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LIVING IN PURGATORY: HOMELESSNESS AMIDST URBAN REGENERATION IN SALHANE, İZMİR (1)

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2. This and the following quotations and references to Salhane's inhabitants are based on 52 on-site, in-depth interviews conducted by the authors between August and October 2016.

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INTRODUCTION

"We are in purgatory. We are neither alive nor dead". These are the words that are pronounced by M **(**male, 48), an inhabitant of the slum neighborhood just behind the ritzy twin towers that soar in the midst of the Salhane neighbourhood of Bayraklı, which is to be the new city center of İzmir (**2**). M moved to İzmir in 1992 and has been earning his living by various means including construction and sewage work and car washing. He witnessed the drastic transformation of his neighborhood from an industrial area of tanneries to a modest district of residences and small scale businesses and finally towards a new city center. Traces of the area's past are still visible today in the randomly placed street signs for the sales of livestock. The slum dwellers are first and second generation migrants from Southeastern cities of Turkey, i.e., Mardin, Diyarbakır, and Urfa, and mostly related by blood ties. P (housewife, 40) describes the place as follows: "Everybody is related. We live like a family but the place is wretched, filthy and neglected. Nobody has the means. Everybody is miserable... The children play in rubbish heaps. Their feet are pierced by broken glass".

P's expression is in stark contrast with the enthusiastic declaration of a local newspaper, which proudly announced plans for the Manhattanization of the area in as early as 2006 (Yeni Asır, 2006). Accordingly, new master plans were being considered by the commission in charge of the development of public works (*İmar ve Bayındırlık Komisyonu*), following the proposal of the mayor of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality (henceforth İGMM). The regeneration process of the district began in 2010 (Milliyet Ege, 2010).

Manhattanization sounds like an unusual characterization for a relatively small city like İzmir. In its earlier uses in the 1930s, the term was defined as "filling a city with tall buildings so that it resembles Manhattan Island" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). According to urban anthropologist Elizabeth Greenspan (2013), the new meaning of the term involves "turning a city

into a playground for the wealthiest inhabitants, even as it forgets about the poorest". Although İzmir's urban administrators obviously used the term in the first sense, here we focus on the consequences of its second meaning. Furthermore, we argue that not only the poor but also the socio-economically privileged inhabitants bear undesirable consequences of the Manhattanization of Salhane, albeit in different ways.

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Decisions regarding Salhane's transformation process can be dated back to the early 2000s, when urban regeneration was set as a political strategy by the newly elected Justice and Development Party (*AKP*) government to open up space for new investments in urban centers, where valuable land is scarce. Thus, supported by a series of legal codes, urban regeneration projects have become the dominant mode of production of urban space in Turkey (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 165; Tekeli, 2015, 313) (**3**). In İzmir, The Department of Urban Regeneration (*Kentsel Dönüşüm Daire Başkanlığı*) under İGMM, and İzmir Provincial Directorate of Infrastructure and Urban Regeneration (*İzmir Alt Yapı ve Kentsel Dönüşüm İl Müdürlüğü*) under the Ministry of Urbanization and Environment (*Şehircilik ve Çevre Bakanlığı*), are the two main authorities to conduct district based regeneration.

In 2001, İGMM announced an International Urban Design Ideas Competition for the İzmir Port Area. The aim was "to enhance the contemporary image of the city and create a new city center around the port area to support the emerging international status of İzmir" (Arkitera, 2016) (**Figure 1**). Since the Ottoman period until then, the Konak area had been the governmental and business center of İzmir. Marked as the second fastest growing metropolitan economy in the world in 2014 by Brookings Global Metro Monitor, the city was obviously seen to be in need of an expanded center (Öner and Pasin, 2015, 840). According to the new plans Bayraklı, which not only includes significant historical sites but also has strategic significance due to its central location within the metropolitan area, would mark the center of new developments.

Bayraklı had been an inconspicuous small town until 1951, when the Bank for Municipal Services (*İller Bankası*) launched an international urban design competition for İzmir (Bilsel, 2009, 15; Can, 2010, 185). The

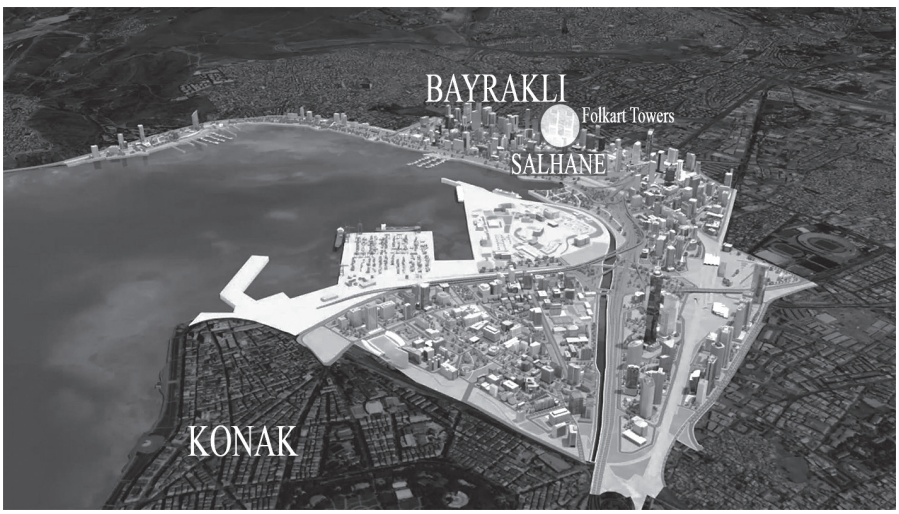

Figure 1. Simulation model of the new city center superimposed on the existing city map (Folkart Yapı, 2015).

3. Instituted within the framework of the neo-liberal strategies of the government, The Metropolitan Municipality Law (*5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu*) and the Municipality Law (*5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu*) include significant items that regulate renewal projects (Karaman, 2013, 3417; Kılıç and Karataş, 2015, 239-40).

winning project by Kemal Ahmet Aru, Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canpolat, identified Salhane as a small-scale industrial area with labor settlements spread in Bayraklı. Following that, the first metropolitan master plan of İzmir (1973) produced by the Metropolitan Planning Office which was founded in 1965, conserved the industries in the inner sections of Salhane (Kaya, 2002, 165). The plan was radically revised in 1978 and 1989 when Salhane was designated to be a central business district for the first time. These plans proved to fail to offer long-term strategic solutions for the urban developments in the city and could not be fully implemented (Penpecioğlu, 2012, 162). In the meantime, Salhane remained as an area of small scale industries, predominantly occupied by tanneries and slaughterhouses. Following the latters' removal in the 1990s due to the pollution of the gulf waters, Salhane grew to be a mixed use area populated by services, shops and residences for low and middle income groups (İzgi, 2015; İzsu, 2011; İzmir Ticaret Odası, 2008).

Plans to turn Bayraklı into a central business district were revived by the 2001 competition, which marked a radical turn in its transformation. The winning project by German architect Johan Brandi, which saw a number of revisions and cancellations, was finally approved in 2010, and set the tone for Salhane's regeneration (Erdik and Kaplan, 2009, 54; Penpecioğlu, 2012, 192-5). Accordingly, Bayraklı would be developed by public and mixed-use buildings including residences; touristic, commercial and business centers. Private holdings, which had been purchasing large land parcels for giant office towers, shopping malls, and gated luxury residences since 2007, finally began to undertake construction in 2011.

Folkart Towers are the first mixed-use buildings of the urban regeneration process of Salhane. Completed in 2014, they are followed by Mistral İzmir (2016) and Ege Perla Towers (2016). Megapol (2012) and Bayraklı (2013) towers in their vicinity accommodate solely commercial functions. Besides providing a glittery facade to the city, the urban regeneration of Salhane brings forth new urban problems. Öner and Pasin (2015) aptly emphasize emerging issues of social and environmental sustainability in the area, pointing to the lack of collaboration between local authorities and contractors of the emerging high-rise blocks. They also state that issues of sustainability in the area need to be addressed both at the building scale and in relation to the larger urban context. The lack of such an integrated approach results in the reduction of sustainability issues to "greenwash branding" and the privileging of environmental over social sustainability (Öner and Pasin, 2015, 855).

Folkart Towers, which include residences, offices and commercial spaces, replaced the factory housing units for the workers of Turkish Monopolies (*Tekel*). They are significant in revealing the possible impacts of luxury high-rise developments in the area, which continues to witness the rise of eye-catching skyscrapers amidst its low-rise profile. More office towers, shopping malls and luxury residences are in the pipeline (**Figure 2**). The Towers are presently surrounded by middle-class residences and small businesses on one side; warehouses and the above mentioned slum neighborhood on the other (**Figure 3**). The latter two are included in the urban regeneration plan as areas to be demolished. Based on their striking architectural features with their curvilinear silhouettes, high-performance glass facades, and their visibility from the main transportation axes, the towers are aggressively advertised by their construction company as the new symbols of İzmir via different platforms such as newspapers,

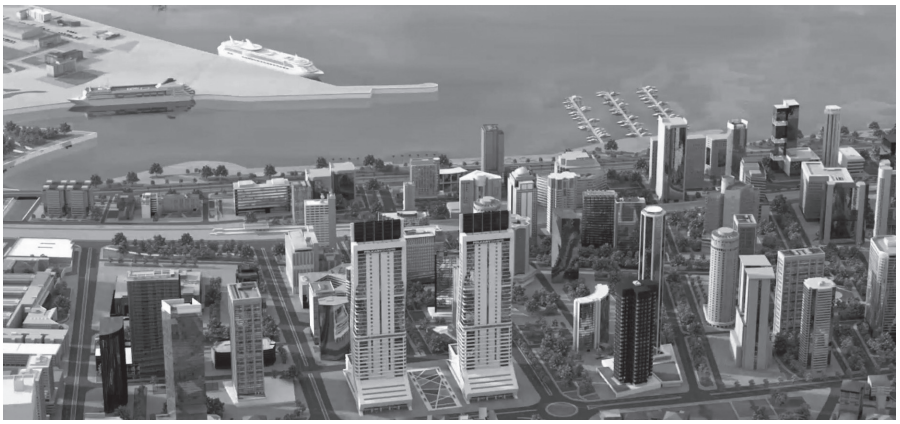

Figure 2. Simulation model of the Salhane section of the new city center. Folkart Towers are the twin towers in the foreground (Folkart Yapı, 2015).

Figure 3. Aerial view of Folkart Towers and their surrounding land-use, (Google Earth screen shot modified by Cansu Karakız).

magazines, websites, billboards and television. Arguably they set the architectural tone for İzmir's new high-rise blocks which are adorned with similar features.

There is an unmistakable gap that separates the Towers from their immediate neighborhood in social, economic and cultural terms, which is hardly voiced in mainstream media, let alone political and administrative discourses. At one level the present morphology of Salhane can be conveniently described in such binary terms as wealthy versus poor;

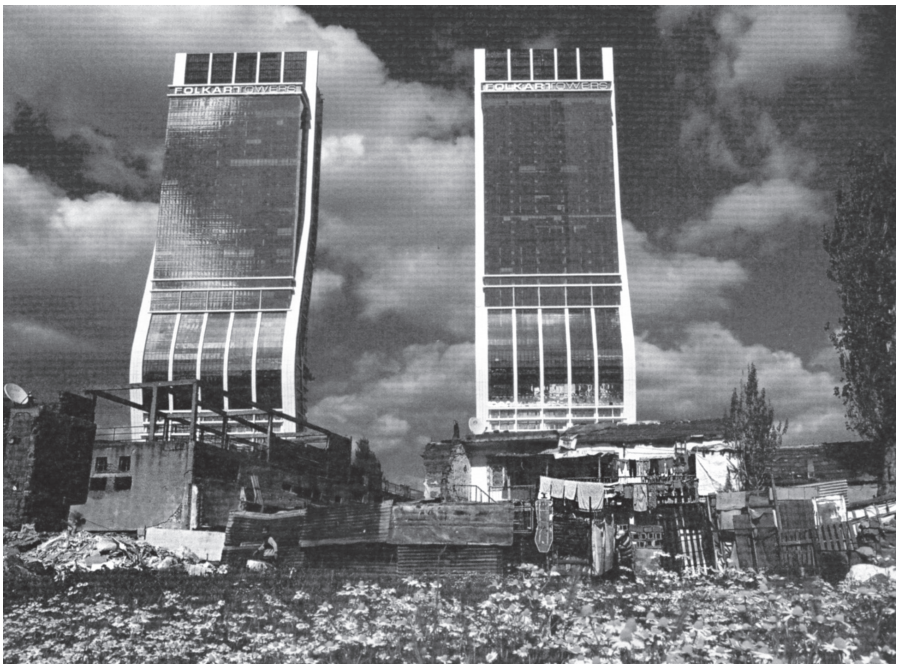

Figure 4. *Bayraklı* by Nilgün Özdemir (Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2015, 106). Courtesy of Arkas Art Center.

privileged versus disprivileged; upper-class versus lower-class; and central versus marginal. This perspective is strikingly captured in photographer Nilgün Özdemir's shot of the Towers from the slum area (**Figure 4**). There, the shiny sterile facades of the soaring towers are in stark contrast with the evocation of tactility by the drying laundry in front of the shacks and the wild flowers in the foreground. The photograph clearly shows the contradictory traits that characterize the area which can be multiplied by the addition of terms like culture versus nature, urban versus rural and order versus chaos. Although such binary constructs are not entirely out of synch with the existing situation, a closer analysis including fieldwork and in-depth interviews, reveals a more complicated landscape. As we argue below, Salhane then emerges as a permanent zone of purgatory where agencies are always already fragile and where homelessness prevails as more than a transitory phenomenon that only affects the dispossessed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following analysis is inspired and informed by the work of critical theorists like Kaja Silverman and Roger Frier, who mobilize psychoanalytical theory in cultural studies. In exploring the complicated interplay between space and subjectivity, we center our argument on the notion of home, which we take both as a literal and a metaphorical figure tied to the idea of being one with oneself or belonging to a place where one experiences wholeness and unity. The latter are loaded terms which are explicated by psychoanalytical theorists and which call for further clarification here.

Relating the experience of unity to the formation of subjectivity, Silverman explains the former as the "temporary integration of the visual imago with the sensational ego" (Silverman, 1996, 20). Here, the visual imago refers to Lacan's mirror stage, where the ego comes into existence upon the infant's apprehension of its body image for the first time within a reflective surface (**4**). Hence the foundation of one's identity is rooted in an exterior

image. According to Lacan (1977), as the image is always already formed outside of the self, one's identification with his/her image is always a misrecognition. The sensational ego, on the other hand, has less to do with identity than with a sense of the self. It includes "all tactile, cutaneous and kinaesthetic sensations" and "can be defined only through the relationship between the body and the world of objects" (Silverman, 1996, 13). While the visual imago is related to one's identity, sensational ego which is related to the body's sensation of occupying a point in space, relates to the "production of a nonvisual corporeal Gestalt" (Silverman, 1996, 17). Following psychoanalytical theorists Paul Schilder (1950), Silverman explains that: "The experience which each of us at times has of being 'ourselves' ... depends on the smooth integration of the visual imago with the proprioceptive or sensational ego" (Silverman, 1996, 17).

Here we explore the relationship between the visual and sensational realms in the socio-cultural sphere in order to understand the effects of macro scale planning decisions on the subjectivities of urban inhabitants. Locating our arguments in Salhane's urban renewal process that is overdetermined by profit oriented market mechanisms, we use the term homelessness to refer to the perpetual absence of the sense of wholeness and unity, not only for the slum dwellers but also for the residents of Folkart Towers. Wary of the shortcomings of focusing mainly on class, rather than gender and ethnic differences, we trace the complicated interplay between the visual imago and the sensational ego for both parties in the context of their related spatial settings. Such an analysis provides a framework for the analysis of the relationship between subjectivity and space in general and the effects of Salhane's urban regeneration on its inhabitants' identification in particular (**5**).

(UNHOMELY) IMAGES: THE POWER OF THE GAZE

Folkart Towers and their neighboring slum district are separated by a distance of only 150 meters. Although there are no visual barriers between them, physical contact between their inhabitants is almost nullified by a number of architectural, administrative and social mechanisms. First of all, the Towers' entrances are separated from the street by a plaza that accommodates a strip of greenery aligned with parking lots and a pedestrian area. Upon entrance through one of the main gates which are guarded by patrols, one is greeted by a large, glazed hall. At one end of the hall there is a security counter where visitors need to report their destination and leave their identification document (**Figure 5**). In return, they receive a card that allows them to go through the turnpikes that lead to the area to key in the floor number of their destination before accessing the elevators.

These physical barriers and the exclusive image of the Towers are further reinforced by impenetrable social boundaries that are managed by a tightly knit administrative structure. The general management of the Towers is undertaken by a professional firm and sales are conducted by a real estate agency, both of which are hired by Folkart construction company (*Folkart Yapı*). According to C (male 31), one of the apartment owners, the agency is very selective in terms of the social status of the prospective occupants to keep the exclusive image of the towers. The physical and social image of Folkart Towers, complete with brand name shops and eateries at the plaza, is guaranteed to be untouched by the lower status of its immediate neighborhood. Even the seemingly public nature of the plaza in front is

4. Lacanian psychoanalysis differentiates between the real, imaginary and symbolic realms. While the first is associated with the pre-language realm of maternal plenitude, the second refers to the mirror phase where the "I" differentiates itself, and third is the realm of language, society and law (Lacan, 1977). While Lacan's explanations are rather dispersed, his translator Alan Sheridan's preface offers a concise description of these terms (ix-x).

5. The distribution of the interviewees is as follows: 17 in Folkart Towers; 14 in the warehouse area; 10 in the slum neighbourhood; 11 in the shops across Folkart Towers.

Figure 5. Entrance hall of Folkart Tower B (Photo by Cansu Karakız).

challenged by the security guards who dispel youngsters from the slum district. Others, including warehouse employees and even the residents of the businesses across the street, simply shun the area.

Although the lack of contact between the Towers and their neighboring residents can easily be explained by the unaffordability of the brand name enterprises for the latter, there is a deeper underlying factor that is related to one's identification through the visual imago. This is most strikingly exemplified by the interviewees' expressions regarding their relationship to the Towers. When asked whether he had ever gone there, slum dweller M (male, 48) stated that he had no reason for doing so, saying: "Why should I go there? I do not live that kind of life. It would hurt; the lifestyle; the entire scene". His neighbor G (housewife, 28) was even more explicit when she said: "How can we go there? They are rich, we are poor. I swear that we feel shame even when we pass by. They must be seeing something like a village when they view our place".

What is common in these expressions is the use of emotive terms like hurt and shame in the descriptions of the slum dwellers' encounter with the Towers. In fact the repeated use of the word "they" by the slum dwellers in reference to the users of the Towers is remarkable in showing their dis-identification with the latter. What is particularly striking in G's statement is the identification of her own status through the imaginary gaze of the Towers' residents. As Frier explains: "When I see and meet another person, he/she initially appears to me as an object amongst other objects in my world. Before the appearance of the other, the objects of my world are oriented towards me. Once the other is present, this original situation begins to disintegrate. The other constitutes his/her world by dissolving mine, thus resulting in a negation and decentralization of the world that I have ordered around me" (Frier, 1997, 52).

The rise of Folkart Towers clearly marked the appearance of the other for the slum dwellers. Before then, Salhane saw a relatively homogenous social structure, populated by low income workers from the factory housing, leather workshops and tanneries. M's narration of the times before the erection of the Towers, i.e., before the appearance of the other is telling in this respect: "There was a leather workshop here; a tannery across; and another leather workshop beyond. There was a lot of lively movement. When it was lunch time the area was filled with people; they all poured to Salhane to drink tea and to eat. Now that livelihood is over. This building (Folkart Towers) made no contribution. Whichever way you look, 3000 to 5000 people would come here on a daily basis". M's perception of the

depopulation of his neighborhood contrasts the remarks of the owners of the shops across Folkart Towers. The latter express their satisfaction due to the rise in their sales after the increase in the area's population since the construction of the Towers. Yet the newcomers do not count for M, who are strangers to him outside of his now weakened social milieu. His previously stated hurtful feelings and G's shame are rooted in their encounter with the new residents, who clearly occupy a more privileged social status and thus disseminate the slum dwellers' sense of being at home.

What is remarkable here is that this dissemination takes place regardless of face to face contact between the newcomers and slum dwellers. When G says, "They must be seeing something like a village when they look at our place," she does not refer to any particular subject who actually looks at their place, but to an imaginary and disembodied look, which Lacan calls the gaze. According to him, as distinguished from the look, which is identified with a subject, the gaze denotes "the presence of others as such" (Lacan, 1981, 84). Associated with the camera, it is "the manifestation of the symbolic within the field of vision" (Silverman, 1996, 168).

The slum dwellers clearly associate the Towers with the disembodied social gaze. How to theorize their feelings of hurt and shame then? Lacan's notion of the screen, which Silverman interprets as "the site at which social and historical difference enters the field of vision" (1996, 134), is helpful in this respect. According to her, the screen is the full range of culturally generated images by which subjects are differentiated by means of such criteria as race, gender and class. Having an ideological status, the screen determines how the gaze and the subjects are seen. In Silverman's words: "The screen represents the site at which the gaze is defined for a particular society, and is consequently responsible both for the way in which the inhabitants of that society experience the gaze's effects, and for much of the seeming particularity of that society's visual regime" (Silverman, 1996, 135).

With the appearance of the glossy Folkart Towers in their immediate neighborhood, the slum dwellers have to experience the effects of the gaze and hence their marginalized place on the screen on an everyday basis. That explains why even the image of the Towers hurts and causes shame in them. Associated with the gaze, the Towers function like a camera for their surroundings where the slum dwellers' become aware of their own image which is rendered undesirable and imperfect.

How do the slum dwellers cope with their lack of agency in their present unsolicited social setting then? Not unlike the Towers' residents, they too built security boundaries around their neighborhood, not in physical terms but by their refusal to communicate with outsiders. For example, when asked why his neighbors did not want to talk to us, M, a relatively more articulate and sociable member, explained the situation as follows: "They don't talk with you, not because the topics can be sensitive, but because of their own shortcomings. They are reticent also because (pauses) what if you are from the police? If you ask me, so what? If you are not guilty of anything what can the police do to you? But they don't talk, they just stare". In a way that is similar to the exposure of the slum dwellers to the imaginary gaze of the Tower residents, outsiders who enter the slum area are made aware of their otherness by the slum dwellers' stare. Unlike the disembodied nature of the gaze, which is associated with the symbolic order, the stare in question here corresponds to the Lacanian notion of the look, which is always already embodied. In this case, the latter is

threatening to the outsiders of the slum area, precisely because they are caught in a perspective that is outside the parameters that is approved by the gaze with which they identify themselves.

Unlike the slum dwellers who are burdened by the existence of the Towers, residents of the latter are largely indifferent to the presence of the slums, which are rendered invisible to them through various mechanisms. First of all, subtle boundaries like the plaza and the parking lots that surround the Towers isolate their residents from their neighborhood, which they perceive as dangerous. According C, since the Towers are highly protected by security guards, they have not been disturbed by their neighborhood. When asked about their view of the slums, another flat owner M (male, 30s) conveniently looked sideways saying that he enjoyed his view since "the sun sets from the other side anyway" (**Figure 6**). Carefully orchestrated security measures, which minimize the residents' contact with their surroundings, helps them to focus on the magnificent sea view and the horizon line which add value to their property, rather than the slum neighborhood at their feet. Those who are disturbed either block the view with greenery or take consolation in the prospect of their demolition in the near future. Only when asked, they describe the area as an alien and distant place which deserves to be demolished. Pharmacy assistant MB (male, 54) said: "There is a strange abyss (between the Towers and the slums). I am not exaggerating. Go to the back side and see; it is like a tin neighborhood; there are even tents there. There are wrecked houses. There are at least ten little kids in a single house; there are Syrians".

The worker of an insurance company in the Towers (female, 42) complained saying, "you can even see carcasses on the streets after the Feast of Sacrifice". The manager of the Art Gallery (female, 30) went so far as blaming the slum neighborhood for colonizing the area and leaving no space for greenery. They all seemed to view the area as a little temporary disturbance soon to be eradicated. Even S (male, 32), one of the security guards who lives in a slum area elsewhere, said "let them be demolished; every single one of them; let's send them to Syria or something". This paper is too short to elaborate on the association of the slum dwellers with refugees, but the broad and often mislead generalizations about the area clearly show an asymmetrical specular exchange between the slum dwellers and Folkart residents. The latter are clearly located in a privileged

Figure 6. View of the slum neighbourhood from Folkart Tower B, floor 18 (Photo by Cansu Karakız).

position in relation to the gaze. In psychoanalytical terms, they equate their look with the gaze in ascribing to it a mastering relation to the world. Although at that level they may be said to be at home in the Towers, a different picture emerges when one looks beyond the visual imago.

BEYOND THE IMAGE: CORPOREAL PRACTICES

If the notion of homeliness is tied to the unity of the visual imago and the bodily ego, it seems inevitable to have a closer look at the latter in order to understand the effects of Salhane's regeneration on the subjectivities of its present inhabitants. Inspired by psychoanalytical theorist Paul Schilder's work, Silverman relates the bodily ego to certain bodily feelings, whose determinants are both physiological and social (1996, 14) (**6**). Schilder insists that subjects' contacts with their environment through their actions and their social and interpersonal investments play a significant role in the formation of their identification (Schilder, 1950, 201-204; Grosz, 1994, 67). The bodily ego then, is associated with one's relation to objects and position in space – both socially and physically.

Considering Folkart Towers, the residents' relation to their physical and social environment seems congruent with the privileged status of their visual imago. They clearly represent a select segment of İzmir's population and see their address as a manifestation of their social status. C summarized their sentiments as follows: "These two are the tallest twin towers in Europe. The family (owners of Folkart Yapı) is well known both in İzmir and in Turkey by now. There are all the nice stores, restaurants and familiar brands at the ground level. I mean, that is why the residents are of high social status". As this and other similar expressions indicate, the Tower residents identify themselves with a much broader geographical region than their immediate neighborhood. They are proud to live in the tallest twin towers in Europe which are built by a well-known family in Turkey; to have national and international brand name stores within their immediate access; and to be associated with a select social stratum. Interestingly, none of these features have to do with the quality of their everyday life, but with a social image the value of which is largely measured by capital.

Despite their pride in belonging to a privileged segment of the society, the Tower's residents sound rather apologetic when they narrate their relationship to their physical environment in their everyday lives. As they admit to the relatively high management fees, they report significant problems like water insulation, tightness of space and overheating due to large glazed surfaces. These are mentioned in passing as if they are only secondary compared to the prestige of residing in Folkart Towers. Most tellingly, one prospective tenant reported his regrets after withdrawing from signing the contract only because of rainwater leakage (reported by C). A housewife, CM (female, 27) explained that she had to use block out curtains to avoid the reflections from the Towers' ornamental facade lighting in the evenings. C stated that overheating could be overcome only by keeping the windows closed and turning on the air conditioners. Ç (male, 37), an employee of the insurance company said: "There is no such thing as fresh air here ... Sometimes I feel like electric cables are wired up in my body."

Height was also expressed as a concern by the occupants. Ç said that some of their colleagues developed vertigo after moving in. Needless to say, the

6. The relation between the visual and non-visual components of the ego has been theorized by a number of psychoanalists in the mid-1930s, including Schiller and Henri Wallon. While Schiller insists on their inseparability, Wallon states that their unity is at best tenuous (Schiller, 1950, 38; Silverman, 1996, 14-5). The complex neurological analyses and explanations of these theorists are outside the scope of this study. Here we focus on the social and environmental aspects of their work.

causes of many of these environmental problems such as outdoor lighting and lack of window handles in the office floors are related to maintaining the exterior image of the Towers which the residents are willing to invest at the expense of their everyday comfort. It seems like Folkart Towers' residents are not quite at home at the level of their immediate relationship to their physical environment. This situation is further complicated by their social and interpersonal interactions, which is an equally significant component of the bodily ego in order to experience homeliness.

Paradoxically, Folkart residents' physical and social isolation from their immediate neighborhood does not result in increased sociality within their own community. On the contrary, residents of both apartments and businesses voiced their feelings of isolation. When asked about his opinion on the population density of the Towers due to their mixed use, C said: "Yes but you do not see anyone anyway. In fact it would have been better if it were crowded; otherwise it feels lifeless". Similar sentiments are voiced by the office residents. Insurance company employees Ç and F (female, 40s) complained that they were "detached from the outside world" once they entered the Towers. Their former office, which was at the ground level in the city center, enabled them to be part of the everyday activities of their neighborhood. F stated that since they work in the sales department it is important for them to socialize in order to attract new customers. She added that, in terms of business contacts their new location did not seem to have provided them with any advantage other than the magnificent view from the 43rd floor, which impresses the customers.

The term lifelessness as used by C, has as much to do with the uniformity and hence anonymity of the physical environment, as desolation. CM said that as all entrances look alike, she often ends up at someone else's door front, mistaking it as her own. Yet she hardly had any face-to-face contact with her neighbors. She said that she never met anyone on the corridor or in the elevator and it was like she and her husband were alone in the Towers. She explained further that even when she had a problem with her neighbors, such as noise from upstairs, she had to file a complaint to the management rather than meeting with the related party. It seems like every encounter within the Towers is monitored by an anonymous third party, be it the security guards, receptionists or managerial staff.

Furthermore, although the Tower dwellers do not face the threat of demolition due to urban regeneration, they are still rendered anxious by potential decrease in the monetary value of their residence due to future construction activities in their neighborhood. Pointing to the slum area from his window, C explained: "Folkart bought this area so that nobody else builds a tower there. They say they might build villas or one or two towers to be placed diagonally – so that our view does not get blocked. I said "if you are going to build here, I will sell my apartment before it is devalued. Anyway, construction will not begin before 7-8 years".

As the interviewees' expressions clarify, the desirability of the Towers predominantly resides in the visual imago of their residents, which is related to their status in the symbolic order, associated with the gaze. A different picture emerges upon the analysis of their contact with their physical and social environment, i.e., the components of their bodily ego. The incongruity between the two results in a state of homelessness for them which is quite different than the slum dwellers.

The slum dwellers, on the other hand, whose visual imago shattered upon the construction of the Towers, are also considerably affected in terms of their relation to their physical and social environment. Living in houses with no title deeds and hardly receiving any municipal services, they mostly complain about accumulated garbage heaps and the resulting attacks by insects. To cope with their condition of poverty and neglect, they have formed a tightly knit community, based on an economy of mutual aid. Some raise goats and chickens on empty lots, which are maintained communally, to obtain eggs and to produce cheese. Facing demolition, they are more concerned about the dissolution of their neighborly relationships than the loss of their houses. For them, homeliness seems to have more to do with a network of relationships than the physical conditions of their dwellings. When the question comes to their feelings about the prospective demolishment of their houses, their statements resonate with detachment and acceptance, rather than disillusionment and rage. Asked about what their future looks like, bird-seller K (male, 20) said: "We will be dispersed wherever (pauses). They have been talking about this (demolition) for years on end but there is nothing to do. The day will come and we will move out".

M followed similar lines saying, "life goes on here or elsewhere, what can we do? Life goes on". İ (housewife, 42) had the final word when she said, "Does it matter whether you live in this house or another one? We will all end up in the same place". Coupled with M's statement of "living in purgatory", İ's expression clearly shows the somewhat naturalized transitory position that the slum dwellers see themselves in. Both their visual imago and their corporeal ego are shattered, faced with violence, ignorance and neglect.

CONCLUSION

The early stages of Salhane's urban regeneration process, when the new residents are temporarily co-habiting the area with the older ones, is exemplary in surfacing the effects of so-called Manhattanization on both parties' subjectivities. Following Greenspan's (2013) argument, we argued that as the area turns "into a playground for the wealthiest inhabitants" of the city, not only the poorest but also the privileged segments are rendered homeless. The psychoanalytical interpretation of homelessness as the experience of unity and wholeness which is based on the integration of the visual imago and the corporeal ego (Schilder, 1950; Silverman, 1996) is enabling in the analysis of the complicated relationship between subjectivity and space. Such an analysis also reveals the significance of inter-subjective encounters in understanding the constituents of architectural and urban space.

The encounter between the newcomers and the earlier residents in the formative years of Salhane's transformation accentuates the effects of the area's profit oriented transformation on the visual and socio-corporeal components of the residents' subjectivities. The construction of Folkart Towers next to a slum neighborhood provides fertile ground to explore such effects. As on-site observations and interviews with the residents revealed, all parties have witnessed the negative effects of profit based mechanisms of urban transformation with lack of sufficient collaboration between contractors, local authorities and users. As Öner and Pasin (2015) have pointed out, social sustainability is an often overlooked aspect of the recent transformations in Bayraklı. Caught amidst administrative and

planning decisions beyond their control, the Tower residents and the slum dwellers are clearly positioned differently in relation to the effects of the socio-cultural transformation of the area.

Following the premises of psychoanalytical theorists (Silverman, 1996; Frier, 1997), we contend that the concept of the gaze plays a key role in understanding the relative positions of the Towers' and slum area's inhabitants. Silverman emphasizes that the integration of the visual and sensational components of subjectivity is imaginable both when it is sustained by the gaze, and when the visual imago is associated with ideality and perceived as lovable (Silverman, 1996, 20). As we argued above, the Tower residents' homelessness is rooted in the disjunctive relation between their visual imago and socio-corporeal ego. While they occupy an idealized place in relation to the gaze due to their privileged social status, their sense of self is prone to turn fragile when facing the look of the slum dwellers, which they try to avoid at all costs. The ideality of their socio-corporeal existence at the level of everyday life on the other hand, is marred by the Towers' social and physical isolation both from within and from without. As the interviews revealed, the residents lack physical and social contact as much with each other as their surrounding neighborhoods. While they sacrifice aspects of their physical comfort for the investment value of their apartments, they are also rendered with anxiety regarding the sustainability of the latter.

Unlike the Tower residents, the slum dwellers are caught in a state of radical homelessness that pervades nearly every aspect of their lives. Facing the far distance of their visual imago from ideality upon the arrival of the Tower residents in their immediate neighborhood, they are reminded of their unprivileged status on the cultural screen on a daily basis. The poorly constructed unhygienic conditions of their physical environment are worsened by the lack of proper municipal services due to the potential evacuation of the area in the near future. As their strongest base of homeliness, which is rooted in their tightly knit neighborly relations is also under threat, the slum dwellers see themselves inhabiting a tenuous grey zone between life and death.

Figure 7. *Kadifekale* by Muhammad Jahangir Khan, 2015 (Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2015, 72). Courtesy of Arkas Art Center.

The present research reveals the negative effects of urban regeneration processes in Salhane on the subjectivities and everyday lives of the inhabitants. Most of these effects are clearly based on the overshadowing of socio-cultural concerns by material benefits. A close reading of a panoramic photograph of İzmir by Muhammad Jahangir Kahn is a poetic reminder of other urban visions that are not entrenched in the inequalities that produce and are produced by present day regeneration policies (**Figure 7**). Shot from Kadifekale, the highest mound in İzmir, the photograph is marked by three vertical figures: Folkart Towers and the regeneration area at the background; a door frame that isolates an older segment of the city at the foreground; and a kite flying adolescent boy in between. Unlike Özdemir's image which does not feature any human figures and hence signals the dystopic dissolution of the human element in the city, here the boy is in focus. What is remarkable is that he seems to have turned his back to both the Towers and the old city. The boy's gaze is turned elsewhere; towards the kite perhaps; which floats freely between the sea and the sky. Unlike the dystopic sense that is evoked in Özdemir's image, this one resonates with the promise of other possibilities. We would like to read the kite as a line of flight, away from the ruthless mechanisms of capital based urban regeneration processes that incessantly produce norms of ideality which result in homeless cities and cities of homeless.

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ABBREVIATIONS

İGMM Greater Metropolitan Municipality

AKP Justice and Development Party

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Kentsel dönüşüm; mekânsal pratikler; İzmir; Salhane; Folkart Towers.

ARAFTA YAŞAMAK: İZMİR, SALHANE'DE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN ORTASINDA EVSİZLİK DURUMU

Bu makale Salhane'deki kentsel dönüşümün burada yaşayanların gündelik yaşamları ve öznellik oluşumları üzerindeki etkilerini irdeliyor. 2001de yeni kent merkezi olacağı duyurulan bölgedeki ilk çok işlevli gökdelen olan Folkart Towers 2014 yılında tamamlandı. Ofis, konut ve farklı ticari işlevleri barındıran ikiz kulelerden oluşan bu yapı, yakın zamanda yıkılması planlanan depolar ve bir gecekondu mahallesi ile iki tarafından çevrelenmiş durumda. Folkart Towers gözalıcı gökdelenlerin, alışveriş merkezlerinin ve lüks konutların inşasının sürmekte olduğu bu bölgede radikal ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel dönüşümlerin öncülüğünü yapıyor. İkiz kulelerin temsil ettiği dünya, onun gölgesinde sessizce varlığını sürdüren gecekondu alanından çok farklı. Bu fark ilk bakışta kolayca zengin/fakir, ayrıcalıklı/marjinal, kentsel/kırsal ve planlı/plansız gibi zıtlıklarla açıklanabilir görülse de derinlemesine bir çözümleme çok daha katmanlı ve karmaşık bir durum sergiliyor.

Bu araştırma, Folkart Towers'da ve gecekondu mahallesinde yaşayanların öznelliklerini ve gündelik yaşamlarını ele alırken bir yandan bölgede yürütülen saha araştırmalarından, diğer yandan psikoanalitik kuramın öznellik anlayışından besleniyor. Bu anlayışta öznellik, görsel imge ve bedensel duyuların bütünlüğü bağlamında ele alınıyor. Alan araştırmalarının gösterdiği gibi, Folkart Towers ve gecekondu mahallesi sakinlerinin öznellikleri gerek görsel gerek bedensel yönden farklı şekillerde deneyimledikleri ötekileştirme ve evsizleştirme süreçleri tarafından biçimleniyor. Bu çalışma, genelde öznellik ve mekân ilişkilerini gündeme getirirken, özelde Salhane'deki kentsel dönüşümün burada yaşayanların kimlik kurguları üzerindeki etkisini açığa çıkarıyor.

LIVING IN PURGATORY: HOMELESSNESS AMIDST URBAN REGENERATION IN SALHANE, İZMİR (1)

This article analyzes the effects of urban regeneration on the everyday lives and subjectivities of the residents of Salhane, which was announced to be İzmir's new city center in 2001. Folkart Towers, which were completed in 2014, are the first mixed-use buildings in the area. Surrounded by warehouses and a slum neighbourhood on two sides, the latter consists of twin towers which accommodate offices, residences and a broad range of commercial facilities. Folkart Towers lead radical economic, social and cultural transformations in the area where the construction of numerous eye-catching skyscapers, shopping centers and luxury residences are in the pipeline. The seemingly extravagant lifestyle that is represented by the twin towers is very different than the harsh living conditions of its neighbouring slum area. At first sight the difference may be explained by such binary terms as rich/poor, privileged/marginal, urban/rural

and planned/unplanned. However a deeper analysis reveals a more complicated and multi-layered situation.

The present study on the subjectivities and everyday lives of Folkart Towers and slum residents is informed by both field work that has been conducted in the area and psychoanalytical theories of subjectivity, which consider the relationship between its visual and sensational components. Research reveals that both components of the subjectivities of the residents of Folkart Towers and the slum neighbourhood are effected by the regeneration processes in Salhane whereby all parties experience homelessness in different ways. This article provides a framework for the analysis of the selationship between subjectivity and space in general and the effects of Salhane's urban regeneration on its inhabitants' subjectivities in particular.

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