering these areas should be adopted.

- The residents of the area—especially women and children—should be integrated into the city. Tandır ovens are the most important connection points with the city for the migrant women in Kadifekale. Since they went through the harsh experience of forced migration as the female members of their families, this group should be handled specifically and carefully.

- Ecological/sustainable applications on the tandır practice should be developed.

During the workshop, a noteworthy incident took place, involving Konak Municipality's police forces taking action to bring down the protective shelters of tandır ovens in response to a complaint. Such a "legal" intervention to these tandır ovens in the midst of a workshop that valorizes their in-situ existence, conducted by the metropolitan municipality was quite telling in terms of displaying the two different modes of operation agendas (i.e., legal-executive and cultural-political) of the local authorities.

3.6. Kadifekale Tandır Platform First Meeting

The first and only meeting of *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* was held in *İzmir History Design Atelier* on December 19, 2015 with the participation of a group of

academicians and urban professionals from İzmir.[10] *Kadifekale Tandır Platform*, in this meeting, gathered together many of the actors whom this chapter involves. Each actor handled the tandır practice in Kadifekale from their disciplinary perspective and in accordance with the institutional position they represent. As a result, through this event, the interdisciplinary and pluralistic approach in the decision making mechanism of the local authorities was emphasized once again.

Tekeli, in his opening speech, stated that the case of tandır in Kadifekale is a challenging one above all, because of its location—being illegally on state land/archaeological site and related issues—, and that there is an extroverted, unique way of production in the area. Tekeli believes that this case demonstrates a strong potential that will enrich *İzmir-History Project* with its authenticity (G.mtg. 1, 2015).

The importance of the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale with regards to *İzmir-History Project*, according to Tekeli, lies not in tandır's being the migrants' both economic and existential survival tool. Rather, it should be perceived as an issue related to memory. In order for the tandır practice to be more than a temporary situation and a mere glimpse in the urban memory, we must search for the qualities in this practice to prevent it from being *erased* from the memory of Kadifekale. What is needed here is a reference point to connect it to the urban memory and history of İzmir (G.mtg. 1, 2015).

Tekeli disagrees with the idea of clearing the tandır ovens from the area, while accepting the challenges that come with the 1st Degree Archaeological Site Area status of Kadifekale. Instead, he encourages to keep at least some of them as they are, while renovating the others. In this way, the *old* and *new* versions of tandır ovens will be able to exist side by side, and refer to the historical continuum. Tekeli attaches importance to preserving the *story* of tandır practice as it is carried out inside the

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[10] Prof. İlhan Tekeli, PhD, Asst. Prof. Akın Ersoy, PhD (DEU Faculty of Letters, Department of Archaeology; Head of the Antique Smyrna Excavation), Inst. Can Gündüz, PhD (IZTECH Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture), Çağlayan D. Kaplan, PhD (Architect, Chief of İzmir History Design Atelier), Assoc. Prof. Deniz Güner, PhD (DEU Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture), Assoc. Prof. Ela Çil, PhD (IZTECH Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture), Gökhan Kutlu, PhD (Architect, Head of the Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties, General Coordinator of İzmir History Project), Asst. Prof. Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz, PhD (IUE Faculty of Science and Letters, Department of Sociology), Assoc. Prof. Nezihat Köşklük Kaya, PhD (DEU Faculty of Architecture, Department of Restoration), Nuri Aydın (Architect, conductor of İzmir Design Summer School), Semi Hakim (founder of Kök Projekt, conductor of Kök: Basmane), etc.

citadels of Kadifekale: A baking method that is traditionally used for domestic purposes starts to be the primary economic and existential survival tool of the migrants in the urban realm. Tekeli asks, if this story gets lost, then *what* is worth preserving? (G.mtg. 1, 2015)

Agreeing with Tekeli, Nezihat Köşklük Kaya approaches the case from the conceptual perspectives of 'spatial memory' and 'intangible cultural heritage.' Kaya emphasizes that the notion of preserving *intangible* cultural assets along with the tangible heritage is quite new and requires a multidisciplinary way of thinking, which cannot be separated from conservation as a field of study. She continues, "Turkey acceded to *the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2006. But we have yet to adapt our conservation legislation accordingly. We are interested with the tangible aspect of our cultural heritage, the part which is related to the built environment. However, we do not pay enough attention to the preservation of intangible assets, which, in fact, carry bigger value. Intangible cultural assets are extremely important, because they provide distinction."[11] (G.mtg. 2, 2015)

Kaya affirms that what is valuable in the case of tandır in Kadifekale is how the migrant women carried this tradition along with themselves from Mardin to İzmir, and how they adapted it to Kadifekale. She adds that most importantly, the practitioners of this traditional activity are still alive, which means that the tradition is also alive—for now (G.mtg. 2, 2015).

Followingly, Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz draws attention on the *gecekondu* history of Kadifekale that goes back at least 60 years, and supports Kaya on her 'spatial memory' emphasis. Demirtaş-Milz proposes that an oral history study to be conducted in the area will include and benefit the tandır practice as well (G.mtg. 3, 2015).

Akın Ersoy, on the other hand, conflicts with the opinions above in the context of the "strict" 1st Degree Archaeological Site status and *Archaeology and History Park Project* concerning the area. Ersoy claims that it will not be possible to keep the tandır ovens inside a 1st degree archaeological site and the future boundaries of *Archaeology and History Park*, inside the citadels of Kadifekale, will have to be maintained as a highly restricted zone (G.mtg. 4, 2015). Gökhan Kutlu objects to this, expressing that *Archaeology and History Park Project* is envisioned as an open public area that will

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[11] transcribed to text from the audio-recording of the meeting (G.mtg., 2015) and translated to English by the author.

allow free access to and movement inside (G.mtg. 5, 2015). In response to this, Ersoy still suggests relocating the tandır ovens outside the archaeological site and project areas and states that it is the only acceptable way to resolve the issue (G.mtg. 4, 2015).

Akın Ersoy concludes with this striking statement, reminding about the vulnerable nature of the overall situation: "We are discussing this phenomenon with regards to its many aspects at the moment, which is valuable, but the local authority may decide to demolish the tandır ovens any given time. The risk is always there, standing in front of all the effort made here and will be made in the future."[12] (G.mtg. 4, 2015)

3.7. Kök: Basmane

Kök: Basmane is a project of *Kök Projekt* (projektkok.com/projects/, facebook.com/pg/projektkok/, accessed April 1, 2018) network that aims to preserve the food culture of Basmane region in collaboration with İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and *İzmir History Design Atelier*. *Kök: Basmane Project* started in March 2016 and it intends to set up a district market called *Basmane Bazaar*, and a licenced food production site in the upcoming years. The project is also a solid effort directly concerning the tandır practice in Kadifekale.

Kök Projekt is a "food entrepreneurship network;" it is "a platform for food, agriculture and water entrepreneurs to create solutions on global food challenges." (projektkok.com, accessed April 1, 2018). They define their mission and achievements as follows:

> Kök Projekt is all about the future of food and believes that it is only possible to provide a future for food by adopting a circular approach. Our circular approach helps the product's journey to continue after consumption. It is a professional network of food entrepreneurship which brings people with ideas and people with the power to realize these ideas together. Kök Projekt understands the needs of your entrepreneurship and helps you build the project that will put your ideas in motion.
>
> What we have achieved:
> • Provided food based solutions to governmental organisations, NGOs and private companies.
> • Crafted food based solutions for social integration projects.
> • Organised various events to support the food entrepreneurship ecosystem in Turkey.

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[12] transcribed to text from the audio-recording of the meeting (G.mtg., 2015) and translated to English by the author.

- Raised awareness towards food, agricultural and water entrepreneurship in Turkey.
- Expanded global food entrepreneurship networks to Turkey. (ibid)

According to the interview Cangül Kuş (kentyasam.com)[13] conducted with Semi Hakim, one of the founders of *Kök Projekt* and one of the creators and conductors of *Kök: Basmane*, the idea behind *Kök: Basmane* is to apply a social integration project on a neighbourhood scale through *food*. Hakim states that the project aims to trace the elements of food culture of the residents of Basmane, to document them in order to form a collective memory, and to preserve these cultural assets in the region. What *Kök: Basmane* hopes to ultimately achieve is to establish a district market and a food production site, in which vocational training courses can be taught to increase employment rate in the area. Hakim believes that a local development model specific to Basmane can be built out of this process and it can be transferred to other cities of Turkey as well.Hakim hopes to start the kitchen training courses in Basmane as of September-October 2018, and food service as of winter.

Semi Hakim claims that the starting point of *Kök: Basmane Project* is the tandır practice—the tandır bread and ethnic ovens—in Kadifekale. He explains that the tandır practice in Kadifekale inspired the project by means of its traditional way of production in a non-traditional setting in the urban space, and the intercultural and multilingual togetherness of people involving in the processes of production, vendition and consumption (Figure 3.11).

Hakim, when asked about how the relations progressed between *Kök: Basmane* and the relevant institutions in İzmir, states that the support of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and *İzmir History Design Atelier* on site investigations and analyses put the project on a solid ground. Thus, he adds that, from the first presentation in 2016 to this day, this support and interest has never ceased. Hakim thinks that it is because the local authorities, too, are aware that *Kök: Basmane* is a project capable of changing the identity and the branding potential of a district like Basmane; it has the power to alter the perception towards it.

According to Hakim, İzmir is a convenient city to take action faster in comparison with İstanbul, due to the positively changing governance mindset of the

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[13] "Gıda girişimciliğinde İzmir'den bir örnek: Kök Basmane," kentyasam.com, accessed April 22, 2018. http://www.kentyasam.com/gida-girisimciliginde-izmirden-bir-ornek-kok-basmane-yhbrdty-4127.html. Selected and translated from the original Turkish version by the author.

local authorities. He believes that İzmir will definitely be a pioneering model for food entrepreneurship (ibid).

Thus far, within the process of *Kök: Basmane*, the events organized are as follows:

Figure 3.11. Tandır lady and tandır breads inside the oven, captured during Kök: Basmane site investigation. (Source: photos by Aren Arda Kaya, https://www.facebook.com/pg/projektkok/)

- *Son Çarşamba I: Kök Basmane Kadın Buluşmaları* (Last Wednesday I: Kök Basmane Women's Meeting) was held in *İzmir History Design Atelier* on October 26, 2016. In collaboration with *Agora Sosyal Yaşam Atölyesi* (Agora Social Life Atelier), the women living in the region were invited to tell about the stories of the home-made traditional food they brought along to the meeting, to document their recipes and to taste them together (Figures 3.12 and 3.13). Although having been intended to be routinized on every last Wednesday of the month, this meeting is the

one and only women's meeting held so far.

- A search meeting was held by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, *İzmir History Design Atelier* and *Kök Projekt* in İzmir Historic Gas Plant Cultural Center on November 14, 2016.

- A meeting was held in Originn Foodlab on March 6, 2018.

- *Kök: Basmane Project* became a part of *imece* Platform after the mid-evaluation carried out by the initiative on March 20-21, 2018. The Turkish word *imece* means "collective volunteer work" by definition. Thus, *imece* defines itself as a "social innovation platform that connects the individuals and institutions who gather around social issues with various sources." The platform chooses its themes with respect to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals proposed by the UN (UN.org, accessed April 2, 2018).

Kök: Basmane, according to *imece*, is the challenge of providing the migrants from Mardin, Diyarbakır, Syria, etc. living in Basmane region with the opportunity of creating their own economic value under a legal roof. The main focuses of the project are: a) to increase and strengthen the economically active female population in the region and b) utilizing food as a device in favor of social integration (imece.com, accessed April 2, 2018).

Figure 3.12. Kök Basmane Women's Meeting, İzmir History Design Atelier, October 26, 2016. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/Izmirtarihprojesi/)

Figure 3.13. Kök Basmane Women's Meeting, home-made traditional food samples.
(Source: https://www.facebook.com/Izmirtarihprojesi/)

3.8. Afterword

The individual interview I conducted with Gökhan Kutlu, the Head of the Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties and the General Coordinator of *İzmir-History Project*, on November 22, 2017 also provided the thesis with very beneficial first hand information. Kutlu clearly states that relocating of the tandır ovens from their current location, even if not removing completely, is inevitable:

> *"İzmir-History Project and related Archaeology and History Park Project aspire to turn the area inside the citadels of Kadifekale into a center of attraction, not just for the tourists but for the İzmirians as well. One of the main goals of the projects is to strengthen the relationship between İzmirians and the history of İzmir, and Kadifekale is a very significant historical reference. Thus, we attach importance to its vitality and functionality; we want people to experience and relate to Kadifekale for a variety of reasons. That is why we are conducting social and spatial studies regarding the area.*
>
> *For that matter, the area inside the citadels of Kadifekale, too, should be*

handled accordingly. In a 1st degree archaeological site area, you cannot harm the cultural layers with structures like tandır ovens. Likewise, you cannot carry out such commercial activities. That is to say, the tandır ovens cannot be kept in the area under these circumstances.

Through İzmir Design Summer School*, we anticipated having an idea of the tandır practice: the significance of it with regards to the residents of Kadifekale, by whom the tandır ovens are used, what kind of contribution the practice does to the lives of them and their families, etc. As a result, we observed that this practice does not generate an evenly distributed source of income for the local community. Rather, only certain families make use of the tandır ovens. Meaningful as it is, we think that transforming this practice into a more inclusive way of production will be more suitable. That is why we propose to gather the tandır practice as well as other gastronomic activities in the area under the roof of a cooperative:* Pagos Kadın Kooperatifi *(Pagos Women's Cooperative). This way, we aim to feature the true value of these unique ways of production and utilize it for serving the whole community."*
(Int. 2, 2017)

Gökhan Kutlu, in his statement above, supports the argument that the phenomenon of tandır stands in the midst of a two-way municipal operational mechanism: On the one hand, it is a potential obstacle to be eliminated in the near future. On the other hand, it remains as a unique cultural, traditional asset at the center of multi-layered policies of local authorities.

In the background of this municipal policy context towards urban issues related to tandır, now we can begin to discuss further the theoretical approaches informing the intangible cultural heritage value of the case.

CHAPTER 4

TANDIR IN THE CONTEXT OF
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE DISCOURSE

Informally built inside the citadels of İzmir's historic Kadifekale Castle, a 1st degree archaeological site with layers of Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantian and Ottoman past, the ethnic tandır oven units of the migrant İzmir-Mardinite Kurdish community confront the local governance authorities with a unique challenge for more democratically planning the city's ongoing urban heritage making practices. Tandır ovens, in their traditional settings in the predominantly rural southeastern region of Turkey, serve domestic needs. Its use as an income generator in Kadifekale emerges in early 1990s as an economic coping strategy of the migrant women. To produce and sell tandır bread out of a desperation to secure their much needed means of household subsistence, these ovens are being consistently used solely by certain eight to ten women from the İzmir-Mardinite community, which further introduces a gender-sensitive challenge to urban governance for more equitable, sustainable and effective policies towards them. Moreover, the tandır ovens constitute an active and highly frequented public space essential to the migrant Mardinite communities' inhabitation of their locale, substantially generating their senses of identity and belonging to that place as well. As these ovens take on totally new, hybrid and multi-layered cultural meanings in the lives of the migrant Mardinite community, the political meanings of their "informal" status multiply as well.

In the summer of 2015, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized an interdisciplinary student workshop called *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır*, focusing on the possible design futures of these tandır units, in a way to particularly address the 'tandır question' posed by the seemingly irreconcilable categories of Kadifekale's cultural heritage, i.e., *formal* and *informal*, *tangible* and *intangible*, *monumental* and *non-monumental*... After that, in order to discuss the outcomes of *İzmir Design Summer School* and the 'tandır question' in general, *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* initiative gathered together a few months later. In 2016, *Kök: Basmane Project* was launched. Through this project, the municipality sought

the ways to empower local women by formalizing their informal economic activities. All of the three events mentioned above were directly concerned about the tandır issue in Kadifekale, and its connection to the concept of 'intangible cultural heritage' was pronounced during these events.

Drawing on the findings of the previous chapters, this chapter offers three focal points towards: a) the emergence and evolution of 'intangible cultural heritage' as a new discourse in conservation area, b) introducing and positioning the phenomenon of tandır practice in Kadifekale in the framework of the ongoing discussion on intangible culture heritage, and c) local authorities' approach to the equitable treatment of the tandır phenomenon and the different iterations of intangible cultural heritage as a form of *living history in the present* with its implications on urban heritage planning for social diversity and integration.

4.1. From Tangible to Intangible Cultural Heritage

4.1.1. The Concept of *Intangibility* Emerges

Since World War II, UNESCO has supported world heritage initiatives, starting with *tangible heritage*—immovable and movable—, followed by *natural heritage*, and now focusing on *intangible heritage*. These three seemingly separate heritage categories have started to be discussed with an increasing awareness of their interrelatedness (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004).

UNESCO defines 'cultural heritage' as "the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations," (UNESCO.org, accessed: April 12, 2018) and exhibits its two main categories as tangible and intangible cultural heritage. *Tangible heritage* is defined as "a monument, group of buildings or site of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value," and *natural heritage* is defined as "outstanding physical, biological, and geological features; habitats of threatened plants or animal species and areas of value on scientific or aesthetic grounds or from the point of view of conservation." (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004) According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), the concept of natural heritage constitutes a model for intangible heritage "as a

totality, rather than as an inventory, and for calculating the intangible value of a living system, be it natural or cultural." (2004: 53)

There are many official organizations (regional, national, and multinational, including UNESCO and ICOMOS [*International Council on Monuments and Sites*]) and documents (proclamations, recommendations, conventions, charters, codes, etc.) that raise concern about cultural heritage, but they generally focus on its tangible, monumental form. The early proclamations were not really interested in the *heritage* aspect of the issue; they perceived it as a problem of architectural conservation. Ruggles and Silverman (2009) argue that the international congress of architects held in Madrid and the following *Madrid Charter* (1904) were significant in that regard: Because the architects stated that "living monuments ought to be restored so that they may continue to be of use, for in architecture utility is one of the bases of beauty." That said, the interrelationship of built form and human society was acknowledged and the value of human usage was emphasized. This charter also set forth the concepts of *living* and *dead* monuments: A dead monument was a monument that had lost its meaning to living people.

Later on, in 1931, *the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* reconstructed the idea in Madrid and added: "The occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character." In general terms, throughout the 20th century, there were changes of perception towards the nature of the monuments that were to be safeguarded, the way of preservation that was to be achieved, and the purpose of historic preservation (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009).

In the aftermath of the two World Wars, *permanence* was specifically valued when international agencies were evoked by the sight of destroyed monuments to take measures to protect them. Hence, *the Washington Pact (the Roerich Pact)* in 1935 and the 1954 *Hague Convention (Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict)* respectively proposed the neutrality of historic buildings and the need for preservation of cultural property in times of war. The Hague Convention suggested a very broad definition of *cultural property*:

> Movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as

scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above.

After the Athens Charter, a conversion in preservation techniques regarding the way of utilizing new materials was also realized. While the Athens Charter allowed the use of reinforced concrete in unstable structures, it defended that the new material be concealed in order to preserve the historic character of the monument. On the contrary, the 1964 *ICOMOS International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (also known as *the Venice Charter*) put emphasis on differentiating between the original fabric and the additional material, so that "restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence."

Later on in 1972, with *UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the World Heritage Convention)*, which was a binding convention and was more effective than the previous charters and pacts, the concept of 'world heritage' made an appearance on the global stage. Here, it was strictly emphasized that the loss of any cultural or natural heritage is regarded as "a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all nations of the world." The 1972 World Heritage Convention also provided a static definition of cultural and natural heritage (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009).

However, William Logan, UNESCO Chair of Heritage and Urbanism states, the arguments about the inequality of representation opportunity of nations that do not belong in the Western world—essentially Europe and North America—are seen most cleary in the *World Heritage System*, which is UNESCO's flagship programme created under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. When the *World Heritage List*, which was the system's masterpiece, created in the late 1970s is examined, one can notice that nearly two-thirds of the 216 Cultural Places inscribed in the 1996–2000 period were European. This biased Eurocentric approach seriously jeopardizes the reliability of such programmes (Aygen, 2013).

According to Ruggles and Silverman (2009), the 1964 Venice Charter was the most important among others since it drew the theoretical framework of preservation and restoration. However, it was firmly criticized by *the Nara Convention*, at which ICOMOS was supported by UNESCO and ICCROM (*The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property*), and the following *ICOMOS 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity*, due to its definition of heritage which

was based on Western models that prioritized permanence, and its narrowly defined categories of authenticity (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009; Glendinning, 2013). In fact, a shift in the focus of heritage preservation had been seen by the 1980s to expand the perception of cultural values in order to embrace the nations other than UNESCO's primarily Western ones. So, the Nara Document stated as follows:

> Article 11. *All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture.* It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged *within the cultural contexts to which they belong.*
>
> Article 12. Therefore, it is of the highest importance and urgency that, within each culture, recognition be accorded to the specific nature of its heritage values and the credibility and truthfulness of related information sources.
>
> Article 13. Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include *form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling,* and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined. [emphasis mine]

The Nara Document was indeed an impactful one, and brought a new perspective for the concepts of *permanence*, *authenticity* and *truthfulness* regarding heritage preservation. Having stated that different cultural heritage values exist for different cultures, it broke the bond between permanence and authenticity, and introduced *ephemerality* as a possible legitimate characteristic of historic heritage assets (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009; Aygen, 2013). As Joan Domicelj, Australian heritage architect-planner noted, "Nara told us authenticity did not require any significant place to stay *frozen* as is − that the outstanding values of a place could be sustained dynamically, so long as the stories remained credible and truthful." (Glendinning, 2013)

In 1989, along with *UNESCO's Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*, the heritage preservation discourse went through a process of transformation, in spite of the negative criticism the recommendation received. Kurin (2004), in his article "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal," gave place to the reviews of a global conference that was gathered at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in 1999: "That conference found the UNESCO Recommendation to be a somewhat ill-

construed, top-down, state oriented, soft international instrument that defined traditional culture in essentialist, tangible, archival terms, and had little impact around the globe upon cultural communities and practitioners." (2004: 68)

By the mid-1990s, international awareness of and the discussion about the consequences of globalization had drastically increased. According to the affirmations of cultural observers around the world, local, regional, and even national traditions confronted with disregard and extinction. The profound impact of global mass culture caused concerns about whether these traditions, practices and knowledge of generations would be able to be transferred to the next generation (Kurin, 2004).

As a result, and under the influential leadership of Kōichirō Matsuura, UNESCO's Director-General from 1999 to 2009, *UNESCO's Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* (1998) programme was instituted. In 2001, the first 19 Masterpieces were declared, "ranging from Chinese *kunqu* opera to the balaphone tradition of Guinea, from Sicilian puppetry to the disappearing oral tradition of an Amazonian rain-forest community, from the practice of Dominican confraternities to the cultural space of Morocco's famed Jemaa El-Fna Square in Marrakesh." (Kurin, 2004: 69) The programme received immediate positive reactions and was influential with regards to bringing public attention to the diversity of traditions and encouraging governments to take action to safeguard them.

Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity programme continued in 2003 with an additional 28 Masterpieces and another 43 in 2005. It was perceived as a correction of the World Heritage List, and superseded by the *UNESCO Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2008 (Kurin, 2004).

Strongly inspired by approaches to natural heritage as living systems in their entirety, and the Japanese concept of 'Living National Treasure,'[14] which, as early as 1950, included *human beings* in their national patrimony (Kurin, 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004), a document published in 2001 led to a shift from *artefacts* to *practitioners*, and their knowledge and skills in the matter of preserving the cultural heritage and traditions. Namely the *Report on the Preliminary Study on the Advisability of Regulating Internationally, through a New Standard-setting*

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[14] "It is a Japanese popular term for those individuals certified as 'Preservers of Important Intangible Cultural Properties' by the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology as based on Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties."
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Living_National_Treasure_(Japan), accessed April 14, 2018.

Instrument, the Protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore, the 2001 document recognized the significance of widening the scope of intangible heritage and effective means to safeguard it. It proposed 'a new international normative instrument,' which was called 'intangible cultural heritage' (Article 26), and stated its major objectives as follows:

> Article 24. (...) Major objectives to be considered for such an international instrument are: (a) to conserve human creations that may disappear for ever; (b) to give world recognition; (c) to strengthen identity; (d) to enable social cooperation within and between groups; (e) to provide historical continuity; (f) to enhance the creative diversity of humanity; (g) to foster enjoyment.
>
> The basic principles of such a new instrument might be:
> (a) that intangible cultural heritage be fundamentally safeguarded through creativity and enactment by the agents of the communities that produce and maintain it;
> (b) that the loss of intangible cultural heritage can only be prevented by ensuring that the meanings, enabling conditions and skills involved in its creation, enactment and transmission can be reproduced;
> (c) that any instrument dealing with intangible cultural heritage facilitate, encourage and protect the right and capacity of communities to continue to enact their intangible cultural heritage through developing their own approaches to manage and sustain it;
> (d) that sharing one's culture and having a cultural dialogue foster greater overall creativity as long as recognition and equitable exchanges are ensured.

In brief, in heritage discourse, the transition from *permanence* to *impermanence*, from *fixed* to *living*, from *objective* to *relative*, from *art-historical* to *cultural*, from *object-focused* to *process-oriented*, from *tangible* to *intangible*, as well as the meaning of heritage to contemporary populations were questioned during the 20th century (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009; Glendinning, 2013: 403). Therefore, in the light of the progress made by the local, regional, national and multinational initiatives mentioned above, *the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was held in 2003.

4.1.2. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which was held in Paris in October 2003 aspired to accomplish the major purposes below:

> (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
> (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and

individuals concerned;
(c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
(d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.

Logan (2007) defines intangible cultural heritage as "heritage that is embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects." It is important to note that the literature addressing the topic still mostly question the definitions of intangibility and intangible cultural heritage. Ruggles and Silverman (2009) claim that this may be because the Convention is quite new, and the meanings and values that the concepts carry are inherently complex. As the most significant reference point, here are the definition and the categories of intangible cultural heritage declared by The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003):

Article 2.1. The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

Article 2.2. The "intangible cultural heritage," (...) is manifested inter alia in the following domains:
(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
(b) performing arts;
(c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
(d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
(e) traditional craftsmanship.

The 2003 Convention text clearly describes intangible cultural heritage as a dynamic, *living* phenomenon, which is a) "transmitted from generation to generation," and b) "constantly recreated by communities and groups." So, intangible heritage is directly associated with non-monumentality, ephemerality, vitality, diversity, etc., and separated from tangible heritage categories. Another noteworthy emphasis of the text is its description of the effective factors on the *recreation* of traditions. It states that the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills are constantly reproduced "in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history," and as a result, "provide them with a *sense of identity* and *continuity*." Thus,

intangible heritage is regarded as an essential part of community identity and the sense of belonging—especially minority groups and indigenous populations—(Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Ruggles and Silverman, 2009), of which the case study of this thesis generates a unique representation.

Blake (2015) claims that the 2003 Convention has vastly affected the international cultural heritage law-making paradigm, and changed its perception from an approach "that gives value predominantly to the material heritage—monuments, sites, artefacts and other objects—to one that celebrates a living heritage that is primarily located in the skills, knowledge and know-how of contemporary human beings." What is more, it has brought to the fore the humans/communities that are the *creators* of heritage in heritage safeguarding instead of *products* that are valuable heritage-wise.

Turkey acceded to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in March 27, 2006.

The 2003 Convention was followed by *Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2004. The declaration stated that "as intangible cultural heritage is constantly recreated, the term authenticity as applied to tangible cultural heritage is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage." (Glendinning, 2013) This statement and the title of the declaration itself presented the still-ongoing indecision caused by tangible/intangible way of categorization of heritage and ignoring the fact that the two cultural heritage categories are deeply interconnected.

Additionally, an updated set of *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* was issued in 2005, combining the two groups of criteria of authenticity (Paragraph 82): The old criteria of materially based authenticity—form and design, materials and substance, location and setting—and the new—traditions; technology; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; *spirit and feeling*—(Glendinning, 2013). The most current version of the document, which is the 2017 Operational Guidelines, contains the exact same criteria of authenticity as the 2005 version. They are as follows: • form and design; • materials and substance; • use and function; • traditions, techniques and management systems; • location and setting; • language, and other forms of intangible heritage; • spirit and feeling; and • other

internal and external factors (Paragraph 82).

4.1.3. Arguments against The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The emergence of intangible cultural heritage as a new approach to the preservation of local cultural traditions around the world also accompanied new discussions concerning the subject. The 2003 Convention [for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage] text and implementation methods of the 2003 Convention have been thoroughly discussed and criticized.

Selcan Gürçayır (2011) presents the reactions received on national and international levels in her article "A Critical Reading on the Convention for the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage." Referring to Kurin (2004), she explains why the term *intangible* was chosen: "The technical, somewhat awkward term 'intangible cultural heritage' was selected because of the many difficulties cultural workers and scholars have encountered in an international, comparative context, with the use and misunderstanding of such terms as *folklore*, *oral heritage*, *traditional culture*, (...), *customs*, *living cultural heritage*, *popular culture* [emphasis mine]." But again, as Kurin (2004) states, "Many people – educated experts as well as community members from around the world who hold such heritage will not know what 'intangible cultural heritage' means." Thus, explaining the term and understanding the actual meaning behind it is an issue all by itself.

According to Gürçayır (2011), in Turkey, nationalist concerns towards the Convention text bring along the confusion of Turkish intellectuals. On the one hand, the text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is interpreted as a conspiracy plan of "external powers" which aims to break the unitary system of the government. On the other hand, the same text is evaluated as being very far from representing the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities, since it is bound to government approval.

Gürçayır (2011) observes that the concern of losing *intangible* cultural heritage assets and the fear of failure to transmit them to next generations is not as strong as the concern of losing *tangible* cultural heritage. This may be because the idea of preserving the tangible cultural heritage elements is dated much earlier and thus, have

been adopted more. Similarly, one cannot see, as Gürçayır (2011) argues, in the cases of tangible heritage assets, such comments as "Carriages are not used in transportation anymore, that is why the craft of blacksmithing has *naturally* been vanished," that emphasize a so-called "natural process" being pronounced so easily. The continuity of their existence is rarely left to chance.

According to Gürçayır (2011), the notion of intangible cultural heritage focuses on preserving the *process*, while the notion of tangible cultural heritage focuses on preserving the *outcome*. Intangible cultural heritage assets are based on oral tradition; they compose a field of *living heritage* open to versions and variants. They are not definite like tangible heritage assets. They are reproduced over and over again via each transmission. Hence, the two approaches cause different points of view and different types of consequences.

One of the baselines of the text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is an international level of concern about losing *cultural diversity*. This mindset shift of utilizing the term 'cultural diversity' instead of 'cultural exception' is a result of the transformation that led to the emergence of intangible cultural heritage as a notion. Üstel (2009) compares the two terms and states that 'cultural exception' is a Eurocentric term which reflects the economic and cultural benefits of developed countries, while the term 'cultural diversity' has anthropological characteristics and is hoped to meet the expectations of developing countries, since it originated within the body of UNESCO.

Despite its Eurocentric background, discussions on heritage within conservation and preservation community throughout the 20th century have been quite fruitful and productive. Thus, the 2003 Convention is an achievement of earlier long-term discussions, and carries Eurocentric tones in itself nonetheless. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) mentions the politically biased position of the Convention and asks: "But *whose world* is setting the policy?"

Regarding the natural and inevitable process of the vanishing, alteration and replacement of traditions, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and related discussions can be considered as a futile effort. In this sense, Glendinning (2013) criticizes the definition of intangible cultural heritage of the Convention, stating that "it was *traditional and living at the same time* and could include just about *any* cultural practice, albeit with a few arbitrary political constraints [emphasis mine]." Edward Shils (1971), in his article "Tradition," presents the nature

of traditions as follows:

> The mechanisms of the traditional transmission are always bound to be faulty in some way, and stupidity and recalcitrance support the resistive dispositions. *Faulty memory, negligence and the need to avoid distress cause traditional beliefs to be eroded, even though those who make these changes believe that they still believe what they previously believed. The resistance of each new generation to the authority of the elders also causes minor modifications – and sometimes major ones.* There might well be no continuous line of change, the changes might be random variations which in the course of a half century produce visible changes. Small improvements are impelled by considerations of expediency; critical intelligence also prompts modifications in procedures which in turn produce changes in beliefs.
> [emphasis mine] (1971: 151)

Therefore, the text of the 2003 Convention, with its courses of action concerning the preservation of intangible cultural heritage, is an unnatural intervention to the natural process of traditions. Mountcastle (2010) emphasizes the contradiction between *culture*, which is an alive and ever-changing process, and its being transformed into a frozen state as *heritage*. So, what should be the boundaries of this intervention and how should it be planned and executed? Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), highlighting the *human factor* in the context of heritage preservation, describes the effect of heritage interventions:

> 'Living archive' and 'library' are common metaphors. Such terms do not assert a person's right to what they do, but rather their role in keeping the culture going (for others). According to this model, people come and go, but culture persists, as one generation passes it along to the next. But, *all heritage interventions – like the globalizing pressures they are trying to counteract – change the relationship of people to what they do. They change how people understand their culture and themselves. They change the fundamental conditions for cultural production and reproduction.* Change is intrinsic to culture, and measures intended to preserve, conserve, safeguard, and sustain particular cultural practices are caught between freezing the practice and addressing the inherently processual nature of culture.
> [emphasis mine] (2004: 200)

Gürçayır (2011), at this point, questions the limits of *preservability* and *transmissibility* of intangible cultural heritage. She claims that the decision of which heritage assets are *worth* preserving and transmitting to next generations, and the ways of transmission are still vastly arguable. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) interprets this contradictory situation in this way: "I have argued elsewhere that heritage is a mode of cultural production that gives the endangered or outmoded a second life as an exhibition of itself. Indeed, one of UNESCO's criteria for designation as a masterpiece of intangible heritage is the vitality of the phenomenon in question: *"If it is truly vital, it does not need safeguarding; if it is almost dead, safeguarding will not help."*

Cheung (2013) adds: "The paradox of intangible heritage preservation is that we can never find the right moment for the identification. In other words, we are either too late or too early; we are too late to rescue the extinguished items and too early to include modified or commercialised items for preservation." (2013: 355)

Gürçayır (2011) successfully evaluates the Convention text as "new and inexperienced," since it was declared in 2003, at the same time, however, as "archaic and ingenious," due to the assets it aspires to protect. It is evident that the Convention has substantially influenced the heritage preservation paradigm. But it is also apparent that this new way of perceiving intangibility, authenticity, cultural diversity and values, etc. has a lot to question and discuss at the moment and in the future.

One of the present events concerning the topic is an international conference entitled "The Cultural Heritage of Europe @ 2018 Re-assessing a Concept – Re-defining its Challenges,"[15] which will be held in Paris on June 4-5, 2018. The conference centers the cultural heritage issues of Europe and what it means to be a "European," addressing the establishment of 2018 as *the European Year of Cultural Heritage*—and asking: "A campaign with unquestioned assumptions?"—. While questioning this decision of the European Council and Parliament representatives "right at the peak of an identity crisis of Europe with financial fiascos of whole nation states, military confrontations and refortified state borders at its continental peripheries with inflows of refugees from the Near East and the Global South," the conference embarks on a quest of finding a *balanced viewpoint* between the Western and non-Western divide of opposing heritage conceptions.

4.2. Evaluation of the Tandır Case within the [Intangible] Cultural Heritage Discourse

Positioning the phenomenon of tandır inside the citadels of Kadifekale within the intangible cultural heritage discourse and literature, I believe, has more than theoretical importance given the lack of situated urban policies in this field. The

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[15] The conference will take place at the *Institut national d'histoire de l'art* (INHA) and is embedded into the Laboratory of Excellence (LabEx) "Writing a New History of Europe – Ècrire une Histoire Nouvelle de l'Europe" at Sorbonne University. Source: http://labex-ehne.fr/en/2017/10/11/appel-a-contribution-patrimoine-culturel-de-leurope-2018-reexaminer-concept-redefinir-enjeux/, accessed April 17, 2018.

literature review done to this aim reveals that, among the already few cases that center the concept of intangible cultural heritage, preserving a cultural practice where it was born is mentioned more than other possible scenarios. For instance, preserving an intangible cultural asset not at the place of its origin, but at an other, secondary location, e.g., a new settlement place after migration, has yet to find sufficient scholarly interest. In other words, theoretical connections, such as *intangible cultural heritage and migration*, etc., have not been adequately discussed.

Thus, it is significant to represent the contribution the tandır case in Kadifekale makes to the relevant literature. As stated in Chapter 2 "Tandır in the Context of Migration and Urban Poverty," as *Tandır: "There" and "Here"*, the tandır practice *here* and *there* are separately categorized. While the existing literature is mostly interested in the *there* aspect, that is the "natural habitat" of a tradition, this sub-chapter (4.2) will evaluate the tandır case *here* in Kadifekale in the light of the intangible cultural heritage criteria, as well as other related cases and approaches.

This thesis has so far discussed the *past* and the *present* situation of the phenomenon of tandır. It has stated that practicing an ancient and rural culinary tradition not in its natural environment but in a totally different (urban, public) context implies a drastic change in terms of the new socio-spatial circumstances caused by forced migration that opens it up to new interdisciplinary interpretations. Baking bread in tandır ovens has been practiced in different regions of Anatolia for thousands of years. With the involuntary relocation of the tandır practice caused by forced migration and internal displacement waves in the 1990s, a small piece of this traditional practice got resettled inside the citadels of Kadifekale, İzmir, alongside with its bearers. Thus, the knowledge of tandır oven core construction and tandır bread baking migrated from some villages of Mardin to the oldest informal settlement area of the city of İzmir: Kadifekale. Kadifekale has also been at the center of various ongoing urban discussions due to its historical, archaeological and cultural values as well as the land speculations concerning the area. After 2005, Kadifekale and its surroundings ended up within the project borders of major urban "renewal" projects such as *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* and future projects like *Archaeology and History Park Project*. As a result, tandır practice in Kadifekale gets its share from all the happenings around it.

Here, the typical traditional tandır practice has transformed into a same, but different activity and gained several new qualities. It has become a) the migrant's

existential and economic survival tool within the urban realm of Kadifekale, b) the migrant's identity *re*generator and home/domesticity, expanded to the public realm of Kadifekale, and c) a glimpse in the urban memory of the city of İzmir. While the primary qualities of the practice are kept, it has adapted itself according to the changing conditions; the adaptation process is never-ending. Hence, the tandır practice has held on to the urban public realm of Kadifekale with all its strength, *re*produced by the Mardinite migrant women as a tool of *re*generating their sense of identity and belonging, where it has proven itself as a dynamic and living phenomenon inherently carrying the qualities of intangible cultural assets. In the midst of a very valuable part of the city, it has emerged as a topic of multidisciplinary discussion.

4.2.1. The Old and the New: What is Worth Preserving?

Tayfun Gürkaş, in his article "İki Bilme Biçimi; Bir Fotoğraf Albümünün Hatırlattıkları...," (2017) questions the differences between the practices of archiving and preservation, and the real purpose behind preservation via the case of an Aegean village (Geyre village, Karacasu, Aydın) found by chance by Ara Güler in 1958. Having lost his way, Ara Güler comes across with the village built over the ruins of Aphrodisias ancient city. The village becomes known after Güler sends the photographs he took there to TIME magazine; it is eventually included in *UNESCO's World Heritage List* as a result of this attention (See Figure 4.1).

When we look at the photographs a bit more carefully, claims Gürkaş (2017), we notice that something is not *right*. There are some objects which do not match the typical village scenery in our minds: An ancient Greek column supports the roof of a house in the village (Figure 4.1); a huge ancient stadium structure is utilized as a field; a sarcophagus as a trough. Gürkaş (2017) states that our daily accustomedness and modern consciousness instantly notify us that there is something wrong in this picture. The ruins of an ancient Greek city are spoiled by a bunch of ignorant villagers deprived of historical awareness (!). However, the real problem of our modern world is about making the decision of what we pay attention to, and what we *ignore*—in other words, deciding on what is worth preserving, and what is not. Similar questions can be raised about the tandır case: Are the tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale supposed to be preserved, given that they "harm" the cultural layers of the

1st degree archaeological site of Kadifekale? Are the migrant women practicing tandır "ignorant villagers," in the above mentioned sense, given that they "damage" the ruins of an ancient Greek city—or not?
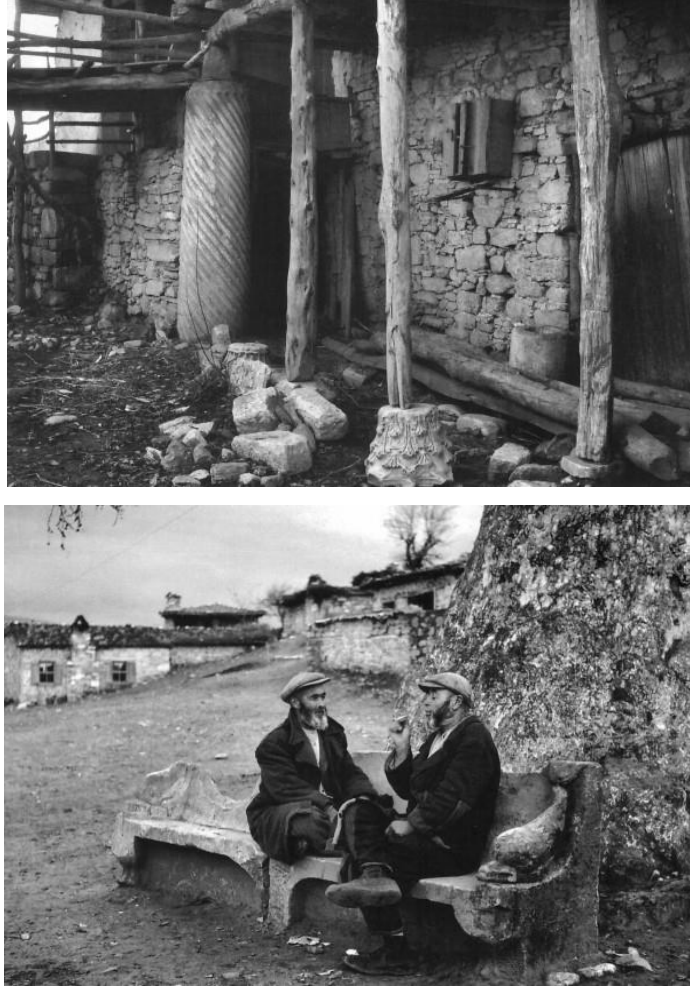
Figure 4.1. Scenes from Geyre village built over the ruins of Aphrodisias ancient city. (Source: photos by Ara Güler, https://xxi.com.tr/i/iki-bilme-bicimi-bir-fotograf-albumunun-hatirlattiklari)

Thus, Gürkaş (2017) concludes his article with these questions: How would you preserve this village, and to what extent? Would you include only the artefacts, or the *villagers*, too? Assuming that you also counted them in, how would you expect them to behave? Would you expect them to carry on with their regular daily lives, or, with *the awareness of being preserved*, turning their lives into a spectacle? These are also the very questions the municipality initiatives about *preserving* the women involved with this practice will have to deal with.

Spiridon and Sandu (2015), in their article "Conservation of cultural heritage:

from participation to collaboration," categorizes the 'typology of participation' in the integrated conservation process, and defines situations like what Gürkaş (2017) mentions about as *involuntary participation "by use":* "This level is most often found in communities where the members only 'use' the heritage and they are just receivers of the general information regarding cultural heritage assets in an informal way and participation is simply a pretence." Therefore, it can be referred to as "living 'history' in the present" (Spiridon and Sandu, 2015).

Table 4.1. Aspects of the participatory conservation process.
(Source: Spiridon and Sandu, 2015; reprepared by the author)
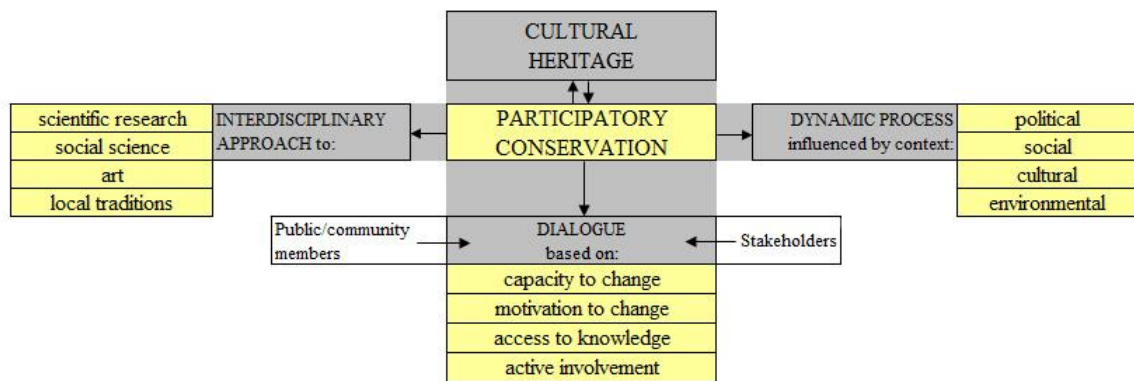
Spiridon and Sandu (2015) claims that the focus of the main principles regarding the general conservation process (preservation and restoration) has recently gone through a transformation. Principles such as "Authenticity, importance of maintenance, minimum intervention, truth and honesty, reversibility, fitting the new to the old, legibility of interventions and monitoring the conservation status by making regular checks" have given way to "an integrated process of scientific conservation (participatory conservation and stakeholder engagement)," (2015: 45) whose fundamental points are as follows:

- *Intrinsic motivation* and voluntary participation;
- *Extrinsic motivation* (people need a reason for participation);
- *Accessibility* – equal rights and opportunities for informed engagement (access and participation) in the cultural life of the community;
- *Mutual respect* for history and cultural diversity (between individuals and between professionals and community members);
- *Flexibility* – the community engagements must be adapted to the context;
- *Transparent dialogue*;
- *Empower local people and community members*. (2015: 46) (See also Table 4.1)

4.2.2. "There" and "Here": Intangible Cultural Heritage and Migration

The relation of intangible cultural heritage and migration, as stated in the title of Cristina Amescua's (2013) study, is an *uncharted field*.[16] Amescua (2013) argues that in the 2003 Convention [for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage], the "materiality/immateriality dichotomy" was in the center of the very definition of intangible cultural heritage. In fact, there is always an intangible aspect to the tangible cultural heritage assets, such as the accumulation of knowledge behind the construction process of a building or a monument, and there is a material expression of all intangible heritage. Thus, tangible and intangible cannot be completely distinguished, and the real dichotomy lies not in the 'materiality/immateriality' side, but in the 'staticity/dynamism' side of the concept (Amescua, 2013).

What is tangible is static, and what is intangible, on the contrary, refers to *dynamism*, *movement*, *vitality*, and *transformation*. Intangible heritage is alive now as it was several generations before due to its ability of adapting to the changing circumstances. It is constantly recreated generation after generation, and transformed into its most current form, adopting new meanings and components "as its bearers endure movement and change." (Amescua, 2013: 105) Thus, theoretically connecting the quality of dynamism and movement of intangible cultural heritage with the movement of its practitioners and bearers, Amescua (2013) notifies the lack of academic studies on the topic (except from Amescua, 2010; Le Bot, 2011; Gößwald, 2007; Littlefield Kasfir, 2004; Machuca, 2011; Margolies, 2011; Nettleford, 2004; Vlachaki, 2007), and addresses her questions: "What about the intangible heritage of transnational communities? Does it remain in force only in communities of origin, or is it reproduced in receiving localities? What are the changes occurring at both ends? How are these changes being shaped, by which actors, and in which particular contexts and situations?" (2013: 107)

When the tandır practice in Kadifekale is considered in the view of these questions, it is recognized that the tradition was definitely not left behind in the place

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[16] Cristina Amescua, "Anthropology of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Migration: An Uncharted Field," in *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage,* ed. Lourdes Arizpe and Cristina Amescua (London: Springer, 2013).

of origin, but was brought along to the new settlement area after migration. Despite the inadequate spatial conditions of the *gecekondu* houses, the practitioners of tandır were able to find a way to carry on the practice—given the economic challenges they have been facing within the city, they actually had to and, in fact, *have to*. The fact that the demographic structure of their community of origin (i.e., mostly the rurals of Mardin), and the community in the receiving locality (i.e., the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Kadifekale) are similar to a large extent conditioned the migrant women's choice as a survival strategy, ensuring that they will hold on to the communities' tangible longing for taste and the intangible beyond.

So, the receiving community in Kadifekale is rather homogeneous—consisting of Kurdish Mardinite migrants mostly—yet, only a group of them thought of carrying out the tandır practice in the urban realm of Kadifekale. The motivation behind this act of the migrant women was merely to provide their families with a source of income, and they were most certainly not interested in undertaking the task of adapting a rural culinary tradition to an urban context. Nevertheless, out of this simple need to survive, a phenomenon that potentially carries tangible and intangible cultural heritage qualities has come into existence.

Regarding the intangible cultural values of a community as "a key element (...) of *a sense of identity*, *belonging*, and *continuity*, in creating links within cultural groups, as well as social ties [emphasis mine]," Amescua (2013) questions the impacts of migration on intangible cultural heritage making through several cases. One of these cases investigates the return of migrants to their place of origin to practice a specific tradition once a year (*missing children*'s visit to Temacapulín, the small town of Jalisco, Mexico to celebrate the *Virgen de los Remedios*, the patron saint of the town every December and January); another analyzes an event organization of a local government to celebrate the diversity of their community via a competitive environment (Dragon Boat Festival, Georgia, USA, 2009). Although the tandır case in Kadifekale stands at a rather different position compared to these cases, I believe that, they still have several theoretical insights to offer our case.

In order to reflect the negative impacts of migration on intangible cultural heritage reproduction, Amescua (2013) quotes Machuca (2011):

> The preservation and continuity of the cultural heritage of the people is facing challenges of various kinds. One of them is the result of migration processes which have increased in recent decades as an expression of globalization. *Some see this phenomenon as the cause of the*

dissolution of the bonds that enable the transmission of knowledge and the transition between generations that accounts for the cultural continuity of a group. The result is then the abandonment of traditions and skills (some ancient) which have for a long time endured deep transformations and social upheavals. [emphasis mine] (Machuca, 2011; translated by C. Amescua.)

Nevertheless, Le Bot (2006; translated by C. Amescua) highlights the possible positive outcomes in a seemingly negative experience: "Cultural creation flourishes in voids, margins, borders, in difficult (and frequently conflictive) encounters between different cultures, and even in the fractures within those cultures, in the contact zones and the interstices. *Such creations are nourished by divergences, displacements, convulsions and ruptures, by the questioning of identities* [emphasis mine]."

Nettleford, in his article, which was published just one year after the 2003 Convention, "Migration, Transmission and Maintenance of the Intangible Heritage," (2004) handles the topic of intangible cultural heritage and migration, and expresses that he, too, is on the positive side. As a Caribbean scholar, he gives the example of Jamaica, the Caribbean, and states that the history of Jamaica is the history of migration(s). The term Nettleford uses, "the intangible heritage of the involuntary migrant," (2004: 79) perfectly describes the tandır practice in Kadifekale.

Nettleford (2004) states that "the maintenance of the heritage is hardly ever in pure form," in other words, a cultural practice cannot remain the same after migration as it used to be in its place of origin. However, this does not necessarily indicate a problem. On the contrary, "the maintenance is assured through cross-fertilization, adjustments and adaptations over time with the resulting products taking on indigenous characteristics but by no means obliterating the influences from the migrants' place(s) of origin." (Nettleford, 2004: 81) As Le Bot (2006) states, *displacement* and *rupture* our involuntary migrant community went through cause new cultural formations and conduce to identity reconstruction, as well as reinforcing the sense of belonging. These formations bear the traces of both the place of origin and the new environment, as in the case of Kadifekale.

4.2.3. The Concept of Cultural Landscape

The concept of 'cultural landscape' is also considered relevant in the context of this thesis in order to better understand the phenomenon of tandır inside the citadels of

Kadifekale, a 1st degree archaeological site and an important part of the future *Archaeology and History Park*. The concept of *cultural landscape* is discussed in depth by Rapoport (1977, 1980, 1990, 1992), as well as defined and included by UNESCO in the context of the *World Heritage List* in 1992 (The World Heritage Convention, 1992). Kayın (2012) also mentions two separate terms as *kültürel manzara* (cultural panorama) and *kültürel peyzaj* (cultural landscape).

UNESCO's 1992 *World Heritage Convention* Committee expresses that cultural landscapes are the "combined works of nature and of man." What is more, "They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal." (WHC.UNESCO.org, accessed May 2, 2018) According to UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 2008, cultural landscapes are divided into three main categories: a) clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man, b) organically evolved landscape, and c) associative cultural landscape. Among these three, *associative cultural landscape* is conceptually the closest to intangible cultural heritage since it brings to the fore the "virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence." (WHC.UNESCO.org, accessed May 2, 2018) "Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens" is the first and only site in Turkey that was inscribed on the *World Heritage List* as a cultural landscape.

Rapoport, on the other hand, handles the concept of cultural landscape in a much more elaborate way. He starts with three suggestions before defining a cultural landscape:

1. Urban theory, urban design and planning have been predominantly based on the *Western* tradition, and ignoring the *non-Western*.

2. Urban theory, urban design and planning have been mostly predicated on the *high-design* tradition, and ignoring the *vernacular* tradition.

3. Not all design decisions that modify physical environment are made by *designers*. In fact, most of them are made by *non-designers*; nevertheless, it is still design (1977: 345-346).

Urban form and landscapes are the collective product resulted by the many decisions made by many people. They are not designed, yet they *add up to a totality*;

they are recognizable and have a holistic meaning (Rapoport, 1977, 1992). At this point, Rapoport utilizes the concept of cultural landscape, and defines it as "*the appearance of a specific culture area*, which may be large or small but assumes a specific visible character as a result of the many decisions taken in the operation of the choice model [emphasis mine]." It is "the visible physical result of human activity, (...) a reflection of people's value systems, environmental attitudes and preferences, (...) a form of communication." (1977: 346)

Rapoport's and UNESCO's definitions of cultural landscape clearly exhibit that it is about culture, history and heritage: A cultural landscape is the holistic appearance of an area which has a perceivably specific cultural character. It carries both tangible and intangible value. Since it is a cultural production, it reflects the values, beliefs and preferences of the group of people who are the creators of that cultural landscape. It is about their history; it is *congealed information* (Rapoport, 1977: 346), and also the answer to the question of "how culture, as a historical continuum, achieves empirical reality?" (1980: 222)

According to Rapoport, the more homogeneous the decision-making group of people are, the more distinctive cultural landscapes they will produce. He exhibits this situation and also the connection between cultural landscape and tradition as below:

> Any homogeneity that survives is more likely to exist at small scales (e.g., in urban or rural neighborhoods) than at large scales (states or regions), and so the persistence of cultural landscapes is also more likely at smaller scales. Also, in general, the persistence of clear (or strong) orders depends on conservatism, i.e., the existence of tradition-oriented people unwilling (or unable) to alter that which has worked and is time honored. As tradition weakens or disappears, so do the degree of sharing of schemata and the strength of rules. (Rapoport, 1992: 36)

Thus, cultural landscapes may occur at different scales, and the smaller the scale is, the greater will be the amount of homogeneity and persistence of a cultural landscape. He gives the United States as a large scale example: "Think of a country like the United States: *Suburbia, shopping strips, roadside environments, fields, and the like make up the cultural landscape*. The U.S. built environment can neither be understood nor studied nor discussed without those [emphasis mine]." (1990: 18) İlhan Tekeli attributes importance of our history of informal settlements in a similar way; he considers *gecekondu* as one of the most creative solutions regarding the need for shelter. Thus, giving the example of Altındağ, Çinçin Bağları – Ankara, he argues

that the *traces* of such dwellings must be preserved; they should not be flattened with a bulldozer and irreversibly erased from our history of architecture (G.mtg. 1, 2015). Hence, it can be claimed that a *gecekondu* neighbourhood is a cultural landscape—Kadifekale is no exception.

When we look at the current situation of Kadifekale, we observe different components of an urban cultural landscape. Apart from the still-there *gecekondu* houses and the nearly-demolished ones, we see *the absence* of them: a large emptiness and forestation efforts concerning the disaster prone area. As the natural element, some greenery is visible. What is more, the ancient castle is there as a historical component of this cultural landscape. Lastly, inside the citadels of Kadifekale, there are a group of tandır ovens scattered about over the area. Even the tandır ovens and their close surroundings—the oven core structures and protective shelters, the practitioners of the tradition (Mardinite migrant women and their daughters as helpers), the heat of the fire, the smell of tandır bread...) compose a whole separate cultural landscape by themselves (See Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Figure 4.2. Zoom-in to the tandır ovens in the cultural landscape of Kadifekale.
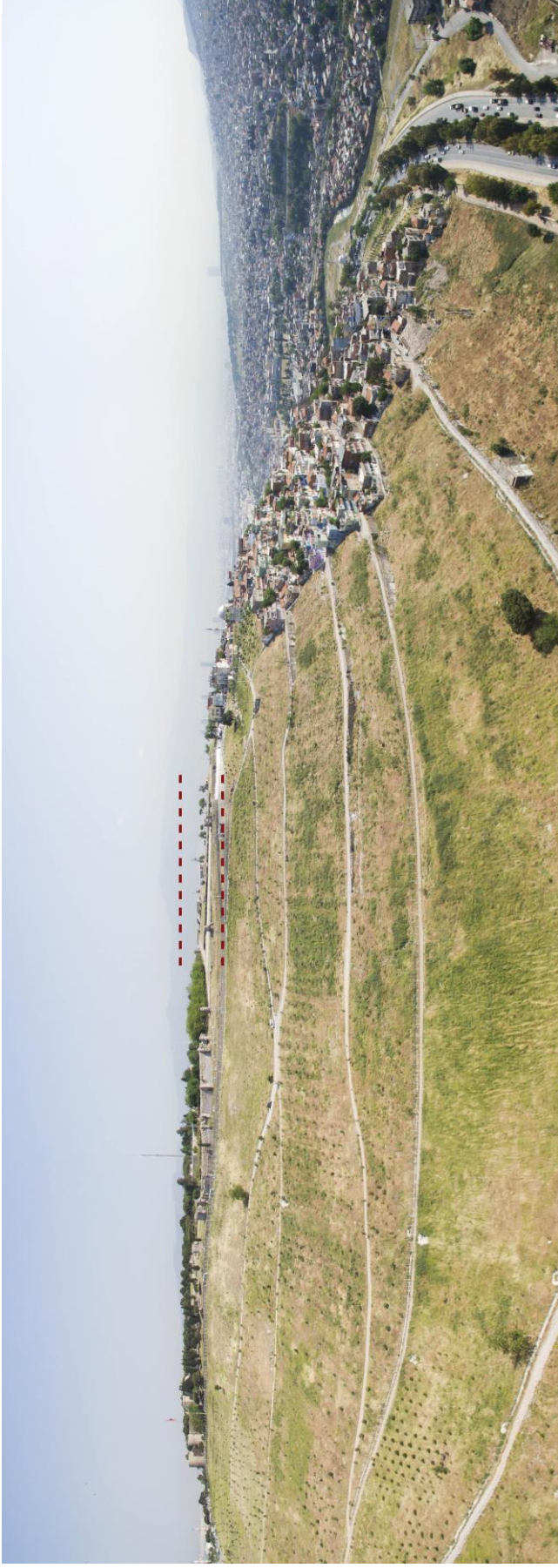(Source: photo by Mahzen Photos)

Figure 4.3. Kadifekale as a cultural landscape. Indicated area is the location of tandır ovens. (Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, İzmir History Project Centre)

Cultural landscapes represent and support group identity if the group in question is not too big and diverse. Therefore, this meaning attribution to place attracts attention of urban designers:

> If (the choices made by the group are – *added by the author*) consistent, however, they are equivalent to style, i.e., *they reflect the decisions of a group sharing certain values, behaviors and symbols: the changes add up and produce a distinctive cultural landscape which communicates, helps interaction, indicates rules for behavior and acts as a symbol of group identity.* It then becomes of great interest to urban designers, particularly since it relates appearance to meaning and, through the variability of urban areas and noticeable differences, it makes complexity possible; it also helps in the definition of areas and the construction of mental maps. [emphasis mine] (Rapoport, 1977: 347)

4.3. Local Authorities' Perception on Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Tandır Case

The idea of bringing together the concept of intangible cultural heritage and the tandır case in Kadifekale is the reflection of the municipal efforts towards making İzmir a city of innovation, culture, art and design through participatory planning approaches. These efforts can be traced back to *İzmir Culture Workshop* in 2009. In *İzmir Culture Workshop*, one of the six separate workshops carried out by the participants was *Cultural Heritage Workshop*. In this workshop, the main statements are stated as follows:

- İzmir's location in the Aegean Region as an intersection-junction point:

- A natural corridor from east to west
- A history corridor from north to south
- Life blended with *tangible and intangible heritage*
- Common space: Designing the public space of the city through the use of Kordon – Körfez relationship.

Utilizing these features as an opportunity for 'cultural value production' and 'financial value production' (tourism, etc.) of the İzmirians.

- Prioritized spaces for cultural value production and reproduction:

1. Archaeological areas and archaeologically valuable points: 16 ancient cities within the province of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality + their agricultural hinterlands,
2. Civil architecture examples and monumental structures,
3. Museums,
4. Cultural meeting points of İzmirians: Kültürpark, Kordon, Körfez,
5. Other *tangible cultural heritage*,
6. *Intangible cultural heritage.* (İzmir Culture Workshop Report [ICWR], 2009: 51-

52, translated by the author)

The above statements are noteworthy because they pronounce the concepts of tangible, and even more importantly, intangible cultural heritage, which can be used to make a connection with the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale. It is important to further identify what the terms *tangible* and *intangible cultural heritage* refer to within the context of this workshop? When we expand the Article 5 and 6 of the above statement as follows:

5. Other *Tangible Cultural Heritage*
- Interpreting the local-vernacular heritage as part of the contemporary design and production and supporting this process,
- Exhibiting local, authentic, specific, ethnic cultural heritage in a pluralistic approach.
(...)

6. *Intangible Cultural Heritage*
- Designing walking paths and access routes to urban archaeological sites and historic places in order for the İzmirians to explore and experience,
- Assigning "Volunteers of History" to guide different groups (children, women, handicapped and elderly people, etc.) in exploring the city,
- Cooperation with the Mediterranean Cities Network so as to trace the common or connected cultural heritage (e.g. marine culture, eating and drinking culture, Levantine culture) historically and at the present time,
- Researching and archiving local music genres such as Aegean, Levantine, Sefarad, Rebetiko music, etc., supporting them to be included in the entertainment sector, and realizing their potential in culture industry,
- Realizing the potential of Aegean and Sefarad cuisines to invigorate the local economy.
(ICWR, 2009: 55, translated by the author)

As can be seen above, and stated in the workshop report (ICWR, 2009: 66), tangible and intangible heritage assets of the city of İzmir are at the center of discussions. The local authorities directly rely upon them for the accomplishment of the goals of *İzmir Culture Workshop*. One of the statements under Article 5 "Other Tangible Cultural Heritage" says "exhibiting *local*, *authentic*, *specific*, *ethnic* cultural heritage in a pluralistic approach. [emphasis mine]" Related with this perspective, in the conclusion part of the overall report, appears 'Agora - Kadifekale Culture Path *(Agora - Kadifekale Kültür Parkuru)*' as one of the concrete proposals: "Bringing into use the area between Agora and Kadifekale via a public open-air museum and tourism path, appraising the historical and cultural heritage of the city." (ICWR, 2009: 67)

Regarding the tandır practice carried out inside the citadels of Kadifekale, can one assume that it will have a chance to be a part of this culture path? Will the phenomenon be able to manifest itself as an important constituent of local, authentic

and ethnic cultural heritage of the city of İzmir? Or will it be excluded altogether?

On the other hand, under Article 6 "Intangible Cultural Heritage," it is observed that the main emphasis is on two points: a) İzmirians' experience of the historic parts of the city such as archaeological sites, and b) common cultural assets between İzmir and other Mediterrenean cities, e.g. eating and drinking culture, music culture, etc.

Following the game-changing *İzmir Culture Workshop*, *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır* was organized in the summer of 2015 and the first meeting of *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* initiative was held at the end of the same year. Both were very important since the overall Kadifekale district was their primary concern and they were directly associated with the phenomenon of tandır, its ever-changing present situation and future projections. What is more, these two organizations overtly mentioned and discussed the possible links between the tandır practice in Kadifekale and the concept of intangible cultural heritage.

The report of *İzmir Design Summer School* stated that the workshop considered the tandır ovens and tandır practice as it has been carried out by the migrant İzmir-Mardinite women in Kadifekale as a cultural asset which carries both *tangible* and *intangible* qualities.[17] However, the event that really brought the issue of intangible cultural heritage and tandır to the attention of a large group of academicians and urban professionals from İzmir was the first and only meeting of *Kadifekale Tandır Platform*, with the influence of İlhan Tekeli. Tekeli prompted the participants of the initiative to see the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale from the perspective of intangible cultural heritage value it possesses; and thus, he claimed that the story of tandır ovens and tandır practice is worthy of preservation in spite of all the challenges caused by their location (G.mtg 1, 2015) (See for the detailed transcription of the meeting: *3.5. Kadifekale Tandır Platform First Meeting* in Chapter 3 "Tandır in the Context of Municipal Efforts Towards Making İzmir A City of Innovation, Culture, Art and Design").

Last but not least, during the individual interview conducted with Gökhan

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[17] "Türkiye'nin farklı şehirlerinden ve farklı disiplinlerden gelen 20 üniversite lisans öğrencisi 10 gün süresince İzmir'in yakın göç tarihi ve kent belleğiyle ilişkisinde, her biri somut olduğu kadar soyut birer kültür varlığı olma özellikleriyle de öne çıkan tandır ocaklarına tasarım aracılığıyla sahip çıkabilmenin yollarını tartıştılar." İzmir Design Summer School Report, p. 1, 2015.

Kutlu, the Head of the Directorate of Historical Environment and Cultural Properties and the General Coordinator of *İzmir-History Project* (November, 2017), I asked about the current opinions of the local authorities on this matter:

— *In the meeting of* Tandır Platform, *İlhan Tekeli commented on the uniqueness of the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale as an intangible cultural heritage example, although there are many obstacles on its way: What aspects of the phenomenon are actually worthy of preservation? How is it supposed to be preserved? Should the tandır ovens be kept in their current, original places?.. Is it a must to preserve an intangible cultural asset in its place of origin anyway? Since it is a rather new heritage category, have you started adopting certain principles within the context of* İzmir-History Project *via other examples from the world?*

Kutlu: *We have not started working in detail on the intangible cultural heritage issues yet, but we are planning to. We have a project called* Bellek Kemeraltı *(Memory Kemeraltı); we wish to include the tandır case in it.*

— *In the end, those tandır ovens are a part of the urban memory of İzmir...*

Kutlu: *You can say so, yes. Maybe not a part of the urban collective memory of the city but of Kadifekale district nonetheless. Unfortunately, it is not possible to maintain their continuity there. The tandır practice in Kadifekale as a type of production is an ignored situation at the moment. (...) We are going to organize an architectural competition concerning the area and its surroundings; you will not be able to continue ignoring it any longer at that stage. We realize that the tandır practice in Kadifekale is a very valuable intangible cultural asset, and we are interested in the related types of production, such as the tandır oven core production, the tandır bread baking, etc. There are only a*

small group of migrant women who have been carrying out this practice, though. So, we must find ways to transmit this knowledge of tandır to future generations.

Maintaining the sustainability and continuity of the knowledge of tandır practice is important as it is a financial contribution to family budget. On the other hand, we have been conducting activities in the area which will result in an increase in value. Our primary goal is to ensure that the local people will not be affected by this, and continue living there in better socio-economic conditions. That is why all types of production are relevant to us; the tandır practice is surely one of them. However, we prefer handling it through an organizational model that will include everyone in the area. (Int. 2, 2017)

What Kutlu means by an inclusive organizational model that will handle the types of local—and mostly gastronomic—production is *Kök: Basmane Project*. Semi Hakim, one of the creators of the project states that the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale is what inspired them most to start *Kök: Basmane* (See for the detailed transcription of the meeting: *3.6. Kök: Basmane* in Chapter 3 "Tandır in the Context of Municipal Efforts Towards Making İzmir A City of Innovation, Culture, Art and Design").

4.4. Media Perception on the Tandır Case

The news in the press, on the internet and various social media channels about the tandır practice in Kadifekale have a significant effect on public opinion as well as the local authorities' perception of the case. They influence the perception of the İzmirians towards the places like Kadifekale where migrant populations prefer to settle, the policies and actions of the local authorities, as well as the discourse regarding the subject.

I reviewed some of the internet news among which I searched via Google with the keywords 'Kadifekale' and 'tandır.' I aim to provide this thesis with a general

perspective of the positive and negative comments about the tandır case in Kadifekale via quoted passages from the internet news.

Turistlerin tandır ekmeği keyfi (Tourists enjoying the tandır bread)

Despite the positive tone of the headline above, Mustafa Oğuz (DHA) reports the negative aspects of tandır practice in Kadifekale on October 4, 2015:

The lack of control in Kadifekale, one of the most touristic and historical places in İzmir, is shocking. Selling tandır breads baked in jerry-built sheds to tourists draws reaction.
(...) The residents of Kadifekale built jerry-built sheds made of nylon sheets and started to bake tandır bread for their families and sell the rest to tourists. Although the tourists buy the warm tandır bread, this primitive display is found very embarrassing by tourism professionals. The unhygienic bread production continues in the glare of publicity.[18]

Upon this and similar news which highlighted the so-called adverse effects of tandır ovens concerning the touristic image of Kadifekale, several reporters published news taking sides with the migrant women practicing tandır in the area.

Belediye tandıra takmış! (Municipality is obsessed with tandır!)

Salih Erkek, the grant holder of *Gazetem İzmir* wrote two articles in five days (November 6 and 10, 2015), defending the tandır practice in Kadifekale:

Hayrettin Akdaş, one of the Kadifekale residents whose wife bakes and sells tandır bread, states: "The customers are pleased. This is how we bring home the bread. People come from Buca, Manisa, etc. to buy our bread. Why does

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[18] "İzmir'de turistin en çok ziyaret ettiği tarihi mekanlardan olan Kadifekale'deki başıboşluk, görenlere 'pes' dedirtti. Derme çatma kulübelerde pişirilen tandır ekmeklerinin turistlere satılması tepki çekti.
(...) Kadifekale çevresinde oturanlar naylonlarla derme çatma kulübeler oluşturup, burada tandır ekmeği yaparak hem kendi ihtiyaçlarını gidermeye, kalanları da turistlere satmaya başladı. Turistler sıcak tandır ekmeğini alsa da ortaya çıkan ilkel görüntü, turizmcilerin yüzünü kızartıyor. Her türlü hijyen şartlarından uzak ekmek imalatı herkesin gözü önünde sürüp gidiyor."

Source: Mustafa Oğuz, "Turistlerin tandır ekmeği keyfi," *Hürriyet*, October 4, 2015, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ege/turistlerin-tandir-ekmegi-keyfi-30230138, translated by the author.

the municipality want to strip us of our job? We do no harm, on the contrary, we are useful. Do not stand in our way; provide us with a more hygienic place where we can bake."

(...) The mayor of municipality should be concerned about the pollution here instead of the tandır ovens. Create a solution for these people, do not make their lives any harder by adding new problems. They are just trying to make ends meet, what else can they do?[19]

Another article parallel to Erkek's is Metehan Ud's article from evrensel.net dated November 5, 2015. Considered that the protective shelters of tandır ovens were destroyed by the municipal police forces in the summer of the same year, it is observed that the tandır issue and the action taken by Konak Municipality drew attention on a local level.

Ayten Gülmez (38), one of the tandır women, states that what they practice in Kadifekale is their tradition, and adds: "We make money out of it. We have to, because we are financially challenged. We sometimes give away the bread to tourists. Neither the tourists nor anyone else are disturbed by us. The municipal police forces wanted to bring down the awnings first. Saying that the awnings caused visual pollution, they destroyed all of them with bulldozers. They said they would bring down the tandır ovens after the election. We did not let them do that the first time they came."

Nesula Yılmaz, another tandır woman, states that they were forced to migrate and have been living in Kadifekale for years: "My husband cannot work, he is ill. We have 6 children. All of them go to school, except one working. I bake tandır bread for my home and also to earn some money. They said that they would bring down the tandır ovens. I said, 'If you do this, I will not be able to send my children to school.' They did it when we were not around and said they would come back; we do not know when though."[20]

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[19] Salih Erkek, "Belediye tandıra takmış!," *Gazetem İzmir*, November 6, 2015, http://www.gazetemizmir.com/salih-erkek-yazdi/12879/, translated by the author.
[20] Metehan Ud, "Kalenin tandırları belediyeyi rahatsız etti," *Evrensel*, November 5, 2015, https://www.evrensel.net/haber/264356/kalenin-tandirlari-belediyeyi-rahatsiz-etti, translated by the author.

Atatürk kime bakıyor? (Who is Atatürk looking at?)

An older-dated (December 1, 2009) article of Ece Temelkuran also mentions the tandır ovens inside the citadels of Kadifekale. This one, "*Atatürk Kime Bakıyor? (Who is Atatürk Looking at?)*," is the third and last part of Temelkuran's article series titled "*İzmir'deki Türklerin ve Kürtlerin Hikayesi* (The Story of Turks and Kurds in İzmir)." Temelkuran's title refers to the colossal Atatürk mask in Buca, which is clearly visible from some of the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Kadifekale: "The well-known Atatürk mask is looking at the *gecekondu* of Kadifekale; the hidden struggle against poverty goes on right in front of it."[21]

> *Right at the top of Kadifekale, women, who do not speak Turkish, bake tandır bread, their faces covered against the smoke. The tandır ovens are just like the ones in the Eastern Anatolia villages. Who constructed them? The municipality? Rojbin laughs at me:*
>
> *"The municipality? People constructed the tandır ovens on their own. This is their only source of income, baking and selling tandır bread. The municipality destroys them every once in a while. The people erect them again. They say that the ovens is an unsightly view for the tourists. Anyway, the houses are being demolished now because of urban transformation. Look, there is where people will move to."*
>
> *Where she points at is so far away from Kadifekale that no one in İzmir can see it, let alone a short-sighted person like me.* (ibid)

Lastly, an article from *Ege'de Son Söz* dated May 25, 2017 presents the perception of heritage preservation of local authorities regarding Kadifekale and its surroundings. The headline of the article is as follows:

Kadifekale'de 'ikinci dalga': İzmir mirasını koruyacak! (Second wave in Kadifekale: İzmir preserves its heritage!)

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[21] Ece Temelkuran, "Atatürk kime bakıyor?," *Milliyet*, December 1, 2009, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ataturk-kime-bakiyor--gundem-1168514/, translated by the author.

Figure 4.4. A view of Kadifekale where *gecekondu* neighbourhoods are cleared off and replaced with forestation efforts. (Source: http://www.egedesonsoz.com/haber/kadifekale-de-ikinci-dalga-izmir-mirasini-koruyacak/955123)

The article generally mentions the demolition of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in the disaster prone area in Kadifekale and forestation efforts of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality within the context of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* (Figure 4.4). The expropriation and demolition work conducted by the metropolitan municipality in order to bring out the Ancient Theater in the area is also acknowledged. What is more, *Archaeology and History Park Project* is referred as a project in which "exhibition areas and cultural facilities as well as open and closed parking spaces" will be defined, and that will vitalize the tourism potentials in the area.[22]

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[22] "Kadifekale'de 'ikinci dalga': İzmir mirasını koruyacak!," *Ege'de Son Söz*, May 25, 2017, http://www.egedesonsoz.com/haber/kadifekale-de-ikinci-dalga-izmir-mirasini-koruyacak/955123, translated by the author.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Kadifekale has always been a significant area of the city of İzmir since the ancient times, hosting many civilizations, including Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantian and Ottoman periods of its past. This rich reservoir of historic layers gained Kadifekale a 1st Degree Archaeological Site status in 1991, while its neighbouring area was registered as Conservation Zone at the same year. In 2001, this Conservation Zone area was reregistered as a 2nd Degree Archaeological Site. Lastly, in 2004, Kadifekale was reregistered as 1st Degree, and its surroundings as 2nd Degree Archaeological Site in the light of new findings (Çetin, 2011).

Kadifekale has another important urban characteristic in terms of its settlement history. It is also a region, where the concentration of *gecekondu* has been high as an effect of the rural to urban migration starting in the 1950s. In the 1990s, the area progressively continued receiving the rural populations, this time caused by conflict-induced displacement along with the neoliberal transformation of the Turkish economy. The *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Kadifekale, in the course of time, have become rather homogeneous settlement areas because of the overwhelming majority of Mardinite Kurdish migrants that preferred the area, so much so that Kadifekale became known by the name of *Mardinkale*. The Mardinite migrants chose to settle in Kadifekale due to the following main reasons: a) the low housing costs due to the poor condition of the houses and the imminent landslide risk in the area, b) the solidarity networks and *hemşehrilik* ties that the vast majority of Kurdish migrants in Kadifekale provide the new migrants with, and c) the region's being very close to the city center (Karayiğit, 2005).

After the 1980s, the city of İzmir started to fall short of employment opportunities for newcomers due to its dormant economy. Lacking the proper education and skills required to compete in the job market, the generation of migrants of the last thirty five years, coming from the rurals of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, resorted to informal businesses as a solution. The ethnic tandır oven units of our migrant İzmir-Mardinite Kurdish community, while being one of these informal sources of income, have distinguished themselves as a unique urban phenomenon, in

the midst of a historically very significant part of the city, with several layers worth being investigated through an interdisciplinary perspective.

The users of the tandır ovens in Kadifekale are certain eight to ten migrant women, who were subjected to forced migration along with their families. Seven out of the nine interviewed women who practice tandır in Kadifekale present *government pressure* as their primary reason of migration. The effects of terror and oppression, e.g., arrested and tortured family members, have taken its toll on them. Thus, with Zucconi (1999)'s expression, they put away their "rural poor" identity and turn into "rootless destitute city dwellers" as a result of the forced migration experience they went through. Having been detached from their roots, this migrant community regenerates their sense of belonging by recreating their homes from their *memleket* in the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Kadifekale, and so, embracing Kadifekale as a new home.

Kadifekale, as one of the poorest *gecekondu* zones in the city, is generally the only option for Kurdish migrants. Therefore, rural poverty gives way to "urban poverty" (Ocak, 2007), and pushes the migrants for inventing existential and economic survival tactics within the urban realm. Baking and selling tandır bread inside the citadels of Kadifekale is such a strategy invented by the İzmir-Mardinite migrant women in dire need of earning a living for their families. It is important to note that the tandır practice is the only source of income for these families. Their existence within the city hangs on by a thread; it is very vulnerable, just like the—for now—continued existence of tandır ovens on a 1ˢᵗ Degree Archaeological Site.

When compared to the tandır ovens in their traditional settings in the rurals of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, it is observed that the tandır ovens and tandır practice in Kadifekale primarily have the same physical qualities as their counterparts. With the involuntary relocation of the tandır practice alongside with its bearers from the villages of Mardin to Kadifekale, a small piece of this practice got resettled inside the citadels of Kadifekale, İzmir. Here, the typical traditional tandır practice has transformed into a same, but different activity and gained several new qualities, which can be summarized as a pseudo-abandonment of domestic meanings: The practice is detached from the private realm of home, yet, at the same time, adapted to reconstruct that very same home in a flimsy, vulnerable way in the middle of the public realm. In a single gesture, the ovens transform *a public space into a domestic setting*, and *a domestic use into a commercial one* in public space.

The traces that evoke domestic meanings in tandır ovens can be noticed in the materials used for shelter structures of tandır ovens: Old carpets alongside with other rambling additions e.g., old sofas, nightstands, coffee tables, chairs and various furniture pieces... Moreover, the migrant women in Kadifekale utilize their tandır ovens in order to construct a *meaningful* place for themselves. When it comes to the subjects of an involuntary relocation, such as our migrant community that had to leave their villages caught in the cross-fire, it is especially important for the newly migrated residents to be able to create similarities between themselves and the new settlement area (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Hence, the tandır ovens have become not only a commercial source of income, but also a device for *place making* that creates a familiar *place experience* for them in Kadifekale. The smell of tandır bread creates a connection between the neighbourhood in Kadifekale and the village back in Mardin, and revives a feeling of familiarity (Demirli et al., 2015).

The İzmir-Mardinite migrants in Kadifekale have unfortunately experienced a second involuntary relocation within the scope of *Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project* that started in 2005. This project does not symbolize attaining safer and quality housing, better life conditions and social opportunities to them, as the members of a population, who strongly depend on their solidarity networks and community ties to survive in the urban realm. On the contrary, the migrants' sense of seclusion, insecurity and not belonging immediately comes back as a second round of the internal displacement experience they went through in the 1990s. From their perspective, it is nothing but a continuation of an *exile* which puts them in a severely disadvantaged position in the city. In order to be able to keep baking and selling tandır bread in Kadifekale, the migrant women need to live within walking distance of their tandır ovens.

All the tandır ovens in Kadifekale are of the surface oven type due to their illegal, stuck in-between, and temporary nature. They are *illegal*, in terms of both the unauthorized nature of their commercial activity and the land they occupy. They are *stuck in-between* public and private realms, because the tandır practice being carried out there is inherently domestic, but it has to be performed outside of the private realm of home as a commercial activity. Moreover, they are *temporary* and *vulnerable* linked to their illegal and informal character. In other words, despite the tandır ovens' being currently in working order, there is no guarantee that they will not be destroyed tomorrow. This vulnerable and temporary situation the tandır case

presents, as well as the positively changing governance scene of İzmir, led the local authority and the engaged urban professionals to consider the case's potential even as a *cultural heritage* asset.

Starting from 2005, İzmir's urban policies and governance scene were introduced to brand new future projections, e.g. imagining İzmir as 'Mediterranean's city of *culture, art* and *design'* and as a city of 'democratic and participatory design/governance.' Kadifekale district, due to the potentials it carries with regards to the changing governance scene of İzmir, has greatly received its share of attention from this mindset shift.

Alongside of and apart from this innovative approach of the local authorities, their regular municipal duties and operations concerning the city of İzmir are also in progress. As a 1st Degree Archaeological Site and a disaster prone area for decades, Kadifekale emerges once again, standing at the center of urban debates with "renewal" and "regeneration" projects developed and led by the local authorities. Due to its historic value and being at the heart of the city center, Kadifekale remains under the spotlight of municipal interest from both perspectives. Relatedly, the phenomenon of tandır also stands in the midst of a two-way municipal operational mechanism. On the one hand, it is perceived as a potential obstacle to be eliminated in the near future. On the other hand, it keeps its position as a unique cultural, traditional asset at the center of multi-layered policies of local authorities.

Between the years of 2015 and 2016, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organized three interdisciplinary events that were directly concerned about the tandır issue in Kadifekale. These were a) *İzmir Design Summer School: Kadifekale/Tandır Workshop*, b) *Kadifekale Tandır Platform* meeting, and c) the launch of *Kök: Basmane Project*. All three events directly contributed to make tandır ovens in Kadifekale a topic of discussion. Eventually, at this stage, the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale could no longer be overlooked by the municipal authorities, and would surely find its place in the actual future projections regarding the area.

Next step taken in this direction is regarding the phenomenon of tandır in Kadifekale not only as an element of cultural heritage in the physical, tangible sense, but with the possible intangible qualities it possesses with regard to (intangible) cultural heritage and heritage preservation discourse. In this sense, this thesis exhibits the theoretical connections between the concept of *intangible cultural heritage*, starting with the evolution of *intangibility* as a concept, and the phenomenon of tandır

in Kadifekale as a constantly changing, ever-adapting, dynamic, living, and *migrant* traditional practice. Accordingly, it attempts to discuss the case for its *worthiness of preservation* as a cultural asset possessing intangible heritage qualities, and as a *cultural landscape* by itself. Preserving an intangible cultural asset not at the place of its origin, but at an other, secondary location, e.g., a new settlement place after migration, as in the tandır case, is also examined.

The study shows that, even though the receiving community in Kadifekale mostly consists of Kurdish Mardinite migrants, only a group of them thought of carrying out the tandır practice in the urban realm of Kadifekale. The motivation behind this act of the migrant women was merely to provide their families with a source of income, and they were most certainly not interested in undertaking the task of adapting a rural culinary tradition to an urban context. Nevertheless, out of this simple need to survive, a phenomenon that potentially carries tangible and intangible cultural heritage qualities has come into existence.

Migration can have negative (Machuca, 2011) and positive (Nettleford, 2004; Le Bot, 2006) affects on intangible cultural heritage (re)production. It can be stated that the tandır case demonstrates more positive affects rather than the other way around. As a cultural and traditional creation, the tandır practice is simply reproduced by its bearers every single day, and is nourished by the displacement and rupture that its practitioners lived through in the past. The experience of displacement also causes identity reconstruction and the reinforcement of sense of belonging for the involuntary migrant community. With Nettleford's term (2004), it is "the intangible heritage of the involuntary migrant." Essentially getting its strength from its place of origin, the maintenance of the knowledge of tandır practice is established through the adjustments and adaptations that the new environment—Kadifekale—necessitates.

Another concept this thesis associates the phenomenon of tandır with intangible cultural heritage discourse is the concept of *cultural landscape*. Based on Rapoport's definition, which emphasizes the non-Western and vernacular traditions in urban theory, urban design and planning, and the non-designers as the predominant creators of physical environments, it discusses the potentials of the phenomenon of tandır inside the citadels of Kadifekale as a cultural landscape. A cultural landscape is the holistic appearance of an area, which has a perceivably specific cultural character that carries both tangible and intangible value. It is, with Rapoport's statements (1977), "a reflection of people's value systems, environmental attitudes and

preferences, (...) a form of communication." Rudofsky (1964) similarly supports the cultural richness of vernacular architecture in his book "Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-pedigreed Architecture."

When we look at the present situation of Kadifekale, we observe different components of an urban cultural landscape. Apart from some still-there *gecekondu* houses and the nearly-demolished ones, we see *the absence* of them: a large emptiness with forestation efforts covering the area, very slowly replacing the *gecekondu*. As the natural element, some greenery is visible. What is more, the ancient castle is there as a historical component of this cultural landscape. Lastly, inside the citadels, there are a group of tandır ovens scattered about over the area. Even the tandır ovens and their close surroundings—the oven core structures and their flimsy protective shelters, the practitioners of the tradition (Mardinite migrant women and their daughters as helpers), the heat of the fire, the smell of tandır bread...) compose a whole separate cultural landscape by themselves. Thus, these oven units comprise a unique cultural episode in the history of a multi-layered settlement, which seems to be normatively "outside" the incumbent discourse of cultural heritage preservation.

To conclude, according to the findings of this thesis, the tandır practice as it has been carried out in Kadifekale is: a) the migrant's existential and economic survival tool, b) the migrant's identity *re*generator and home/domesticity, expanded to the public realm of Kadifekale, and c) a unique socio-cultural urban phenomenon and a glimpse in the urban memory of İzmir facing erasure with its rather intangible values worth preserving.

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