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Emergencyscape: Politics of Disaster Risk and Urban Renewal in Istanbul

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Emergencyscape

Politics of Disaster Risk and Urban Renewal in Istanbul

KAMILE BATUR

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ABSTRACT

This project traces the fragile and historically contingent relationship between disaster risks and spatial production by visiting the fields of discursive, anticipatory, architectural, juridical, administrative, and financial practices of disaster risk reduction and analyzing the circulation of their products through diverse forms of records, especially documents, and spatial analysis in the case of Istanbul's urban renewal process as preparedness practice to the anticipated earthquake. An overall effect of this contingent relationship is the sense of being in an emergency which is familiar to us in other cities from the contemporary experience of pandemic and the climate change. Emergency is, however, not just an unmediated collective feeling, a factual situation requiring exceptional response, nor a top-down sovereign strategy instrumentalizing the threat or even producing it to achieve other aims. As this project will show, emergency is an *effect* of assemblage that I call *emergencyscape* entailing a wide range of practices by multiple contesting, conflicting, complementing, or cooperating actors in multiple fields in their attempts to address the question of future safety and prosperity in the city. Emergency requires a complex relationship with the future that one looks at fearfully and hopefully simultaneously: the sense of being threatened, being urged to act, having limited time to respond, but also the sense of having the possibility to reduce the threatening character of the situation, if not desiring to turn it into an opportunity.

Throughout this process, in the last two decades the state has been defined increasingly by its capacity for the provision of safety to its citizens against natural disasters. The identification of vulnerability and the demands for care are two central concerns in this regard, renewing and extending the legitimacy and reach of the state. Care and vulnerability, hopes and fears are, however, distributed throughout the process unevenly among the inhabitants of the city: for the precarious inhabitants, urban renewal, which promises safety, is turned into threats, while for other, well-off inhabitants, promises are extended beyond safety. This project offers the notion of *biocare* to bring the question of the reproduction of inequality through these complex mechanisms into the discussions of biopolitics.

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KURZFASSUNG

Dieses Projekt folgt der fragilen und historisch kontingenten Beziehung zwischen Katastrophenrisiken und räumlicher Produktion; es durchstreift dabei diskursive, antizipatorische, architekonische, juridische, administrative und finanzielle Praktiken der Reduzierung von Katastrophenrisiken; es analysiert die Zirkulation der Produkte derselben anhand verschiedener Formen von Aufzeichnungen, v.a. Dokumenten, und auch anhand einer räumlichen Analyse des Falls von Istanbuls Erneuerungsprozess – betrachtet als eine Praxis der Bereitschaft für das erwartete Erdbeben. Eine übergreifende Wirkung der oben genannten Beziehung ist das Gefühl, in einem Ausnahmezustand zu sein – ein Gefühl mit dem wir mittlerweile auch in anderen Städten, v.a. aufgrund der aktuellen Pandemie und der Klimakrise, vertraut sind. Ein Ausnahmezustand ist allerdings nicht ein unvermitteltes kollektives Gefühl, eine faktische Situation, die uns zu einer außergewöhnlichen Reaktion nötigt. Es ist aber auch keine rein hierarchisch vollzogene souveräne Strategie, die eine Bedrohung instrumentalisiert oder sogar hervorbringt, um etwa andere Ziele zu erreichen. Wie dieses Projekt zeigen soll, ist der Ausnahmezustand vielmehr der Effekt eines Gefüges, das ich *emergencyscape* genannt habe. Es beinhaltet ein weites Spektrum von Praktiken konkurrierender, einander widersprechender, sich ergänzender oder miteinander kooperierender Akteure in multiplen Feldern, die versuchen, die Frage nach der zukünftigen Sicherheit und des Wohlstands der Stadt anzusprechen. Der Ausnahmezustand erfordert eine komplexe Beziehung mit einer Zukunft, in die wir zugleich besorgt und hoffnungsvoll blicken: Einerseits das Gefühl, bedroht zu sein, gezwungen sein unter Zeitdruck zu handeln; andererseits das Gefühl die Möglichkeit zu haben, den bedrohenden Charakter der Situation zu reduzieren, vielleicht sogar der Wunsch, es in eine Gelegenheit zu verwandeln.

Während dieses Prozesses in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten hat sich der Staat immer mehr durch seine Kapazität definiert, seinen Bürger*innen Schutz vor Naturkatastrophen zu gewähren. Die Identifizierung von Vulnerabilität und die Forderungen nach Schutz sind zwei zentrale Anliegen in diesem Sinne, die die Legitimität und Reichweite des Staates erneuert und erweitert haben. Nur Schutz und Vulnerabilität, Hoffnungen und Ängste sind nicht gleichermaßen verteilt zwischen den Bewohner*innen einer Stadt: Während für Einwohner*innen in prekären Situationen sich eine urbane Erneuerung, die im Grunde Sicherheit verspricht, in eine Bedrohung verwandelt; gibt es für andere, bessergestellte Bewohner*innen Versprechen jenseits von Sicherheit. Dieses Projekt will durch die Einführung des Begriffs *biocare* versuchen, die Frage nach der Reproduktion von Ungleichheit durch diese komplexen Mechanismen in die biopolitische Diskussion einzubringen.

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For my mother
Halide Şahin

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Peter Mörtenböck, as a supervisor, recognizes the originality in one's research question, appreciates one's search for one's own methods and give all the freedom a researcher could desire. It was a pleasure and an honor to work with him. I want to thank him for all of that, and for his joy I had sensed when we discussed my chapters which allows me to dream of publishing this research later.

There are two groups of great scholars: The scholars in the first group produce great theories in the classical sense. Perfection, though, is a curiosity killer, and theory turns out to be a limit to questions. The scholars in the other group are great mentors with their writings. Their writings wake curiosity in you, to hunger for questions and not only for answers. They are mentors to their readers even if they work and write in very different fields. Many scholars in this second group accompanied my research. Without them, I would never have completed this long process, or else might have finished it much earlier by having produced one like the hundred theses on my topic which are so similar to each other one gets the feeling of reading the same long piece. I discussed my research with my many mentor scholars whom I only knew through their writings. I heard their critiques about each research decision, argument, and attempt of theorization. These "discussions" sometimes got a little schizophrenic since they are all from different disciplines. But I realize now that all along I was writing for them to read. Abdoumaliq Simone and Vyjayanthi Rao were two of the scholars from the second group, mentors who inspired and scholarly nurtured me. I want to thank them for their writings that made it possible for Maliq and Vyjayanthi to virtually accompany my own process. It is a great honor to have them as examiners.

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This thesis belongs to several people: first of all, to my mother Halide and my father Yunus, who were real support in everything I have dared to do. If Murat, who has known me for 20 years now, is right (and I believe he is), they are responsible for all the courage and self-consciousness I have. They also helped me to nurture the sensibility to see inequality at work in everyday urban life, as well as teaching me solidarity in practice. I know I cannot thank

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them enough. Murat Batur knows how I relied on him. I was, during the writing, not always an easy person to get along with. I appreciate his patience and know how lucky I am to have him in my life. I also want to thank to Ayşe and Yıldız Batur from the family as well as my friends Asuman and Banu for taking my dissertation more serious than me and creating extra time for me to write whenever we got together. My sister Şeyma Tasdelen became my personal therapist. Without her I could not have finished this dissertation. She took care of the kids, especially during the pandemic, so that I could write. She did, however, also bring hers to us so that I had the feeling that I was writing a dissertation with five kids. Ayla, Zehra and Leyla added joy to our everyday life and made the process for Fatima Nil and Muhammed Arif, who have not known any time without a dissertation to be finished by mum or dad, less stressful. I am most thankful for having them, Nili and Momo. They were a great source of joy and hope when writing sometimes turned out to be a torture. I hope they forgive me all the times I turned into a *Schreimutter* and appreciate my work once they read it.

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1. Introduction. Emergency as an *Effect*

> Our lexicon of calamity is still so deeply colored with moral hues that it can be extraordinarily difficult for the social scientist to ask, let alone answer, the most critical questions (de Waal 2008, xiii).

This dissertation is, in its broadest frame, concerned with the fragile and uncertain process of architectural and urban (re)production under the shadow of anticipated disasters in the early 21st century. Half of the dissertation was written during the COVID-19 pandemic, while several chapters accompanied various disasters like floods in northern cities of Turkey and the Izmir Earthquake; this introduction has also witnessed floods in Germany, Austria, and Turkey, in addition to wildfires in more than 50 areas across 14 cities in Turkey alone, while Greece and Italy and numerous other countries were attempting desperately to control the ones in their territories.[1] What is common to these events is urgency as well as a sense of uncertainty and anxious looks towards the future in their wakes.[2]

One of the key concerns of this dissertation is to explore critically the increasing domination of the concept of emergency in how urban spaces are governed in the face of disaster threats, even colonizing social and political struggles and leading to bottom-up emergency claims like "climate emergency."[3] The usage of the term "emergency" for natural disasters naturalizes the concept and invests it with legitimacy beyond the temporary governance of disaster events. The increasing deployment of the concept of emergency for natural disasters cannot be simply explained within discourses on political security questions. While in

[1] None of these events have been "collectively" experienced in the same way since the impact and scope, the temporality of the events as well as the accompanying local political dynamics were different, and the vulnerabilities are unevenly distributed along class, race, ethnicity, and gender lines.
[2] See also Aradau and van Munster (2011), Ghertner, McFann, and Goldstein (2020), Killen and Lebovic (2014), Masco (2014, 2021) Mathews and Barnes (2016), Zeiderman (2016a).
[3] See for example the call for "[d]eclaring a climate and sustainability emergency" by Spratt and Sutton (2008) and the political campaign "Climate Emergency Declaration," a call to governments to declare a climate emergency by a collective of various climate action groups including Extinction Rebellion (XR). See Cowan (2019) and Wretched of the Earth (2019) for critiques of XR's politics for ingoring the coloniality of the climate crisis and erasure of indigenous peoples and people of color who are the most affected populations from the discussion. See Smiles and Edwards (2021) for a qualitative study of activists' perspectives on this topic. See also Bullard (1993), Nixon (2011), and Schuller (2021) on climate justice and racism. See Madden (2019) for the formulation "city of emergency" for the urban question in respect to the so-called climate emergency. For a discussion of appeals to governments and the question of the subject of climate emergency see Bandt (2009). See also Anderson (2017) for a discussion of anti-black racism as a state of emergency, and Anderson et al. (2019) for "slow emergencies."

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international politics "emergency" is mostly approached as an imaginary serving political and capitalist powers, it is, in the cases of natural disasters, treated mostly as a factual situation, even though it still, however, has a tendency to refer to the instrumentalist politics, to the extent they are not singled out as being imagined or invented like in Agamben's response to the measures against the COVID-19 pandemics.[4] Instead of taking emergency as a given fact, an imaginary tool or a mask disguising hidden intentions, I attempt to show that emergency is an effect of how governance has been assembled in the last two decades. To do that, I visit the case of the ongoing risk-based urban renewal in Istanbul as a preparedness practice to the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake expected to hit the city in the near future and explore how the uncertainty has been governed through a wide range of practices, discourses, calculations, artifacts, scenarios, and plans, as well as a particular temporality and economy of affect and takes a distinct shape. The emergency is the *effect* of this assemblage that I call *emergencyscape*.

Istanbul's Threatening Future and Fragile Buildings

On the 17th of August 1999, at 3 am, an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.4 and an epicenter in the Kocaeli Gulf in the Marmara Sea hit Turkey affecting eight provinces inhabited by a quarter of the whole population. It cost the lives of 17,480 people and left 213,843 housing units damaged, 66,441 of which were heavily damaged (Ganapati 2016). Three months after this event, on the 12th of November, another earthquake with a magnitude of 7.2 and an epicenter in Düzce hit the country, causing 845 deaths. Shortly after both events, seismologists warned that an earthquake threat still exists, especially for Istanbul, since the fault lines under the Marmara Sea that will affect the city did not move in the recent events.[5] Both earthquakes, and the anticipation of a future earthquake, have generated heated discussions on urbanization, emergency management, and disaster preparedness. Since then, earthquakes have been conceived not only as architectural and engineering problems but as a distinctively urban concern in respect to their causes, results, and management.

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[4] His response to the Italian measures against the pandemic was to call them the "invention of an epidemic." He claims that the Italian government used the epidemic to produce a factual state of emergency (Agamben 2020, 2021). Žižek (2020) and Badiou (2020) seem to be optimistic about the possible outcomes of the process. Contrary to these universalist claims, other authors have highlighted the unevenness of both care and death as well as the imposition of measures (Aykan and Bilginer 2021; Lancione and Simone 2020; Mitropoulos 2020, 2021).

[5] The probability of the occurance of an earthquake equal to or greater than MMI VIII within the next 30 was estimated to be 62% (Parsons et al. 2000). See also (Hubert-Ferrari et al. 2000).

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One of the terms that has emerged in these discussions is “urban transformation," which has become the main solution in public discussions. The term postulates large-scale demolition and reconstruction of built areas, usually called in the literature "urban renewal." According to the most recent Earthquake Hazard Map (Figure 1) published by AFAD, the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, a quarter of all the buildings in Turkey are located in areas with the highest seismic risk. In addition to the hazard threat, approximately 6,7 million of the estimated 20 million built units are thought to have insufficient seismic resistance. The cost of their renewal over 20 years was estimated at $500 billion, making Turkey one of the largest construction markets (Gunes 2015, 20).

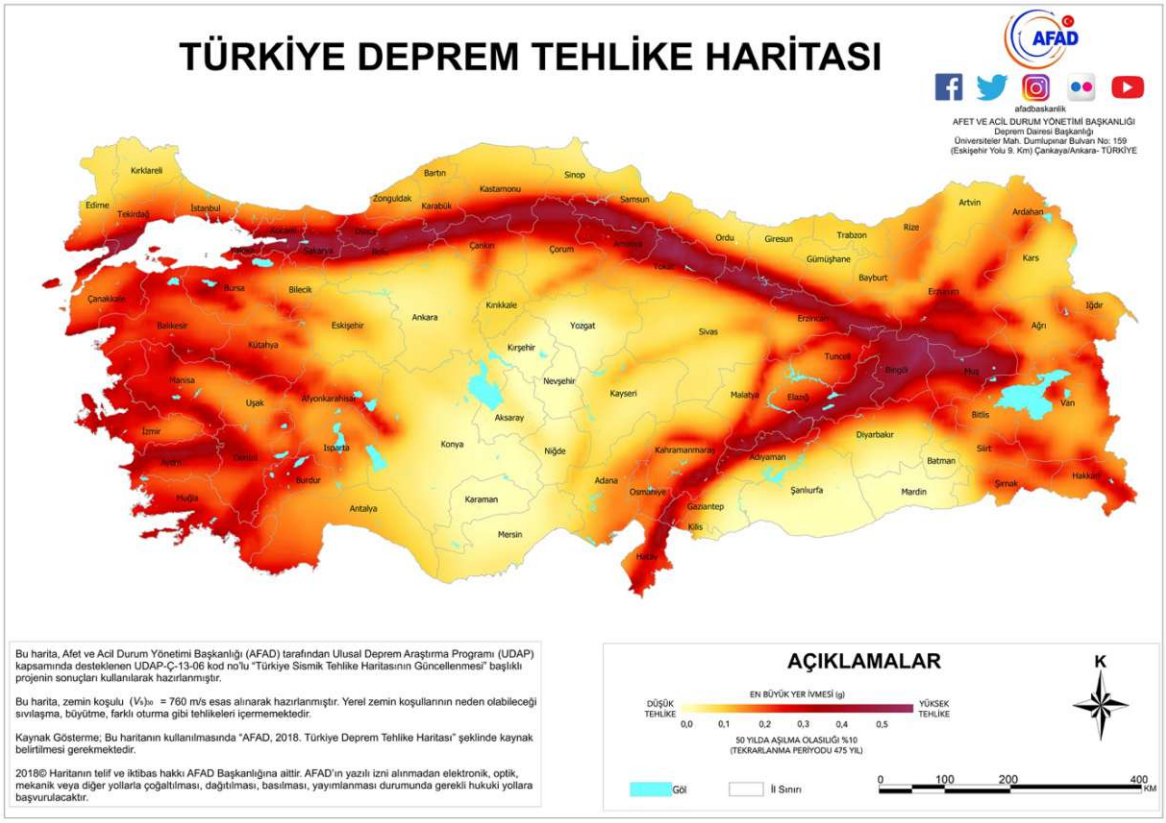

Figure 1. Earthquake Hazard Map of Turkey prepared by AFAD.

Disaster preparedness is not the only objective of urban transformation. There are three channels of problematization for urban transformation in residential areas which has been seen not only as an appropriate solution but also as a necessity. The first category includes the renewal projects in *gecekondu*[6] areas to be initiated by local municipalities.

[6] Literally meaning “built overnight,” it is a Turkish make-shift word for informal housing often built on occupied land and also used for neighborhoods consisting of this type of housing. Although mostly defined as illegal, such housing was a consensual solution to the contingent conditions such as migration due to agricultural reforms, import substitution industrialization, and the lack of public resources for housing.

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They are regulated by the Municipality Law (enacted in 2005) aiming at "improvement" as well as "beautification."[7] The second category concerns the renewal projects to reshape the historical heritage of the city through the Renewal Law (enacted in 2005)[8] for world city ambitions in those poor inner-city neighborhoods which do have valuable land and architectural importance but little potential for the classical gentrification process.[9] In both above categories the laws give consideration to disaster risks as being among the reasons for their necessity; however, a specific risk-based urban transformation policy was not enacted until 2012, shortly after the 2011 Van Earthquake. The third category, which applies to any built area, including *gecekondu* areas and historical heritage sites, aims at the demolition and reconstruction of the areas identified as being at disaster risk by means of the regulations of the Urban Transformation Law (enacted in 2012).[10]

These policies as well as the urban renewal projects – planned or realized – have been heavily criticized. The project areas are freed from limitations imposed by the development law and procedures as well as existing zoning plans in which they are not integrated.[11] Policy lacks provisions for transparency, accountability, and instruments for regulating and limiting rents,[12] entailing unclear definitions, juridical tactics, and ambiguities,[13] amounting in effect to a strategic instrumentalization of uncertainty by a range of actors.[14] Further, the focus often appears to be on quantity rather than quality, physical design rather than social aspects.[15] Plans and realized projects, according to the literature, show a lack of aesthetic qualities, architectural diversity, and local adaptation,[16] inevitably due to the centralization

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Situated at the threshold between legal and illegal, *gecekondu* remains something to be decided upon. See chapter 4.

[7] Municipality Law 5339, Article 73 (13.07.2005). The law introduced the notion of "urban transformation and development zone," which, in addition to the renewal projects in gecekondu areas, signifies mega project like Galataport, too.

[8] Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property 5366 (05.07.2005). The law has introduced the notion of the "renewal zone."

[9] Two renewal projects in this category, in the neighborhoods Sulukule and Tarlabaşı, were the focus of my diploma research, in which I have, in detail, analyzed the strategies and tactics of urban transformation by both initiators as well as inhabitants of neighborhoods and other actors (Batur 2015).

[10] Law on Restructuring of Areas Under Risk of Natural Disasters 6306 (16.05.2012). The law introduced the notion of "zone of risk." This law is also widely called the "Disaster Law," which I prefer not to use because there is another law (7269) called by this name which regulates disaster management and post-disaster works and duties. See Law on Precautions to be Taken due to Disaster Affecting Public Life and Assistance to be Provided 7269 (25.5.1959).

[11] See for example O. Balaban (2011, 2012), Bektaş (2014), Gökşin, Yazıcı, and Töre (2016), Güzey (2016), Özkan Eren and Özçevik (2015), Özdemir (2011), Penpecioğlu (2011), Uzun (2019).

[12] See Yalçıntan and Çavuşoğlu (2013).

[13] See for example Bilecen (2015), Türkün and Yapıcı (2008), Kuyucu (2014).

[14] See Soytemel's (2017) study on Fikirtepe urban transformation zone.

[15] See for example Dinçer (2011), Enlil (2011), Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010b), Özdemir (2011), Yalçıntan and Çavuşoğlu (2013).

[16] See for example Şen (2010), Çavdar (2011), Özdemir (2011), Pérouse (2013a).

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of the urban transformation.[17] The process has failed to deliver promised improvements in living conditions and urban life[18] and is expected to result potentially in wider social changes due to several reasons: an increase in density,[19] the radical change of spatial practices and social relations[20] as well as a potential loss of community values,[21] the temporal break in and loss of the collective spatial memory,[22] the destruction of solidarity networks and livelihoods,[23] the marginalization of the urban poor and working classes,[24] anxiety and anger at displacement or displacement risk in these neighborhoods.[25] Two main critiques mentioned by nearly all scholars[26] and activists in the literature are the –designed or unintended – displacement of inhabitants and lack of mechanisms for their effective participation throughout the process.

A significant part of this literature, in accordance with the public claims, postulates that a rhetoric of the urgency of the earthquake threat is used to disguise neoliberal ambitions of integration into global markets, economic development, and the production and distribution of urban rents.[27] The dominant theoretical approach in this analysis is the critical urban theory that posits an urban phase of capitalism (Brenner and Theodore 2005),[28] mostly departing from an *existing* transnational capital,[29] searching for and producing places

[17] Centralization has become a focus after the establishment of Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in 2011 and the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law (6306) in 2012. See Ay (2019), Bektaş (2014), Elicin (2014), Türkün (2014), Pérouse (2013a), Tansel (2019).
[18] See Eren (2017) and Erman (2016).
[19] See M. Ş. Balaban (2019) for increase in population density as a negative factor for risk reduction, Sönmez (2019) for an examination of the densification of the built environment as a consequence of urban renewal.
[20] See Baysal (2013), Demirli, Ultav, and Demirtaş-Milz (2015), Eren (2017), Erman (2016b), Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008).
[21] See Yücel, Aksümer, and Çakır (2012) for a study of the effects of the urban renewal process on the neighborhood youth.
[22] See Pérouse (2011, 2013a)
[23] Baysal (2013), Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008), Şen (2010).
[24] Baysal (2013), Dedekorkut-Howes, Ay, and Demireş-Özkul (2020), Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008), Türkün (2014), Yalçıntan and Çavuşoğlu (2013), Yazar et al. (2020).
[25] Türkün (2010) considers the urban transformation threat and the attack on an art gallery in Tophane linked since the neighborhoods are threatened by both a gentrification process as well as a nearby mega project called Galataport.
[26] Karaman (2013) disagrees on this issue and claims that urban transformation projects aim to integrate poor households into the mortgage market rather than displace them.
[27] See for example Durmaz (2018), Elicin (2014), Enlil (2011), Gökşin, Yazıcı, and Töre (2016), Özkan Eren and Özçevik (2015), Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz (2014), Türkün (2014), Yapıcı and Ileri (2019). One surely finds similar approaches that looming disasters and risk reduction serve as justifications for developmental and capitalist intentions as a claim in the research on other places (e.g., Kothari 2014; Yee 2018). For the urban renewal process, the earthquake risk and fear of earthquakes are strong sources of legitimacy (Duman 2015) and the most effective trigger (Pérouse 2013b).
[28] See also Brenner and Schmid (2012) for a recent suspicion on the urban/rural divide in the urban theory. See Roy (2016) for a more critical formulation based on the "undecidablity of the urban."
[29] See T. Mitchell, Abourahme, and Jabary-Salamanca (2016) for the problem of beginning from capital and not from production itself.

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to invest for capital accumulation through creative destruction (D. Harvey 2007).[30] Without undermining the significance of the political economy of urban production and disasters,[31] I would argue that the role that disaster plays in such analysis is as a mere mask, an instrument of justification, and that one must focus on the part of the disaster (whether already occurred or simply anticipated) beyond the rhetoric of mask. The earthquake risks are where not only practices of justification, legitimization, or capitalization, but also contestation dwells (Angell 2014, e.g., figure 2). Therefore, I depart from disaster to arrive at the complexity of the relationship between disasters and urban production in its material, discursive and conceptual unfolding.

In so doing, I take neither disaster nor the assumed necessity of urban transformation for granted. The contestations, generally, do not problematize urban transformation itself as an instrument, but rather where and how it is initiated and what consequences it has for the inhabitants and the city. The necessity of urban transformation seems to have been a consensus.[32] This consensual necessity has been mobilized through a cluster of both promises and threats. It promises safety, urban aesthetics, and development beside the improvements against threats like "natural" disasters, urban chaos, decay, criminality, and even terror. The nexus of promise and threat functions for each category of renewal projects mentioned above in a different temporal frame and a different affective economy. Since the focus of this dissertation is limited to the earthquake and "natural" disaster threats and urban production, I will take into consideration only the ones that are related to the risk based renewal projects.[33] It is, however, important to note that despite the general categories

[30] Creative destruction defines the process of the liberation and recycling of capital fixed in built structures. See also "rent gap" theory of Smith (1979, 1996). Of course, the critical urban theory cannot be limited to these specific theories but they are dominant explanation tools in urban studies in Turkey.

[31] A Marxist approach to the political economy of disaster is exemplified by the notion of disaster capitalism by Naomi Klein (2005, 2007), which has not found a way into the discussions in Turkey. This approach describes how capitalist and governmental actors capitalize on the shock and destruction of a disaster to make private profits and facilitate neoliberal structuring of society. See also Gunewardena and Schuller (2008), and Adams (2013). See Schuller and Maldonado (2016) for a critique of its limitations on the basis that "it differs little from Harvey's understanding of neoliberalism, which as he noted always advanced exploiting crises." See Rozario (2001, 2007) for a reading of why a multiplicity of actors, e.g., colonialists, conservatives, modernist social thinkers, and capitalists, have seen disasters as an opportunity. His answer is, again, the creative destruction. He claims that disasters "mimic [...] destructive forces of capitalism" (2007, 82).

[32] "The *necessity* of transforming the spaces of Istanbul is *indisputable*" (Karaman 2008, 524). "[T]he process of transformation and renewal that is *a real need* for some areas[..]" (Yalçıntan and Çavuşoğlu 2013, 88)."The mounting infrastructural and socio-economic problems caused by Istanbul's unplanned and unregulated growth makes *radical interventions* into the built environment in the form of 'renewal' or 'transformation' projects *a necessity*, especially given the major *earthquake threat* the city faces" (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010, 1494). Similar formulations are woven through nearly all speeches, newspaper articles, reports, and TV discussions on disaster preparedness, so much that they have become like a slogan. (Emphasis added.)

[33] See also Batur (2015) for a partial analysis of strategical and tactical functions of promises and threats as well as temporality.

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mentioned above, it is difficult to distinguish precisely between categories of renewal projects in respect to the promises/threats mobilized. Further, as Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008) put it, natural disaster threats and their accompanying sense of urgency help to naturalize other assumed urban threats. Instead of beginning from the problematization of the relationship as one of disguise, I propose to start with the earthquake threat and the "necessity" of urban transformation and then focus on the practices of public narratives, knowledge production, planning, policy-making, and how the products of these practices circulate by creating temporal frames in which they attempt to govern affective economies.

Figure 2. The virally circulating map produced by BIMTAS-IMM in 2017 that overlaps the risk distribution (yellow spots as identified by IMM-JICA 2002) with the renewal zones (zones of risk declared by the government) in order to show the gap between them.

An exception to the literature on urban transformation and disaster is an article by Elisabeth Angell (2014) published in a special issue on Istanbul of the Journal *City*. Employing a thick description of the assemblage of ideas, beliefs, practices, materialities, and affects that emerged around the earthquake, she demonstrates how concerns about the anticipated earthquake shape urban politics. Urban interventions have been not only justified but also contested by the earthquake threat. In her work, the earthquake itself becomes part of the social and political landscape. This dissertation also is a contribution to the numerous works on how disasters – occurred or anticipated – are political events that make visible as well as destabilize the antagonistic construction of concepts like nature/culture and material/ideal. Disasters are not a mere excuse, nor a mask or disguise, but rather part of the power relations producing the built environment. My research differs from hers in two ways: Firstly, I go slightly beyond the description of the so-called assemblage and attempt to engage theoretically in the discussion of its effect. Secondly, I pay special attention to the biopolitical implications of the process.

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Another exception in the literature on urban transformation and disaster[34] is the introduction to the volume *İstanbul: Müstesna Sehrin Istisna Hali* [Istanbul: The State of Exception of the Exceptional City] edited by Çavdar and Tan (2013a) which focuses on the biopolitical implications of the Urban Transformation Law. Applying an Agambenian reading of the spatial politics of the urban transformation in Istanbul, they assert that the government, through the Renewal Law (5366), has been trying to include the spaces of the marginalized populations like Tarlabaşı – which is also read as a "camp," after Agamben (Çavdar and Tan 2013b). This state of exception was limited to the marginalized populations and historical districts until the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law (6306) that, through the justification of the threat of earthquake, systematizes this model and potentially expands it to the whole country and all its citizens. The Agambenian conclusion they reach is that the state of exception was "normalized and turned into the norm" (ibid., 11), and we all became potentially *homines sacri*. The sovereign reorganization of space accompanies sovereign reorganizations of citizen-state and citizen-citizen relationships and a significant alteration of politics and familiar concepts like home, neighborhood, so on (ibid.).

Similar claims of exceptionalism have been made by politicians and activists after the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law due to its exceptional provisions enabling practices like urgent expropriation, the suspension of stays of execution, and the bypassing of the Development Law. My dissertation departs from this line of thinking,[35] first of all by displacing the focus from the sovereign decision to the wide range of practices and discourses that perform the emergency. Secondly, I contest the idea that we all have potentially been reduced to bare life, unmediated by the law and deprived of rights. I argue that the theories of biopolitics – not only by Agamben but also by Foucault – remove inequality from the discussion. Neither bare life nor biopolitical care is distributed evenly among the inhabitants of the city in the process of urban transformation. On the contrary, it produces seismic risks for the precarious inhabitants targeted by urban renewal and turns

[34] A recent publication by Kahraman (2021), one of the contributors to the above mentioned volume (Çavdar and Tan 2013a), takes a more Schmittian approach to the state of exception by applying Schmitt's vocabulary of political theory: the anticipated earthquake is constructed as a "foe" and urban transformation as a "friend," according to his claim; see for my discussion of the violence of abstraction as a method.

[35] See a more recent publication by Çaylı (2021), for a more nuanced elaboration of the relationship between emergency and architectural production that questions the dominance of legalistic approaches. Çaylı pays attention to "the entanglement between normalcy and emergency„ and to the unevenness of this entanglement (ibid., 4). This theoretical approach is also scrutinized through a case study in the Kurdish city Amed (Çaylı and Doğrul 2021) that brings the longer histories of spatial unevenness of this entanglement into the discussion. This approach is more aligned with my concerns in this dissertation.

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their social precarity into vulnerability while guaranteeing others' safety and even, in some cases of building renewal, providing increase in the economic value of property.

Theories of Emergency

In the last two decades, a growing body of literature on emergency has proliferated, taking two distinct approaches: a juridico-political one and a governmental (security) one. The first approach, the Schmittian-Agambenian line of inquiry, treats emergency in terms of exception within the problem of sovereignty and violence. The second approach looks at emergencies through the lens of the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and scrutinizes the discourses and practices of governance of emergencies as part of "normal" governing practices (Collier and Lakoff 2015). I will discuss both approaches in communication with each other.

The first line of thought reached prominence through the re-elaboration of Schmitt (1985) by Agamben (1998, 2005). There is increased interest in this first line of theory, what Fassin and Vasquez (2005) call the "banality of exception."[36] Schmitt, in his work *Political Theology* (1985), establishes a theory of sovereignty through the state of exception. What characterizes the sovereign is his decision on the state of exception, that is, a decision on the circumstances that necessitate the suspension of law. Thus, for Schmitt, the sovereign guarantees the application of the law in normal conditions by standing outside the law.

Agamben consciously chooses the German version (*Ausnahmezustand*, state of exception), and operationalizes "exception" – with its etymological root *ex pare,* "being taken outside"[37] and the familiar Hobbesian spatial imaginary that outside the law is disorder (Hussain and Ptacek 2000). However, Hussain and Ptacek (ibid.) call attention to the tactical move by which Agamben turns this spatial relation into a topological one, the logic of exception, an "inclusive exclusion" since the outsideness of the sovereign is also a relation of inclusion with its capacity to suspend the juridical order (Agamben 2005), which is decisive for the

[36] For similar critiques see Adey, Anderson, and Graham (2015) and Hussain (2007).
[37] Some have seen it as a spatial theory (Minca 2005, 2006; Ek 2006), some with the admonishment not to understand it as spatialized but spatializing (Belcher et al. 2008). See also Alsayyad and Roy (2006), Baptista (2013), Boano and Martén (2013), Coaffee (2015), Farías and Flores (2017), Fawaz (2017), Gray and Porter (2015) and Roy (2005). The logic of exception has given way to new sociological theories (e.g., Diken and Laustsen 2005) and urban theory (e.g., Murray 2017).

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notion of exception but also for the production of further paradigms like *homo sacer* and camp (Hussain and Ptacek 2000; Diken and Laustsen 2005), both of which are defined by this "inclusive exclusion." Exception signifies not simply what lies outside of the law but the threshold between rule of law and fact in which the exception and the norm overlap (Agamben 2005, 36, 39) and the transgression and application of law become indistinguishable, "such that what violates a rule and what conforms to it coincide without any reminder" (Agamben 1998, 37-8).

Natural disasters are in fact not only the most familiar examples of emergency (in the mundane usage of this concept) but also the most easily accepted – if not desired – implementations of states of emergency, although the implementation of states of emergency may not always be the recourse for governments in cases of natural disasters. Fassin and Vasquez (2005, 391) suggest calling this kind of state of emergency, which is not feared but desired (See also Beckett 2013b) and involves compassion, the "humanitarian state of exception," which the COVID-19 pandemic also demonstrated recently.

However, the application of a state of emergency may have different consequences in each stage of a disaster. It can help to mobilize human, technical, and financial resources for relief and rescue operations, as well as for post-disaster recovery and construction. It may also turn a natural disaster into a catastrophe.[38] Two of the best known examples in the last two decades are the processes that evolved in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005 and the Haitian earthquake of 2010. In New Orleans, the application of the state of emergency evolved from a disaster response into combatting "social disorder", which targeted the population of the city unevenly. The birth of disaster studies is closely tied to the assumption that social behavior in response to a nuclear attack could be studied by extrapolating behavior observed in other disaster emergencies. This has a genealogical link to the contemporary approach underlying the emergence of the Department of Homeland Security in the USA, that all emergencies could be handled in the same way, which led to fatal consequences in post-Katrina New Orleans. Backed with a media mobilization of the image of the city in a kind of Hobbesian state of nature, the disaster emergency and security concerns were brought in a zone of indistinction through the criminalization of the black survivors and volunteer rescuers by private security forces patrolling the city and building

[38] A phenomenon referred as a "secondary trauma," (Gill 2007), "secondary violence" (D. C. Harvey 2017), "disaster after disaster" (Schuller 2008), "chronic disaster syndrome" (Adams, Van Hattum, and English 2009).

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makeshift prisons.[39] Fears and survival attempts in the disaster became multiple insecurities and fears for the non-white residents of New Orleans. The disaster emergency response turned out to be a protection of the white population from black and migrant working-class inhabitants of the city, who were already hit by the hurricane and flood.[40]

In the case of Haiti, the suspension of the social and political order was not an act of the nation-state and its citizens, rather one of the transnational humanitarian organizations intervening at the level of everyday life, and also a *de facto* suspension of national sovereignty, entailing its occupation, and control of its decision-making in the disaster emergency and post-disaster recovery by the USA and transnational organizations. Haiti still endures the consequences of these decisions and the post-disaster humanitarian governance (Schuller 2016).

The biopolitics at work in both disasters cannot be understood without taking the long histories of colonialism, slavery, and their racial afterlives into account.[41] They do not only reveal the coloniality of the disaster management but of the concept of emergency as well. The history of the concept of the state of emergency leaves both colonialism[42] and natural disasters out of consideration, despite their significant role in the development of this concept. The colony was, according to Mbembe (2003), the exception *par excellence* not only for colonial governances but also in Western philosophy. Exception itself was one of the most effective tools deployed by colonialists imagining colonies as spaces of exception, outside the rule of law, spaces of arbitrary power (Esmeir 2012; Hussain 2003; T. Mitchell 2002). The state of emergency applied in the colonies, in turn, shaped the rule of law in Europe (Hussain 2003).

Similarly, disasters have been conceived as an exception to the normal social order, implying a Hobbesian state of nature, a pre-political space. Perry's (2007) overview of the definitions of disasters from the social science perspective, especially within the purview of what is now

[39] See Dave Eggers' (2009) book *Zeitoun* for a wonderful depiction.
[40] See Spike Lee's (2006) film *When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts*.
[41] See Beckett (2020), Munro (2015), and Schuller (2016a) on Haiti; See Giroux (2006) and Harvey (2017) on Katrina. See Sharpe (2016) on the afterlives of slavery and Maldonado-Torres (2007, 243) for how "coloniality survives colonialism." See also Stoler (2016), Quijano (2000, 2007), Mignolo (2007). See also Maldonado-Torres (2019) on the coloniality of several concepts in the discussions of disaster. He claims that the notion of catastrophe is the appropriate one for the natural disaster in the Caribbean, which cannot be conceived without the catastrophe of colonialism. See also Rivera (2022) for the notion of "disaster colonialism."
[42] See Svirsky and Bignall (2012) for a detailed analysis of how Agamben excludes colonialism from this theory of the state of exception.

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called disaster studies,[43] identifies "the disruption of social order" as a constant feature of all definitions. Orihara and Clancey (2012, 104) claim that extending agency to nature was a difficult task for Western scholars and natural disasters were, therefore, thought of as non-political events and "timeouts." Nature seems to embody a lack of agency also for Agamben (1999), deeming the racialized figure[44] of *Muselmann* to carry the "very heavy burden" of signifying a total lack of agency, conceptualized as being reduced to natural living, a bare life, the universalized exceptionality (Weheliye 2014, 55). As the COVID-19 pandemic has heated the debates on the agency of the virus and the incapacity of humans, what is at stake here is not turning to a Western concept of agency with only two figures – sovereign and bare life, man and nature, colonizer and colonized, savior and victim – but looking at techniques that produce these conceptual figures. Beginning from the product (sovereign as a potent agent) instead of the techniques and reducing the discussion solely to the ideologies obscure our problematization by limiting it into the dichotomy of fictivity/factuality of emergency.

The Problem of Fictivity

In Schmitt's (1985) theory, the exception as unforeseeable dangerous materiality manifests itself as an excess that cannot be captured by the law, though it also refers to the decision that signifies the sovereign as well as the response, namely, suspension of the law. Agamben highlights the collapse of three different domains into the sovereign decision (Neal 2010). Taking the first as an "objective situation" is, according to him, a naivety, since "far from occurring as an objective given, necessity clearly entails a subjective judgment, and that obviously the only circumstances that are necessary and objective are those that are declared to be so" (Agamben 1998, 30).

The problem of the fictive character of emergency appears also in the debate between Benjamin and Schmitt constructed by Agamben in which he reads the theory of sovereignty as a contra move against Benjamin's "pure violence" and, though not explicitly, juxtaposes against the fictional state of emergency the notion of "real state of emergency" (McLoughlin

[43] Disaster was treated nearly like a Weberian ideal type of exception and Durkheimian "deviance" by sociologists. The US interest in research on behavior during mass panics (Quarantelli 1988) has helped to maintain this approach. See Solnit (2009) and Cretney (2017) for another approach that treat them as a space for social and political change.
[44] See also Anidjar (2003), Jarvis (2014), and Schueller (2009).

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2016).[45] This fictive character of the relationship of necessity between the three forms of exception – state of danger, decision, response – is central to the various interpretations of his theory, especially for the facilitation of expropriation during preparations for mega-events and suspension of planning procedures,[46] as well as international interventions into so-called humanitarian emergencies which blur the line between military and humanitarian practices as well as intentions (e.g., Fassin and Pandolfi 2010).

Beckett (2013b), too, criticizes the treatment of emergency declarations as political rhetoric, in that the existence of such a power instrumentalizing severe events does not require ignoring the experiences of humanitarian emergencies. According to him, "the absence of intervention" is not evidence for "the absence of such power" (ibid., 90) [47] and how emergencies unfold is related to existing power relations. Ignoring the particularities of the local, social, material, and political unfolding of events may lead to simplified theoretical and political claims. The reduction of socio-material particularities into the fictive character of emergency (as well as simple instrumentalization) that Agamben insists on is based on the same problem, that of sovereign decision.

Diken and Laustsen (2005, 19) warn us not to depart from the sovereign: "[W]e do not begin with the sovereign who decides on the state of exception; on the contrary, the one who can declare a state of exception is sovereign." Shifting the focus from sovereign to the decision does, however, not get rid of all problems of this approach. To begin with the exception is to focus on the sovereign decision (Adey, Anderson, and Graham 2015; Anderson and Adey 2012; Beckett 2013b), which is mostly conceptualized as an organizing center and personified agency.[48] Sovereign decision displaces the problem of the multiplicity of actors at work as well as a wide range of mechanisms, the discursive and material practices through which "anything"[49] becomes an "exception."[50]

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[45] List (2020) critiques him for misconstruing Benjamin through Schmitt.
[46] See Gray and Porter (2015); Sánchez and Broudehoux (2013).
[47] Lanuza and Tingson (2016) make a similar point in their interpretation of the lack of intervention in the early phase of disaster as the production of bare life, the abandonment of citizens.
[48] See Honig (2009) for the multiplicity of actors acting as sovereign.
[49] Agamben works with paradigms that require high levels of abstraction and a reduction of particularities; thus for him it is not important if "anything" is an economic crisis, a natural disaster, an insurgency, or a racist discourse. Similarly, he is not interested in particularities such as racializing practices when he writes "[M]odern totalitarianism can be defined as the establishment, by means of the state of exception, of a legal civil war that allows for the physical elimination not only of political adversaries but of entire categories of citizens who *for some reason* cannot be integrated into the political system" (Agamben 2005, 2, emphasis added). I will come later to the problems that abstraction, as a method of theory making, poses.
[50] See also Huysmans (2008), who claims that both Schmitt and Agamben eradicate societal struggles from the discussion in different ways.

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Ophir (2010), who attempts to conceptualize a theory of emergency through the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, claims that the sovereign decision today must rest on or work with discursive assessments regarding the transgression of the threshold of catastrophe, what he calls "discursive catastrophization," by humanitarian actors. He begins by distinguishing between catastrophe and catastrophization. While the first is an event rupturing time and transforming space, the latter is a process in which natural and human forces produce catastrophic effects. Catastrophe, here, lies in the future, and this temporality, what he calls the "suspended moment of catastrophe," creates the basis for "moral urgency and political manipulation"(ibid., 42). Further, he differentiates between objective and discursive catastrophization. Discursive catastrophization refers to the practices of definition, calculation, analysis, and prediction of the objective catastrophization that enable political claims as well as responses. Although he constructs the analysis as a dichotomy between the objective and discursive realms, the discursive catastrophization is part of the actual catastrophization and shapes how catastrophe may unfold. Ophir offers three possible relationships between catastrophization and discursive catastrophization: legitimization, mitigation, and suspension. He is primarily interested in the third category of relation: the suspension, in which seemingly opposing actors (like humanitarian actors and the Israeli state in the occupied territories of Palestine) together catastrophize without eliminating the causes of catastrophe by hindering the transgression of the threshold of catastrophe, thus suspending the catastrophe – avoiding some state of affairs turning into a catastrophic event. According to Ophir, the first two categories are "quite trivial and straightforward" (ibid., 16). Legitimization refers to the political discourses like racism and *feindbild* constructions that mobilize people to perpetrate catastrophes for the racialized populations, as in the examples of the Holocaust and the "war on terror." Mitigation is when the discursive catastrophization works to decatastrophize, as in the case of natural disasters, especially earthquake preparedness. Is it really that simple?

The "quite trivial and straightforward" relationship between discursive and objective catatrophization, in the case of earthquake threats and Istanbul's urban transformation as response, had to be drastically simplified to be fitted into this frame. My research tells me otherwise. Ophir's discussions are helpful for going beyond the decisionist approach and the problem of fictivity, and for opening the research to diversity and a complexity of actors, discourses, and temporalities. However, the over-simplified relationship of mitigation that is ascribed to earthquake preparedness is a bit problematic. This dissertation shows that neither earthquake threats nor preparedness practices are as stable as Ophir assumes them

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to be. Emergency is an effect of the discursive catastrophization (earthquake prediction, risk assessment, crude urbanization discourse), as well as other discursive and non-discursive practices of decatastrophization (policy making, expropriation, planning, zoning, retrofitting, demolition, rebuilding or urban renewal), all of which do not necessarily lead to the mitigation of disaster threats for all equally but may create catastrophic effects for some parts of populations.

Most studies that deal with the Foucauldian notion of governmentality along with the apparatus of security begin from the premise that techniques of government as well as technologies of power emerge as a response to urgent need and look at how these needs are problematized, truths are produced, and techniques are developed. According to this literature, focusing solely on the legal notion of state of emergency, or imposing this concept on "all instances where events and life are governed through emergency," undermines the analysis of specificities of different epistemologies, practices and techniques of governing life and events (Anderson and Adey 2012, 25). Emergency in this sense describes how events are assembled distinctively through problematization, response, temporal frames, and affective registers,[51] implying that "a way of grasping problematic events, a way of imagining them that emphasizes their apparent unpredictability, abnormality, and brevity, and that carries the corollary that response – intervention – is necessary" (Calhoun 2004, 375).

However, these Foucauldian studies of emergency suffer from a similar problem of Agambenian biopolitics. As Agamben's bare life – a life unmediated by law, the life of *homo sacer*,[52] stripped of the rights of a citizen and threatened by sovereign killing without consequences – erases the racialized, gendered, classed difference production from the theory and implies its homogeneous distribution today, Foucault's notion of biopower also excludes the inequalities at work and additionally reduces multiple levels of effects to the dichotomy of making live/making die. What is central to biopolitics is the inequality that it dwells in as well as produces.[53]

[51] See for examples Anderson and Adey (2012), Aradau (2015), Collier and Lakoff (2021), Kaufmann (2016), Simon and de Goede (2015), and Zebrowski (2019).
[52] For a critique of Agambenian deployment of the figure of *homo sacer* as a bare life, see Fitzpatrick (2001a) and Weber (2012).
[53] See Fassin (2009) and chapter 6. See Aykan and Bilginer (2021) for an example of a collection of analyses on how the biopolitics of the COVID-19 pandemic distributed care and risk unevenly.

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Emergencyscape

The emergency is not factual materiality, not fancied (Agamben 1998, 2005) nor an invented threat, nor a mask hiding other intentions. It is also not a frame or imaginary (Calhoun 2004, 2010) that precedes the practices that try to make sense of and govern uncertain futures. Far from suggesting that there is no endangerment,[54] I argue for an understanding of emergency as an *effect* of the practices, discourses, and materialities that are assembled to produce a relational space that I call *emergencyscape*. This is not to say that all truths on disaster events and responses always produce the effect of an emergency: disasters and urban production need not necessarily relate to each other in this way. My approach attempts merely to argue that the emergency is neither an idea separated from the material world nor a self-evident factuality imposed upon us by a disaster event, being not a subjective evaluation but an effect of governing practices that attempt to turn uncertainty and instability into actionable spaces by producing normalcy and governable exceptions at the same time. Its technical meanings, which Beckett (2013b, 85) differentiates from political concepts like exception, cannot be separated from the political.

My research began with the title "Istanbul between fear and hope: Governing *by* emergency." The notion of "governing by emergency" had to be replaced with an idea that would not only indicate the multiplicity of practices and actors, but also operate as an analytical term suggesting a relational space of spatialities, temporalities, affects, materialities, ideas, and practices. It would need to avoid letting the theoretical frame dominate the discussion while not remaining a simple device of description. *Emergencyscape* and *emergency as an effect* signal in this sense an attempt to understand the empirical complexity and at the same time to engage with it theoretically. The notion of *emergencyscape* helped me to describe an assemblage that cannot begin and end in the sovereign use of the exception. The Urban Transformation Law as well as former legislation refer to the provisions regulating states of emergencies and authorizing governing bodies to undertake various "exceptional" practices like urgent expropriation. Juridical decisions concerning the application of tools of the state of emergency are part of this process. Research on emergency, however, cannot be conducted exclusively in the legal domain, since *emergencyscape* entails diverse practices,

[54] See Zeiderman (2016a, ix) for a discussion of endangerment. Emergency is the effect of the practices conditioning this endangerment in a specific way.

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discourses, techniques, and technologies that produce distinct relations among them as well as emergency as an overall effect.

I am concerned with the question of how a threatening future has come into being through practices that try to anticipate it, and with how this future was problematized as well as made actionable by architectural and urban interventions.[55] What is at stake here is not that an "emergency imaginary" (Calhoun 2004, 2010) designs the process, but that emergency itself is an *effect* of practices and discourses that produce the exceptionality and temporality of the threat, thereby the necessity and possibility of response in a distinct way. In this sense, architecture does not play the role of a passive materiality onto which concepts and ideas are imposed, nor are architectural practices and planning subsumed and dominated by some mythical sovereign decision and its legal framework. Here, architecture and production of urban environment are constitutive in how a threat is conceived, how the law is altered, and how both security and vulnerabilities are produced. Thus, architectural practice is one of the main practices that perform emergency as an effect, alongside the practices of anticipation, representation, knowledge making, contingency planning, policy making and other juridical practices, and so on.

Juridical practices are also treated in this dissertation as practices performing the emergency, not as a manifestation of sovereignty. Law is not related solely to the emergency through exception, with its suspension by sovereign decision. It is not simply that there is an emergency, and that the response to it requires suspension of the law or exceptional provisions. A wide range of juridical practices in addition to that of suspension are, as I will discuss in detail in chapter 5 "*Legal complex of emergency,*" part of the *emergencyscape,* the *effect* of which is emergency.

Methodological Questions

I departed from the concepts and the theoretical approach developed by Agamben at the beginning of this research, long before I formally began my dissertation. Fascinated by the theoretical paradigms of bare life, camp, and exception, I could see them at the heart of the

[55] Even though it concerns the post-disaster temporality, my work has more to do with Adriana Petryna's (2002) work *Life exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl.* She studies how the contested post-disaster attempts at quantification, compensation and intervention of radiation risk have shaped the political and legal regime in which science and politics attempt to stabilize each other and give way to what she calls "biological citizenship." See also Petryna (2004).

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process of urban transformation. What I discovered through the research is that I had constantly tried to fit the empirical diversity of data into a paradigm. This led me to reflect on the complexity of the empirical material and the insufficiency of the theoretical toolbox and to search for other possible theoretical avenues. It is after all not only a question of the limitations of a particular theory. My research, for a while, had to suffer from the violence of abstraction[56] if I may be allowed to call it such. The power of clean abstractness may hinder us more than help us to understand. We have concrete cases, materialities, techniques, practices, and discourses around some mythical "decision." The very careful reduction of materialities to a single concept creates the concept's apparent power of explanation, seemingly irresistible when we are overwhelmed by an excess of diversity and details. It is the function of abstraction to make these concepts "portable" to any case.[57] Instead of ignoring this overwhelming complexity of empirical material, I have chosen to be attentive to it, which requires "avoid[ing] the method of abstraction from the particular that usually characterizes a work of theory" (T. Mitchell 2002, 8). Thus, the shift undertaken here is a one away from theoretical discussion, from the clean abstractness of the decision on the exception to the concrete cases of discourses, practices, techniques, materialities, and affects. It is important to trace what circulates and what changes through this circulation, what effects are produced, and how the reality is "provoked" (Muniesa 2014). I am, however, not only departing the secure and certain terrain of research provided by the distinct paradigms, concepts, and traditional methods which reduce complexity and thereby also risks (Law 2004), but also, as part of my critical research, paying considerable attention to the ways certain abstractions, paradigms and methods work (T. Mitchell 2002). This approach to theory, concepts, and material complexity is inspired by two important openings of feminist scholars in their critique of an assumption of a "disembodied" (Haraway 1988) and

[56] "The violence of abstraction" was used by Sayer (1987, xi) to indicate the violence committed by the fetishization of historical materialism by the orthodox Marxists both to Marx's "innovative and emancipatory" thought and to people's "real history." I want to point out a more general problem of methodology: that of the reduction of complexities into paradigms. Various scholars have emphasized the diversity of phenomena, linked by Agamben in his version of biopolitics, which cannot be reduced to a single paradigm or relation. See Weber (2012) and Stoler (2018b) on the discrepancy between Agamben's camp as paradigm and the diversities of camps which were originally deployed in the colonies. They claim that his paradigm cannot capture the historical and empirical diversities and that the reason lies in the exclusion of colonial experience. The paradigm of bare life poses a similar danger of reductionism and misconception between violence and life due to the exclusion of experiences of colonialism, slavery, and their afterlives, as well as knowledge produced by black and post-colonial scholars (Weheliye 2014; see also chapter 6). Encountering the works of feminist, black, post-colonial, and decolonial scholars has changed the terms of discussion and helped me to read the problem of biopolitics from an embedded and embodied perspective. Even though most of them have not necessarily found their way into this text, they have changed my line of thinking and of assembling the research as well as my own scholarly position immensely.

[57] I am borrowing this from Muniesa's (2014, 40) statement for economics: "To abstract is to make the economic portable." See a similar point made by Mignolo (1995) regarding maps as abstractions and thus transferable and by T. Mitchell (2002) for law. Note the significance of how this portability functions in colonialism.

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"dispassionate" (Jaggar 1989) subject of Western epistemology.[58] The racially and sexually unmarked subject of the knowledge (White Man) is located nowhere, distant from "everybody and everything" that *He* sees, but is not seen and is therefore not accountable nor responsible for the effects of *His* practices on bodies and the social and material worlds (Haraway 1988).

Counter to this approach, the work of critique has emphasized the constructedness of the knowledge destabilizing epistemological *a prioris* but still maintaining the outsideness of the researcher and the dichotomy between reality and meaning, the thing and its representation (Haraway 1988). Social constructivism cannot go beyond the claim of misrepresentation between the thing and its representation while simultaneously constantly promising of a better truth of the thing without acknowledging the invention of something we call *the* real world *("the thing itself")* through this work of separation (T. Mitchell 1989, 232). Experts' or social scientists' narratives constitute themselves as being outside the social and material worlds while working with and through them, "shaping" them as well as "being shaped by" them (Law 2004; T. Mitchell 2002). Despite this complexity of interaction, they produce and maintain a relation of the dichotomy between their products and the world they presume to observe.

On the contrary, each research is performative[59] and "provokes" (Muniesa 2014) reality in a certain way, and our methods do "not describe but also help to *produce* the reality that they understand" (Law 2004, 5). The violence of abstraction mentioned above must be thought of simultaneously as a question of epistemology, methodology, and politics.[60] Thus, being attentive to that requires acknowledging and taking responsibility for how problematizing our research object is part of its unfolding, our inhabiting some uncertain terrain, and taking risks to make it open to alternatives, as the notions of "situated knowledges" (Haraway 1988) and "criticality" (Rogoff 2008) would account for. The subject of Western epistemology claims neutrality by erasure of not only *His* location and body but also affects.[61] The research taking situated knowledges seriously acknowledges affects, values, and political stakes as its constituent aspects (Jaggar 1989). It is passionate and affected and attempts to affect helping

[58] which have been developed further by the scholars of post-colonial theory, new materialism, affect theories, ecofeminism, and STS.
[59] See Callon (1998) and Muniesa (2014) for the notion of performativity. See also Butler (1988) for gender performativity.
[60] Haraway (1988, 585) similarly speaks of "the violence implicit in our visualizing practices."
[61] See Stoler (2013) for the affectivity in the colonial governances that are depicted mostly as dispassionate and governed by reason, while they are in fact obsessed with affects and sentiments and often deployed affective knowledges, for which she introduces the notion of "affective states" (2008).

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to produce desired worlds by paying attention to the complexities of the multiple fields of practices as well as the work of hegemonic concepts.

This research focuses on a wide range of practices and their products – documents like reports, artifacts like maps and plans, as well as works leading, scrutinizing, and mediating practices such as scenario production, risk evaluations, contingency planning, risk assessment, the production of solutions such as retrofitting, building renewal, and urban transformation. It also looks at the discourses and speeches in addition to planned, realized, or failed urban transformation projects. In all of the material, the documents and other types of records that have been taken into consideration and from which I derived data for the analysis, there are no privileged artifacts like legal documents on which much of the literature concentrates. Therefore, the chapters, at first glance, seem not to target a specific domain and to be incoherently organized around the main question. It may be difficult to follow the relationship between such diverse materials. However, the inclusion of them in the discussion was necessary, since "[t]he theory lies in the complexity of the cases" (T. Mitchell 2002, 8), and also because the emergency at stake in this study is an *effect* of the assemblage of these practices which I call *emergencyscape.*

Emergencyscape is not limited to these materials but also involves individual and collective experiences which are related to the questions explored in the individual chapters, and, as I point out in the concluding chapter, require ethnographic research that might follow this work. Therefore, this study cannot do justice to that aspect. What this study also touches but does not analyze in-depth are the practices of preparedness for crisis management like crisis communication, aid and rescue works during disaster events, and post-disaster reconstruction activities. These are surely related and are taken into consideration in the research phase. I have, however, chosen to limit the written work to architectural and urban renewal, since I aim to understand the specific historical relationship of the spatial (re)production to the disaster threat.

Data Collection and Analysis

This research derives empirical material from diverse types of records, entailing documents such as reports and plans and also other forms of records like photographs, visualizations, maps, scenarios, newspaper articles, protocols of parliament discussions, records of speeches, and TV discussions; in sum, anything that is to be found in circulation in the public

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or among governmental bodies. These are, as traditionally treated, sources of information and spaces in which the discourses can be observed.

Characterizing the documents as sources of information would not suffice to describe my approach to research. Documents and other forms of records circulate and do work beyond what their producers intended. They have their afterlives, being not only carriers of information and political discourses but also objects that are part of social life. Some materials – especially those like records of speeches, ceremonies, TV discussions, public awareness spots, animations, and news that have been circulated widely – were easily accessible, some others difficult, such as the Zeytinburnu Strategic Plan Report, and some impossible, like risk analyses of buildings in Bakırköy. Accessibility says a lot about the content or career of the document itself, such as whether the proposed work was realized or not. One cluster of the documents having restricted access by the wider public is scientific articles, even though they are mostly funded by public sources.[62] These articles comprise a significant part of my data since they report on the analyses, suggestions, and solutions of applied scientists and planners, especially in the fields of seismology, risk analysis, earthquake engineering, risk communication, and planning, and also because their contents might be found circulating in other types of records like speeches and newspaper articles. In other cases, especially research in the social sciences and humanities, scholarly works have further been treated as empirical data, as they are part of the ensemble that shapes the discourse.

Documents themselves are related to each other in complex ways and create a space in which information, approaches, assumptions, and affects move.[63] Authors of documents sometimes retrieve these moving elements from other documents without contacting their producers. In other cases, many authors of these documents are tightly networked by institutional, professional, and project-based connections, and some of them are even participants in the production of multiple documents. Some of these ties between human and institutional actors can be easily traced, while others remain unidentified. Identification of these may be important; however, what is more significant is what these approaches, assumptions and produced knowledge do as they circulate among a wider public, in other words, how they help to assemble publics. Various contradictions between human actors and institutions as well as contesting claims can also be identified through analysis of documents that participate in contesting public claims. One can track/capture alterations in

[62] Most scholarly articles in Turkey are open to the public via a publicly owned database. However, publications in English are, due to their high costs, not only restricted to the public but also to many Turkish researchers. Restrictions refer both to the financial barriers and social and cultural ones like scientific language.
[63] See Latour (1999) on referencing; Navaro-Yashin (2012) and Stoler (2008) on the affects and documents.

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perspectives or simply disappointments by working through two decades' worth of documents.

My relationship to the documents began with my diploma research. They were at the beginning only a source of information. Over time, I have identified some recurring themes, even phrases, in diverse documents. I have, in this research, systematically identified these points migrating from one document to another. Even though it is not easy to track the path of migration, this perspective suggested to me a methodological path. First, I identified these repeating and often taken for granted themes; they became organizing nodes of the research. Taking them as a starting point for the second step of research, I organized the data collection around these nodes and tracked the ways they come into being and interpreted what they implied. For example, one of the most frequent themes articulated in different phrasings in numerous documents is the designation of the Kocaeli Earthquake in 1999 as a turning point. After identifying this theme, I also revisited the event and its aftermath and collected additional documents for further analysis which revealed a crisis narrative and its further political implications. Each of these nodes has brought new questions and theoretical openings, which have not displaced the research questions but deepened them theoretically. Not all the nodes found their way into the written dissertation, not because they did not fit into some theoretical assumptions, but simply because a dissertation length and time limits, on which I will reflect later.

Sometimes a few recurring elements are theoretically as well as practically connected. For example, the phrases, “earthquakes do not kill, but buildings do,” a widely used mantra, and “crude” urbanization, shorthand for informal urbanization and urban maldevelopment: both signaled something that can be summed up as “real threat.” The further step of collecting additional documents on seismic performance assessments of buildings, risk mitigation planning, practices of retrofitting, and urban renewal projects led to merging them under the question of risk in chapter 4. Each chapter is organized likewise, tracing a node in this assemblage that emerged in the first step analysis of the documents and necessarily accompanied different theoretical discussions that are immediately linked to the main research questions. Taking these nodes – the recurring elements in the assemblage – seriously, and analyzing them critically, opened up a field beyond political rhetoric and discourse towards a complex relationality in which I was better able to see material as well as conceptual implications.

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Since this methodological approach goes beyond traditional content analysis or discourse analysis, it could be treated as a variant of the ethnographical method, a document ethnography. I do not simply analyze the content of the documents, or collect evidence from them, but move with them and let the steps of the research be guided by them. It differs, though, from traditional ethnographic methods for two reasons. First of all, I do not observe their production. Secondly, what I am observing is not directly the social interaction of the people and I am totally aware that documents do not capture social life (yet I am also suspicious of such a claim from ethnography). Many ethnographers might see such research as being limited to a representational frame. Documents are, however, embedded in a whole set of techniques, practices, meanings, values and materialities. If they are approached as such, beyond the dichotomic view of representation, it is possible to grasp the ways in which documents interact with wide range of things (T. Mitchell, Abourahme, and Jabary-Salamanca 2016).

A traditional ethnography, according to Stathern (1999), is composed in two phases, themselves temporally and spatially separate. The first is that spent among the people being observed; writing, the second phase, does not simply report but rearranges the collected material about those people.[64] For my work, the second field (writing) overlapped with the first working among documents and records, since I had constantly to turn to them or seek out new ones if a question emerged. I decided not to contact the authors to ask about their intentions or uncertain contents in them, but only allow myself to collect other documents and ask the questions to these. Documents may not "speak back" (Hodder 1994) in the traditional sense,[65] but I may persistently ask questions and let them move me; they have, indeed, led my research in unintended directions. Imagining "communication" in this way is possible if one does not conceive of documents and records as stable, completed products.

Secondly, I do not try to attend to, capture, and analyze people's perspectives, ways of giving meaning, and practices on the ground. Although I had numerous informal meetings and discussions with inhabitants of Istanbul, as I was in the field for spatial analysis, but also with governmental agents in Istanbul and Ankara during the attempts to get certain documents, I decided early on to cut the contents of the informal exchanges out of the written piece. They surely shaped my analysis and research, yet I will not treat them as

[64] Being among people does not necessarily escape the representation. Fabian's (1983) work is a wonderful study on how anthropologists denied "coevalness" (*Gleichzeitigkeit*) to the people they studied, representing them as primitive, while they were writing up their research on them back home. See also chapter 2.
[65] See Riles (2006) for a discussion of documents and ethnographic response.

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empirical data in order to set limits to the data collection process and analysis. This temporarily fixed phase of research, therefore, intends only to show what the documented materials make possible to show. This is a methodological decision and at the same time one of the limitations of this research. Inevitably, it cannot, as it was not intended, say much about the experiences of the inhabitants of Istanbul on the ground. If I discuss the experience of crisis in chapter 2, for example, it is only to explore the public narratives of crisis and how they are related to the public discussion and emerged political problems and questions in its aftermath. Similarly, when I discuss the anticipation of the Istanbul Earthquake and its relation to the *affective economy of emergency*, I do not explore how affection takes place. Rather, the term reflects the affective capacity of the practices of anticipation of a threatening future, uncertainty, possibility, and expectation of the response to the threat, and also awareness of this capacity as a governmental domain. However, in the concluding chapter, I do make some counterassumptions on the relationship between affects, threats and risks, and people's possible attitudes against the assumed subjectivity of the emergency and expected attitudes. As a conclusion of the dissertation, it is intended moreover to be more a theoretical reflection than grounded research, and I acknowledge the need for ethnographic research in this respect.

Historicity, Temporality and Affects

The main claim is that one should scrutinize various discourses, materialities, mechanisms, and practices through which we come to know and experience a historical relationship between disaster and urban (re)production, and invest in it in a distinct way. Even though this claim implies a new relationship between them, I am cautious about making clear linear temporal claims with epochal sequences. Part of the literature on the urban transformation in the 2000s elaborates the urban transformation process as the continuation, or second phase, of the neoliberalization process after the 1980 coup.[66] Others characterize it as a totally new phase of urban politics, an authoritarian turn in contrast to the former populist politics

[66] Balaban (2013) defines the period before and after 2001 as part of the same process of the neoliberalization and economic growth strategies through urban land that had begun in the 1980s. They have, though, different characteristics, with different rent distribution decisions. According to him, urban transformation is an instrument of deregulation in the second growth period. See also Uzun (2019), Enlil and Dinçer (2020). Kızılay (2016) argues for the continuity of a modernist discourse towards *gecekondu* as opposed to a radical shift from populism to authoritarianism in this respect.

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of urbanization and project-based interventions in contrast to large scale planning.[67] In the literature on disaster politics, most works claim a new phase in the governance of disaster alongside the public claims of a shift "from healing wounds to risk reduction," though many also posit the incompleteness and failures of the new approach and its realization.[68] This dissertation favors historicity in looking at the urban production and disaster politics as its base, without turning it into an epochal approach. In various chapters, I identify new categories, tools, approaches, and temporal frames, as well as the redeployment of existing ones. These new categories, tools, concepts, and approaches are not necessarily unrelated to the existing ones in that the redeployed existing ones do not simply continue to exist but, as Ann Stoler (2018a) put it, appear in a recursive mode. Thus, the overall relationship among them requires a "recursive analytics" that "refuses the mimetic" and "disallows a retreat to the safety of an earlier 'lesson' or analogy." They are "understandable in their specificity but not reducible to the uniqueness of time and place" (ibid., 544).

Tracing their distinct characteristics must constantly be juxtaposed with the ways they are also shaped by existing ideas and materialities. For example, how preparedness is conceptualized through ideas on "premodern" fatalism as well as how the vulnerability of the built environment is shaped by the developmental temporality and turned into a discourse of maldevelopment (chapter 2), or how the existing ideas on informal urbanization made *gecekondu* a natural target for renewal (chapter 4), or how a notion of vulnerable life began to take shape through architecture but also detached from it through existing practices of and ideas on property (chapter 6).

This dissertation is also concerned with temporality beyond the question of historicity. Temporality is not a passive backdrop or a grid for all discursive and non-discursive practices. Concepts like crisis, maldevelopment, threat, anticipation, future, uncertainty, risk, and urgency are all directly related to but also produce temporal frames like developmental time, linearity, disruption, break, and interval. Thus, temporality, especially as it is discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 3, is an ongoing aspect throughout this dissertation.

[67] See for example Türkün and Yapıcı (2008) and Kahraman (2013) for claims of a new urban regime with a new legal structure; Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) also identify "a radical shift in the governance of urban land and housing markets in Turkey from a 'populist' to a 'neo-liberal' mode." "[T]he new urban regime," according to Yalçıntan and Çavuşoğlu (2013), creates a new map of the class structure of the city.
[68] See Balamir (2002b) for labelling it as a transition from fatalist society to preparedness. See chapter 2 for an elaboration of how crisis narratives produce epochal imagination. See M. Ş. Balaban (2019) and Balamir (2013) for reading the period from the perspectives of failures and disappointments.

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Similarly, I pay attention to affects. Temporality and affects are not just topics of theoretical discussion but also methodological tools. Treating them as active, constituent parts is one of the main strategies of this research. Paying attention to the affects does not imply a new phase of politics in which affects first become relevant for the political and social formations. Considering affect as a field of non-conciousness that can be targetted for political and capitalist manipulation has become one of the popular theoretical orientations in the last two decades.[69] Instead of taking this quasi-ontological path, I turn to Sarah Ahmed's (2004b) work, *Cultural Politics of Emotions.* Her economic model of affect is based not on an ontology of affect, nor on the psychological model of affect, but on the social and cultural model. According to her, affects reside neither in objects nor in subjects; on the contrary, affects are constituted by the circulation of objects – of human and non-human bodies, including ideas and knowledge. Thus, the circulation of knowledge, numbers, maps, and scientific and techno-political products are a significant part of *the affective economy of emergency*. The notion of affective economy also refers to the older notion of the economy in order to point out the practices governing these circulations, affects being simply part of the forces of socio-material life and political struggles. Thus, affective intensities appear as a field to be governed: as an economy.[70]

Navigating Through the Chapters

Chapter 2, "The Turning Point," revisits the aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake and its social and political effects by deriving its material for the analysis from newspapers, opinion pieces, media records, scientific articles, special issues, and media discussions in the aftermath of the event to its present-day effects. As I will show, in the immediate aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake, some of the disaster narratives took the form of crisis narratives, which have signified the event as a turning point. First of all, the incapacity of the state to respond to destruction of such a magnitude and reactions to this incapacity were narrated in a very short time as a crisis of state. Secondly, the productive debate on the causes of the large scope of the damage and losses shifted into a crisis narration: a crisis of development and modernization. Lastly, the demanding complexity of the experiences and discussions

[69] See for example Massumi (2010), Thrift (2004), Clough (2008, 2018). For a critique see C. Barnett (2008) and Leys (2011, 2017).
[70] Governing invokes a wider meaning in addition to the government of humans to include also "government of things" (Foucault 2007, 96): not only material bodies but also ideas, beliefs, and affects. See chapter 3.

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reduced to a question of the crisis of Turkish modernity and subjectivity. Crisis, however, is not something that is collectively experienced, but is rather a tool to publicly craft stability in the midst of uncertainty: structuring the meaning given to a catastrophic experience, disciplining it into a governable field, reducing uncertainty without being fully able to determine its unfolding, and promising change. In addition to the naturalization of the expected change, the significant role the crisis played has been to help subsume a wide range of important critiques about capitalist urbanization, politics, and the state into the existing political order, which have been productive without destabilizing the foundations of the existing political order. Still, the catastrophic experience conjoined developmental expectations with anticipation of a catastrophic future along with constant stabilizing and destabilizing effects. The chapter exploring the questions, problems, and relations that emerged in the aftermath of the Earthquake serves as a context and background for the core arguments in the following chapters.

Chapter 3, "Anticipating Disaster," looks at the techno-political practices of anticipation and their products circulating in the media to show how they participate in the performance of emergency. It looks at and derives data from scientific articles, books, conferences, maps, reports, scenarios, and calculations, as well as how they are produced and then circulate in the media, in discussions on TV shows, in newspaper articles, in speeches of governmental actors. The point is that these practices describe an exceptional threat, a future event, the scope of its effects, destruction, and fatalities, but also create a distinct temporality –*interval* – within which response to the event is urgent as well as possible. Knowledge, as well as artifacts like maps, circulate among the public and become part of an *affective economy of emergency*, which does not only consist of fear and urgency, but also hope. The techno-politics of anticipation and practices of truth-making about nature and future events are part of our social and political reality and operate in and through distinct temporalities as well as a particular economy of affect. They involve affects and temporal frames as they produce and circulate them. How do techno-politics of anticipation, disaster risk reduction, and their products run through different temporal registers and generate new forms of temporal frames? How do they contribute to affective intensities, and create and distribute sensibilities? What is at stake is how prognostic practices shape the present, creating temporal frames of politics and governing affective intensities. Thus, they are part of *emergencyscape*: they perform emergency.

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In the immediate aftermath of the catastrophic earthquakes in 1999, a consensus on the reason for high losses emerged: "crude" urbanization – a shorthand for rapid, unplanned urbanization in Turkish cities. The existing discourse of "crude" urbanization has expanded to establish a particular relationship between earthquake risk and informal urbanization of Turkish cities. As I will show in chapter 4, "From Threat to Risk," the city has been increasingly seen as a space of risk. The idea and practices of risk, however, do not map this space homogeneously: A differential pattern of risk has been produced as the effect of the discourse and practices of risk reduction and urban transformation beginning from the Kocaeli Earthquake. We have the idea, for the formal neighborhoods, of the risk inherent to the materiality of a single building, and on the other hand, for the informally emerged neighborhoods, the idea of risk inherent to the built environment. The informality, epitomized through *gecekondu*, has come to stand for risk. The informal neighborhoods are regarded as risky in an environmental sense at the neighborhood scale. Due to the fact that informality has also saturated building practices in the formal neighborhoods (which is tacitly as well as scientifically known through the experiences of past earthquakes), a risk approach for the formal neighborhoods limited to the materiality of the buildings also emerged. This double approach of risk organizes responses differently for different parts of the city, for different inhabitants: while buildings in the formal neighborhoods are targeted with retrofitting practices – later replaced by building renewal – the informal neighborhoods have begun to be regarded as natural targets of this renewal at larger scales, also known as urban transformation. The term urban transformation is, in fact, misleading, since the practices it entails are based on the *tabula rasa* approach, which erases the whole socio-material environment. The problematization as well as the solution target informal neighborhoods "environmentally." Risk is not just shaped by the materiality of threat and vulnerability but also shaped by other ideas on urbanization and social life. It is not just a matter of representation. It has consequences; it performs what we call reality. It co-shapes the city.

Five months after the experience of the Van Earthquake in 2011, risk-based urban renewal gained a legal frame in 2012. The Urban Transformation Law (6306) is widely criticized as a subtle state of emergency rule due to provisions that make use of the state of emergency regulations and tools, as well as suspension of other laws and civil rights. Instead of targeting this law as a necessary response to anticipated threat or as a misuse of this necessity, in chapter 5, "The Legal Complex of Emergency," I turn to the law as a technique of power which does not stand outside of the techno-political field nor legitimize power and violence. On the contrary, law actively facilitates violence, power, and subjectivities, and the topology

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of governing. Thus, rather than as an imposition of the exception paradigm, I look at how legal practices regulate planning, building, and contestation, as well as how the law is itself shaped by these practices. To do that, I analyze these legal practices not as the Law but as the *legal complex of emergency* describing the legal practices that co-constitute *emergencyscape*. Emergency is not some state of lawlessness but an effect of these legal practices alongside architectural practices, planning, anticipation, risk assessment, and so on. This way of approaching law does not disguise the participation of the law in the production of the *emergency as an effect*. I look at how the emergency is performed by law – in legal texts, in the process of law-making and juridical contestation, and in court decisions – as a part of a wider field of practices that perform emergency. The law does not withdraw from the exceptional and preserve itself but claims emergency and exception. By embracing emergency, the law fulfills the promise of control over life (Esmeir 2012) in the name of the preservation of biological life, indeed as the right to life.

The concluding chapter, "*Biocare*: The Uneven Distribution of Care and Abandonment," departs from the "right to life" and scrutinizes its biopolitical implications, binding it to the foregoing chapters. *Biocare* describes the way the vulnerability of life and the practices that determine and name it bind the state and its subjects to each other while providing a new source from which the state derives legitimacy without displacing its objective of self-protection. Further, this chapter, alongside the critique of Agamben and Foucault's blindness to (histories of) inequality, elaborates and contests the idea that care or abandonment are distributed evenly by looking at how their distribution is organized. Contrary to the claim that the right to life comes before the right to property or to the contesting argument that the urban transformation law suspends the right to property of citizens, I argue that distribution of care as well as abandonment do not displace private property but are organized by it. This produces a wide range of consequences for inhabitants, from vulnerability and risks to profit. Property (strongly related to the governance of informality) is a technology that produces inequality. In addition to that, because – not although – the urban transformation law applies to all property owners equally, the results differ enormously along the lines of inequality. How *biocare* distributes care and abandonment through the process of urban renewal or building renewal is contingent upon the existing lines of inequality which must be the focus of alternative methods of politics of safety and care.

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Each chapter has in fact unearthed new complex aspects to their questions and analysis which I have had to defer to future studies. For example, the narrative on maldevelopment, as the crisis of modernization, and its aesthetics, its specific temporality and affective economy of development, can be also traced specifically to the *gecekondu* transformation projects which I have not pursued, having limited my analysis of urban renewal to the zones of risk and risk-based building renewal. Chapter 3 and the concluding chapter touch on the relationship between subjectivity and the *affective economy of emergency* through the material derived from public awareness protocols and risk perception studies; I will not go into detail about what kind of activities and materials are planned and conducted to shape them. In chapter 5, the term *legal complex of emergency* points not only to juridical practices but also to extra-legal practices and aspects which are assumed to be outside the law, such as expert knowledge and affects. Both are important for a discussion of law and its frame and also our discussion of emergency. However, the limited scope of the chapter hindered me from including this analysis in chapter 5.

Istanbul as Laboratory

This research in its most general frame scrutinizes the relationship between disasters and urban production. Istanbul seems to have become a laboratory for a historical contingent mode of this relationship. The World Bank designates Turkey's risk reduction activities in Istanbul as best practice,[71] while others invite us to learn from the mistakes that Turkey made (e.g., Gunay 2018). By laboratory I do not, however, mean a space in which ready-made models and theories produced elsewhere are tested,[72] as in the approaches that treat non-Western places generally as places for the application of models and theories that were produced in the West (Robinson 2002). The non-Western cities and bodies are, in this way of theory making, deemed to be the particularities, that is, the status of an exception to the theory (Weheliye 2014), through which one does not make theory but only observes the historical level of the materialization of the abstraction. As Abduomaliq Simone put it:

> The erasure is not so much of the reference itself. Rather, it is as if the abstraction acted as some deep structure which could give rise to heterogeneity of expression. Therefore, differences in people's ways of doing things and seeing the world weren't really different, but were rather various forms of certain generic cognitive and moral principles that varied in terms of their level of development. Everyone

[71] The World Bank (2015); see also blog entries and various video clips on the World Bank homepage which show Turkey accommodating guest countries from the global South to "transfer" knowledge.
[72] See Adalet (2018, 3) for a better elaboration of the modernization theory and the peculiar place that Turkey holds. Turkey was not only seen as a "template" for modernization theory but was also an "object on which it was enacted."

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> was heading for the same place, but at different times, and this lag constituted a platform that justified different regimes of regard and rule (Simone 2012, 204).

This research's main objective is not to trace some actualizations of this abstract logic nor to make theory from the so-called particular through abstraction and generalization (T. Mitchell 2002). Nor I do elevate non-Western cities from the state of the past of Western cities to a state of dark future yet to come from which one can learn.[73] On the contrary, the so-called particularity as an exception (Weheliye 2014) is exactly the place that makes visible what is excluded from the theory and what the theory as abstraction, therefore, cannot capture. Theoretical engagement requires avoiding the path from particular to general through abstraction and being attuned to relationality and complexity. Istanbul is in this sense a place of theoretical engagement.

Before the Indian Ocean Tsunami and Haiti Earthquake which claimed lives counted in the hundreds of thousands, the Kocaeli Earthquake was one of the deadliest disasters in decades. The largest post-disaster reconstruction project between 1984 and 2005, funded and managed partly by the World Bank, was the Marmara Earthquake Emergency Reconstruction (MEER) Project.[74] The MEER project's scope went beyond reconstruction to include the establishment of compulsory earthquake insurance (DASK), development of disaster management activities and infrastructures culminating in the establishment of the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), and various research and pilot projects for disaster risk reduction. It was followed by the ISMEP – Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project – "one of the first in a new generation of projects that supported disaster vulnerability reduction without being in response to a particular disaster" (The World Bank 2018, 1). Disaster insurance may be a ready-made method of risk reduction, and the AFAD may resemble the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA);[75] it is, however, very problematic to assume a one-way migration of policies, practices, ideas and models. The Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul (IMM 2003), prepared to guide the preparedness activities for Istanbul, is, for example, without precedent in the world. Furthermore, a particular relationship between urban production and disaster risk reduction has been emerging in this laboratory. Various methods have been tried, some of

[73] See for example Comaroff and Comaroff (2007, 148) for their claim that the law and politics in Africa illustrate the global North's neoliberal future: "The global North is evolving toward Africa." See Gandy (2005) and Zeiderman (2008) for a discussion of similar claims based on the same strange temporal imagination of developmental time in urban theory.
[74] World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2006), cited in (Ganapati 2016, 146).
[75] Political emergencies and other types of violent crises are not among the responsibilities of the AFAD, the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, as they have been, over the last two decades in the USA, overseen by the Department of Homeland Security.

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them failing, like retrofitting existing buildings, while others triumphed, such as single building renewal and urban renewal. Even urban renewal is a constant work in progress in which diverse financial models have been tested and constantly negotiated. It is not the imposition of some ready-made truths and models, but on the contrary productive of new truths about development, security, and urbanization, as well as life and subjectivity.

This does not mean that there is no trans-local interaction. Risk reduction began to be visible in the agenda of UN organizations first in the 1990s, especially with the Yokohama Conference (1994) initiated within the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (IDNDR), even though social scientists (especially of the Vulnerability School) have critiqued natural science and relief-centered focus since the 1970s (Revet 2012, 51). In 2001, the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISR) was created, but the general politics of disaster reduction still remained top-down (ibid.).[76] Beyond the communication at the level of the UN, several other organizations like the World Bank, the Japan International Cooperation Agency, and the Red Cross have taken part in risk reduction activities in Turkey since the Kocaeli Earthquake. However, these activities have been shaped not according to an exported model, even though they have brought their own suggestions which have occasionally been contested. Instead of taking global/local as preexisting separate scales with a one-way relationship describing a movement of models, ideas, capital, and so on from the former to the latter (Angell, Hammond, and Schoon 2014), one should be attentive to the ways they have been produced as scales through practices on the ground (Tsing 2000).[77]

Emergencyscape beyond the "Natural" Disasters

The original aim was to understand the contemporary relationship between urban production and disasters in Turkey, specifically in Istanbul. In this sense, the question of this dissertation most probably began to emerge in the wake of the Kocaeli Earthquake, during which I myself experienced the fragility of architecture as well as of life. However, I hope the

[76] Other transnational organizations and initiatives developed in these years include for example the Disaster Preparedness Program (DIPECHO) by the European Commission in 1996 and the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (BCPR) by the UNDP in 2001.
[77] See also T. Mitchell (2002) on how the dichotomies come into being and are sustained through knowledge practices. See Zeiderman (2018) for a suggested approach to global and urban via Stuart Hall's notion of articulating principle.

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discussions here have an impact and result in further questions being asked beyond the established theoretical relationships between urban production and disasters as well as among architecture, knowledge, affect, temporality and politics.

In this respect, the dissertation may also be expected to have some impacts beyond its scope and discipline. I have opened the introduction with the natural disasters accompanying this dissertation. The research for this dissertation has been conducted within a political atmosphere of a steady increase in authoritarianism in Turkey and Austria along with the rest of the world. While the racist discourse on Muslim migrants and refugees, citizenship withdrawal, anti-terror operations against Muslim citizens, civil society organizations, and mosques as well as the denial of asylum rights to refugees in Austria has been continueing, the notion of exceptionalism is often found unsuitable to the authoritarian biopolitics of the Austrian government. On the contrary, since the failed coup attempt in 2016 and following a state of emergency rule, the natural distinction between emergency and normalcy has become a banal feature (Gökariksel and Türem 2019), the emergency conceptualized as an exception having colonized social and political theory in Turkey, limiting it to the absence of so-called rule of law. A wide range of practices and truths, including legal ones, have been emerging and producing the emergency as an effect beyond the concept of the exception. In this sense, the emergency is not a temporally and spatially limited domain of suspension and deferral of social order, but an unstable and uncertain reorganization of it alongside constant attempts to stabilize it.

Even though this dissertation does not devote space to these developments, there is an intimate relationship between how societies target, govern, and produce political and natural disasters. In this sense, emergency as an effect is not unrelated to the political developments in the last decade, but on the contrary illuminates them, not because the strictly political frames precede and determine the governance of natural disasters and urban production – I suspect, rather, it is the other way around.[78] The fragmented, contradictory, and contested practices of identification, mitigation of risk, earthquake preparedness, and urban renewal have been co-shaping the political, social, and economic landscape. The *emergencyscape* I try to apprehend in this research is an assemblage extending beyond the earthquake risk. I hope that the discussions opened here help other approaches to emerge for similar questions in other domains of research.

[78] See Choi (2015) for how disaster risk reduction and anticipation have begun to shape the governmental techniques of the political conflicts in Sri Lanka.

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Emergence and Risk

Abdoumaliq Simone (2008, 14) has pointed out that "the disentangling of emergence and emergency is impossible" in his essay on the urban life in African cities which are conceived as spaces of emergency. Thus, the emergency as an effect is an unstable state in which no one knows exactly the coordinates in the absence of ready-made solutions, open to improvisations, hence a kind of laboratory of emergence. The connotation and etymology of "emergency" are useful here. Emergency is always related to the verb emerge. The term has various connotations without necessarily referring to an exception/norm dichotomy: "the rising of a submerged body out of the water [...] the process of coming forth, issuing from concealment, obscurity, or confinement" (Neocleous 2006, 207).[79] *Emergency as effect* always "involve[s] the reordering of life in unexpected or unanticipated ways" (Anderson and Adey 2012, 26).[80]

Emergency itself emerges as an *effect* of the practices of a wide range of actors who try to govern environmental and political uncertainty, attempting to find ways of avoiding political and environmental catastrophes together with stabilizing the situation. However, it is not only emergency powers and sovereign violence that necessarily emerge there: it might be a laboratory and fertile ground for the emergence of alternatives. Since we researchers also participate in the performance of emergency, part of our scholarly labor is also to be aware of the role of the performative effects of our scholarly practices and to point out the unstable and contingent character of emergency in order to remain open to the alternative practices and truths that extend the capacity of the struggle against inequality that the uneven violence of emergency is contingent upon and produces. Thus, the process is still open to the emergence of alternative practices of safety, care, and solidarity.[81] What is urgent is to take the risk of generating multiple practices (See Rogoff 2008 and Rao 2015) of care attuned to these inequalities.

[79] Thus, emergency powers, according to Neocleous (2006, 207), are "[f]ar from being outside the rule of law" as they "emerge from within it." See also Neocleous (2008).
[80] Many authors have pointed out the emergence of new modes of practices of governing through the emergency. See for example Adey, Anderson, and Graham (2015), Kaufmann (2016) and Scarry (2011).
[81] Yucak (2013) notes that if those participating in urban struggle against the dominant paradigms could have produced alternative models of risk reduction, the process of urban renewal as well as its legal frame would look otherwise today.

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2. The Turning Point. Crisis, Significance, and Catastrophe

> The 17th August Earthquake has begun to be articulated as a beginning of a period of social reconstruction (TBMM 2010, 48).

The Kocaeli Earthquake is now commonly accepted as *the* "turning point."[82] This has almost become the defining feature of the event and is iterated in nearly every official report and every talk on earthquakes, disasters, and specifically emergency management and urban planning. I am starting from this common knowledge because it appears to be a self-evident matter. This does not mean that I contest or deny the significance of the event; I try rather to understand how its significance has been put to work and what kind of things it has been doing.[83]

In a short piece on the Gujarat Earthquake, Simpson and Serafini (2015) ask, "What happens when the dust of devastation settles?" Fragments of memories of the earthquake take the form of narratives which then become the history of the earthquake. They call to attention how the earthquakes are remembered because they form the "foundation of future politics." In this regard, it is important to recognize that telling the story[84] of the Kocaeli Earthquake is a practice with widely ranging implications. The event of the earthquake as it is experienced individually and collectively is an excessive intensity that is difficult to narrate.[85] Then in a short period of time, diverse narratives have emerged which try to settle

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[82] See Bilgin (2013, 19) and Işık and Pınarcıoglu (2001, 98) for urbanization, Balamir (2002b), M. Ş. Balaban (2019), and Cömert-Baechler (2018) for disaster preparedness, and Kasaba and Bozdoğan (2000) for general political shift.

[83] The Kocaeli Earthquake was not the worst disaster in the 20th century in Turkey. The Erzincan Earthquake in 1939, with a magnitude of 7.9, was worse not only because of its intensity but also because 32.962 people died (Kundak and Türkoğlu 2007). The severity of the event becomes more apparent when we take the low settlement density at the time into account. Many headlines at the time stated that the city turned into "rubble," and one newspaper gave the number of deaths as "50%" (*Ulus,* 31 December 1939). The Erzincan Earthquake back then became "an opportunity to mark the rupture with the 'old regime' and to strengthen the new one: Nation, citizenship, republic and territorial unity and national sovereignty were highlighted" (Akgüngör 2010, 10). The official history crafted by Kemalism is not a crisis narrative but a narrative of radical break, since crisis narrative, as we will see, sustains the relationship to the past as well as naturalizes the change contra to the narratives of the national will as a historical subject. The earthquake was assimilated into the history of this subject that was already formed.

[84] See Coen (2014) departing from Benjamin's distinction between storytelling and information in his radio podcast on Lisbon Earthquake.

[85] In the aftermath of the Earthquake, I was in various parts of the region affected by the earthquakes with different organizations. Nobody who experienced the earthquakes in one form or another would deny the significance of the event.

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the dust. Thus, what is at stake here is not the significance itself but how the significance was narrated and why the term turning point should signify this event. Thus, I am turning to the Kocaeli Earthquake to look at what happens in the dust of devastation and how the dust of concrete mixes with the affects and ideas since it has given way to a politics that has also been producing dust for years: the dust of demolition and reconstruction.

I will explore specifically how the disaster and experienced intensity turned to be rendered a "turning point" – the beginning of a new era. The claim is that by continuing to approach this event as a turning point we are marking a distinction between the past and the future alongside a judgement and prognosis that signify the event as a transition to a changed future. This is how crisis narrative works, and today's approach is linked to how the post-earthquake phase was narrated as a crisis already back then. This does not, however, mean that every disaster is experienced and narrated within the framework of crisis, even though crisis is often used interchangeably with other concepts like disaster, emergency, and catastrophe (Barrios 2017b).

There is an indispensable connection between the practices of today and this assumed crisis, what this crisis is assumed to reveal. Approaching a disaster as a revelation is not necessarily peculiar to crisis narratives.[86] Indeed, as a political environment every disaster renders visible the naturalized assumptions and power relations of a society by turning familiar environments into unnatural states of affairs (Healey 2002). Yet, as I will come to later, what crisis narratives reveal is not simply a matter of exposure of some invisible state of affairs. What is revealed must be crafted. Crisis narratives are parts of assemblage that try to reduce the excessiveness, uncertainty and ungovernability of a disaster into a meaningful and governable domain by legitimizing some preexisting assumptions and certain actors. As Barrios (2017b) put it, one cannot simply talk about what disaster reveals without asking "to whom?"

There is usually more than one crisis narrative that takes the empirical status of the crisis for granted and attempts to determine the question of "what crisis?" In this sense, crisis is itself a contested field of multiplicity, and generally narrating as crisis is one of the ways in the field of struggles for shaping how the dust of the earthquake should settle down by showing

[86] See Killen and Lebovic (2014) for revelation by catastrophe. In the introduction, they propose to use catastrophe as a tool to expose fundamental problems (Killen and Lebovic 2014b). See also Barrios (2017b) for a critical instance of this approach.

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what happened and what should be done. As I will show, in the immediate aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake, some of the disaster narratives took the form of a crisis narrative. Following the first hours of shock, the absence of the state occupied the focus of public blame. The incapacity of the state to respond to destruction of such a magnitude was narrated in a very short time into a crisis of the state. Secondly, while the first reactions targeted the *müteahhit*, building constructors, the debate took on another focus and complexity, the political ecology of the built environment. However, this productive debate shifted into a crisis narration, a crisis of development and modernization. Lastly, the demanding complexity of the experiences and discussions were reduced to a question of the crisis of Turkish modernity and subjectivity. These three narratives have a common structure, thus signifying the present as an alienation from history itself, as a movement towards a telos (Koselleck 1988; Roitman 2014). They are not just a product of the experiences of the disaster's destruction but also co-shaped by preexisting ideas on state, urban development, and subjectivity, as well as a preexisting sense of crisis, a sense of being in a longer period of transition. How crisis narratives differ from other forms of explanation is that they discipline the uncertainty of the catastrophic state by producing a teleological time.

In addition to the critical engagements with past and present, the crisis narratives are oriented towards the future, an expected inevitable change. My point is not to evaluate whether these expectations of the change happened in the following two decades, but to look at how the idea of change is naturalized and produces the present. What I am arguing for is that the dust of the earthquake did not really settle down but mixed with the dust of destruction/reconstruction of urban renewal. When I talk of dust it is, first of all, the dust of concrete, when it is violently demolished. However, the dust of the earthquake and the dust of urban renewal entail also past experiences, past expectations, ideas, policies, expert knowledge, subjectivities, and affects – aspirations, disappointed hopes, and fears. In the dust, they become invisible, mix with another, and take shape. Thus, thinking through the dust of the earthquake – and concrete – is methodologically operative in various ways: First of all, it pays attention to the performativity and fragility of the dichotomy of material/ideal. Secondly, it points out the cycle of destruction/production of houses, promises, threats, lives, ideas, policies, etc. And lastly, it destabilizes the process of signification of the disaster through the periodizing idea of a turning point.

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Increase in the deployment of crisis is a symptom of the experience of uncertainty[87] and ungovernability, a dissolution of familiar frames that help to stabilize uncertain and fragile states of affairs, attempting to gain control over them. Crisis is not something that is collectively experienced, but it is a tool to publicly craft stability in the midst of uncertainty: structuring the meaning given to a catastrophic experience through crisis, disciplining it into a governable field, reducing uncertainty without being fully able to determine its unfolding. My exploration points out that the event has been signified as a periodizing tool through crisis narratives assimilated into a teleological frame. The crisis played an important role in this, helping to subsume a wide range of important critiques about capitalist urbanization, politics, and state into the existing social and political order. Thus, they were productive without destabilizing the foundations of the existing socio-political order. As Balamir (2000) was already writing the year following both earthquakes in 1999, in what was being discussed both much and nothing had changed. Such claims are still made after two decades in the wake of every disaster without eradicating the signification of the event as a turning point.

In the following part, I will begin with the notion of crisis narrative with the help of the works on crisis and critique by Reinhart Koselleck (1988) and Janet Roitman (2014, 2016). After that, I will describe various reactions and claims that emerged with the devastation of the Kocaeli Earthquake in 1999 and how these have been crafted into crisis narratives: crises of state, of modernization, and of Turkish modernity. In the concluding part, I will reflect on the ungovernability and excessive uncertainty experienced in the disaster with the help of another term, catastrophe, that the crisis narratives attempted to make governable. The catastrophe has survived this assimilation into the political order in the form of expectation of a future catastrophe that has been shadowing the present and saturating the politics. Lastly, I will turn to dust and concrete, to briefly describe how the experiences, expectations, the material world, and ideas converged with each other in the dust and concrete to shape our fragile present.

Crisis Narratives

Crisis is not an experience immediately available to us. It must be crafted out of existing ideas, experiences, expectations, affects, and material practices that are mixed in the dust. Thus, the notion of crisis narratives should not lead us to assume it as narratives on an

[87] See Kleist and Jansen (2016) for temporality, crisis, and hope in times of uncertainty.

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empirical object, the crisis.[88] Crisis narratives are what craft out the crisis and give it an empirical status.What the words *crisis* and *narrative* have in common is their performative-temporal structure: According to Larkin (2016), crisis itself has a narrative structure like a film, a story, a novel. It designs the content with "movement, fluidity, and change" (ibid., 39). The temporality of the narration, with a before and an after, enables the crisis to "appear as a thing in the world" (ibid., 41). The crisis narration makes a distinction between a moment's before and after, as the etymology of the word crisis informs us: the Greek word *krinein* means not just to decide or judge, but also to separate. Its root *krei-* means to sieve, to discriminate, to distinguish. The temporal separation of before and after enacts crisis as an operative event.

With crisis narratives, I want to point out the multiplicity of the narratives as well as their common performative structure. There is no necessary route from symptoms to a distinct narrative: The symptoms "recruited to a crisis narrative" may produce "a multitude of competing, indeed mutually incompatible" narratives (Hay 1999, 324). If crisis is accepted as a representation of a mere empirical state and only the question "what crisis?" (Walby 2015 cited in Gilbert 2019, 4) is explored, the crisis "attains a priori status" (Gilbert 2019, 9) and the contingency of the "crisis paradigm"[89] remains in the shadow and its "performative capacity" (ibid., 5) cannot be explored. A claim of crisis lets crisis remain "a latency" that is never explained (Roitman 2014, 2016). It is "not a condition to be observed," but rather "an observation that produces meaning" (ibid.).

Roitman (2014) shifts our attention to the comparison that crisis entails and asks, "crisis compared to what?" It refers to a non-crisis normal. It is, however, different from the exception that comes into being with the suspension of the normal. In the nexus exception/norm, the normal state is assumed to be stable and homogenous, while crisis refers to a normal state that is progressive, a movement towards a telos. While exception is assumed to be suspension, a gap, crisis is a state of alienation from this movement towards telos. Crisis produces the teleological time, while exception produces normalcy. The teleological time of the crisis is a specific teleology, a philosophy of history, which temporalizes history itself and shapes it with the notion of progress. This temporality distinguishes crisis from a wide range of other concepts like disaster and catastrophe that

[88] Seeger and Sellnow (2016) use "narrative of crisis," in their analysis of narratives on the disasters, taking deployment of crisis for disasters for granted.
[89] I am consciously eschewing using the notion of paradigm which signals an extreme practice of theoretical abstraction. See chapter 1 footnote 56.

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are applied to the Kocaeli Earthquake and its aftermath.[90] Crisis narratives, while having different content, have a common structure: the structure of crisis, the distinct temporality conceiving time as a movement towards a telos and the conception of one's present as alienation from it (Koselleck 1988; Roitman 2014).

Even though the term crisis, according to Koselleck (1988), always implied a temporal pressure, it was not a temporal concept tied to history. As a medical term, it defined a decisive moment of the possible change in the course of a disease requiring both a diagnosis and a prognosis. As a theological juridical term, it signified judgement, especially judgement before God. This was a spatial metaphor which had been temporalized in the 18th century in the western modernity and is strongly tied to the temporalization of history itself:[91]

> "Crisis" becomes a fundamental historico-philosophical concept on the basis of which the claim is made that the entire course of history can be interpreted out of its diagnosis of time. Since then, it is always one's own particular time that is experienced as crisis. And reflection upon the particular temporal situation disposes one to both a knowledge of the entire past and a prognosis of the future. (Koselleck 1988, 239)

The notion of crisis signifies especially a particular historical consciousness and is directly related to the practice of critique. Critique is, in this sense, access to the truth through the diagnosis of time via reason (Koselleck 1988). The question of "what went wrong," as crisis commonly refers to systemic failure, signifies crisis as alienation from history, and diagnosis of this failure enables reason to access the truth of the history itself (Roitman 2014). Producing a question of what went wrong from the question of what turned an earthquake into a catastrophe dissolves the responsibility for actions into thin air, distracting attention from accountability, culpability, and concrete solutions, and burdening the collective expectation with a naturalized change.

What I identify with the crisis narrative is a practice with which collective experiences were interpreted as well as operationalized with the help of other past experiences and past expectations within a distinct temporal order that is linked to the expected future and a taken-for-granted norm. Therefore, they are, as per Gilbert (2019), both descriptive and

[90] Generally, there are multiple temporalities accompanying disasters. See for example Jigyasu (2005) for the exploration of the Buddhist temporality of disaster that is not based on a linear conception of time. See also Atallah (2016) and Kronmüller et al. (2017). Trempler (2013) traces a temporalization of catastrophe similar to crisis undergone in modernity through pictorial art. One must, however, note that the Turkish language has none of these terms directly, at least conceptually. We do not have a term carrying the meaning crisis; thus, it is taken without translation: *kriz*.

[91] Agamben (2015, 22) claims that crisis was a temporal term that has lost its temporal character, its relation to a decisive moment: It has coincided recently with chronological time. Like exception-becoming-rule, he writes about a permanent crisis in which nothing is decided once for all time.

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prescriptive, since they both describe a state of affairs – but they also prescribe a future as well as a norm and burden social agents with them. It does not just shape the meaning giving but also attempts to order the experiences and expectations by disciplining them into an "expectable" future/télos. Since crisis narratives also co-produce the present state by describing but without fully determining its unfolding, I rather want to speak from fragility, performativity, and productivity.

The critique/crisis nexus is tied to a prognosis of the future with the possibility of being otherwise (Roitman 2014) that is naturalized and deferred by the utopian future (Koselleck 1988). Koselleck (2004) speaks not of the space but "horizon" of expectation that Guyer's (2007) critique of the temporality of US economics and Christian apocalypse is similar to: domination of the far future in the collective political actions happens at the cost of the near future, deferring expectations and collective actions.

The future has a significant place in Koselleck's (1988, 2004) exploration of modernity, in which the future becomes an open horizon and concepts have been temporalized and have become future-oriented. While the possibility of being otherwise characterized the future in modernity, it has also attempted to control its contingency. However, this future is not just modern and temporalized but also colonial and spatialized. In my exploration of the crisis narratives, the future is not simply an open horizon: It "is defined in the image of the West" (Sardar 1999, 45) "taking us towards a single, determined future" (46). The future is not created, nor does it happen or become, but *arrives* from elsewhere.[92] The plural imagining of the alternatives yet-to-come are attempted to be foreclosed. Koselleck (2004) points out the importance of expectations in the analysis of experiences. Critiques shaping the experiences in the wake of the earthquake into crisis narratives do not have an open and uncertain future before them, but the horizon of expectation "in the image of the West." (Sardar 1999, 45). Both the diagnosis and prognosis in this overdetermined form means on the one hand reduction of uncertainty and the excess of experiences and expectations, while on the other hand exclusion of a wide range social actors and their experiences and expectations. Operating by distributing the ideas, practices, and people within the linear temporality, thus differentially allocating legitimacy, crisis narratives attempt to govern social and political life by privileging some actors like scientists, experts, technocrats, architects, and planners over other publics.

[92] Inspired by T. Mitchell's (2002) description of the introduction of property law to colonial governance of Egypt.

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Crisis of the State

In the immediate aftermath of the tremors were hours of lack of information, uncertainty and the inability to know the extent of the event and its effects, but also uncertainty about the nature of the following earthquakes and assessments of security. Telecommunication and transportation were hindered. The extent of the event became visible first in the broadcasts of two media channels, recorded on helicopters after sunrise.[93] The Prime Minister himself received information via these recordings and gave instructions in Adapazarı, one of the most damaged cities, to his ministers via media facilities.[94] There were not only difficulties in providing rescue, relief, and medical help, but also in the management of Turkish and foreign volunteers and foreign states, who tried to provide aid.

The experiences of helplessness shifted into anger and blame. "Where is this state?" victims were yelling in the media coverage. Not only the destruction itself but also the incapacity of the state in the face of such a disaster was a shock. Many commentators and columnists, mostly by evoking an essentialist culturalist notion of paternalism, interpreted this as a "mental tremor" for the citizens, who regarded the state as being more powerful and more caring for its subjects. From this perspective, the disaster *revealed* the unpreparedness and fragility of the state to cope with an emergency of such extent: "Collapse of the State,"[95] "The State under the debris"[96] were the headlines, especially in oppositional Islamist newspapers, while other secular newspapers avoided directly naming it with formulations like "We collapsed"[97] or "People are abandoned."[98] The earthquake was in fact described by the World Bank (1999, 8) as "the most difficult emergency management crisis faced by any nation in recent history" by then. The scope of the disaster becomes more apparent if one considers that 17 thousand buildings collapsed waiting for rescue operations without communication and transportation possibility.[99] In just the Gölcük district of Kocaeli, the epicenter of the

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[93] It was observed by Berkam (1999) at the time to be the "first earthquake Turkey [had] watched live [...] Media, especially TVs, have changed the character of the earthquake."

[94] The first talk of the Minister President Ecevit is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t-oaNsix2Fg&ab_channel=O%C4%9FuzhanBEK%C4%B0L; the later talk in Adapazarı where he, via an official TV channel, calls his ministers to work, is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YN4smz-_Poc&ab_channel=hkn425

[95] *Yenisafak,* 19 August 1999

[96] *Akit,* 19 August 1999

[97] *Radikal*, 18 August 1999

[98] *Milliyet*, 18 August 1999

[99] This earthquake was also significant for the international community's focus on the organization of the communication of the rescue activities. The UN, after this experience, began to develop a more efficient communication and management structure in cooperation with the national authorities for international rescue teams' on-site operations. Some of the leaders of the foreign rescue teams who were also in Düzce, exposed to the Earthquake in November in the same year, report for example a better coordination by the

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earthquake, nearly 2000 buildings collapsed.130,000 buildings in the whole affected area were damaged, leaving huge numbers of people homeless and dependent on relief efforts.

The experience of insufficient earthquake emergency response turned into a narrative of crisis of the state, depicted through earthquake vocabulary like fault lines, accumulated energy, tremors. Earthquake vocabulary had already been deployed in Europe in epistemological, economic, social, and political crisis narratives since the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake,[100] indicating a relationship between this language, the alteration of the concept of the crisis, and the philosophy of history: A heightened experience of shuttering existing order, of one's own time as a transitory period and expectations of historical changes. Yet nobody experienced the time immediately after the earthquake as standing before a historical change. The experience was helplessness, destruction, suffering, sorrow, and anger, in the face of which optimistic expectations beyond the first few days seemed impossible. However, in a short time a narrative of the crisis of the state fully emerged:

> The image drawn by the media at the beginning, before it got into the vortex of inner and outer censorship, gave the impression that the Marmara Earthquake also induced a "political earthquake." When one examines roughly all the headings of the discussions which were in some way linked to the issue of "the state", it becomes apparent that the *"foreshocks of the political earthquake"* were coming. (Akın et al. 1999, 62, emphasis added)

What the earthquake *revealed* reached beyond the question of emergency management. Analogies were made to the "Susurluk accident," in which the close relationship between the mafia, the state, and paramilitary organizations was revealed by a car accident near the town of Susurluk, Balikesir, in 1996. The transfer of meaning through the practices of connecting different events to each other is contingent upon "prevalent discourses, [...] on historically and aesthetically established patterns of interpretation" as Ekström and Kverndokk (2015, 37) put it. The analogy, which shaped the meaning of the event and the unfolding of the critique, was made through four points: the nature of the event, its relevance, the reactions from society, and the expectation that it leads to change: It is no accident that the main slogan of the demonstrations after the Susurluk Accident, "Nothing will be the same anymore," has since begun to be written again and again. Balta and Paker (1999) interpret both events as disasters due to their suddenness and surprising character as well as the unpreparedness of the people. Both events have lifted the veil that covered the organization of the state and social

governmental authorities due to the smaller size of the affected area and the experiences from the earthquake a few months previous. See INSARAG (1999).

[100] The Lisbon Earthquake itself is indeed narrated as a turning point as the beginning of enlightenment. See Coen (2012, 2014) for a wide range example of metaphorical usage of seismic vocabulary. See Berman (1988, 19) for how Marx used earthquake language to narrate the atmosphere of the transition, the sense of being before the anticipated future, the crisis.

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system. These exceptional events illuminated how things were working during normal times. They also point to the reactions and the protests that took place in the aftermath of the accident and how these reactions in this sense bore similar potentials.

The void created by the incapacity of the state was filled with unprecedented numbers and forms of self-organization and solidarity that could easily make a few chapters in Rebecca Solnit's (2009) book *Paradise Built in Hell.* Most of the trapped people were rescued by local people in the first few days before the rescue teams arrived, if they ever did. People and NGOs from all over the country were arriving with relief goods to the cities hit by the earthquake, helping the rescue efforts, providing medical help, setting up soup kitchens and even tent camps. NGOs themselves established a crisis coordination center to organize the relief efforts.

The compassion, anger, and affective intensity of solidarity, along with the power to act in unknown patterns of self-organization were, however, translated into a new historical subject for change: the civil society. The analogy to the Susurluk Accident helped here also to shape the public discussions by reducing the problem into the dichotomy of state/civil society, in which the civil society is conceptualized as a moral agent that would stand outside the state and control the state's authoritarian tendencies. The crisis/critique nexus is, according to Koselleck (1988), directly related to the dichotomy of state/society which was born out of the socio-material conditions of bourgeois society in the absolutist state of the 18th century. The confining of the critique to the private spaces of the bourgeois society excluded from political decisions led to the conception of the critique as a non-political moral activity that is characterized by "the political anonymity of reason" (ibid., 183).

I want to briefly turn to the medical genealogy of the crisis, which has a significant role in the conceptualization of the state/society dichotomy. As a medical term, crisis is defined as the decisive moment of a possible change in the course of a disease requiring both a diagnosis and a prognosis. The term was transported into other domains from medical usage through the analogy of a body as an entity with spatial and temporal limits. Shank's (2008) reintroduction of Starn's (1971) critical discussion of the overdetermining deployment of the term in the historical analysis of the 17th century as a period of historical transition is illuminating here. The approach of historians had determined by assumptions that

> [e]verything rested, therefore, on the conceptual tie that assumed the body-like existence of a thing called "society" in the seventeenth century that could be studied scientifically in the way that other natural bodies could. And while the contingent artificiality of this conceptual analogy is now evident to us, its validity remained an unquestioned assumption throughout the early emergence of the general crisis debate (Shank 2008, 1094).

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Shank (2008) criticizes historians who deploy crisis as a tool for crafting human developmental history in which the 17th century has a special place in the invention of new notions like "sovereignty, publicness, political commonwealth." I want to pay attention to the productive function of the analogy which still haunts us. Beckett (2013a, 29) also points to this function of the crisis for the view of society as a body which "could suffer a crisis that threatened it with death–social disorder or breakdown" in his discussion about why Haiti has constantly been described as being in a permanent crisis. The claims of crisis for other conceptual objects like "modernity, society, capitalism, the individual, culture" also requires that they must be taken as entities (Gilbert 2019, 4). Yet it would rather be more appropriate to claim that crisis is a productive tool helping these concepts appear as entities. The analogy helps to craft them so that they come into being as entities that are spatially and temporally delimited.

Identification of the crisis does not describe the dissolution of an entity but produces it in the first place. Hay's (1999) elaboration of crisis narratives points out their significance in the constitution of the state as unity anew that is imposed as a developmental trajectory upon fragmented agencies and apparatuses which cannot be perceived normally as such. "[D]iscursive construction of crisis" unifies and reconstitutes the state "as agent, as actor, as process" (ibid., 339).[101] Here, in my exploration, the crisis does not refer to the disaster event but to the composition of a simplified explanation in the wake of disaster. In the aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake, the crisis narratives helped the state and society reappear again as homogenous, delimited, and coherent bodies (which normally had been constantly held together and stable by the production of inner enemies) in a moment of radical uncertainty and dissolving existing imaginations.

Balta and Paker (1999), who also deployed the analogy between Susurluk Accident and the Kocaeli Earthquake, pay attention as well to the difference between them: After the Susurluk Accident, the target of the protests could be easily distracted from the state to existing enemy frames like Islamist and Kurdish threats, paving the way to the quasi coup on the 28th of February 1998, in which the National Security Council forced the governing party RP, *Refah Partisi* (Welfare Party), to resign.[102] The state of emergency in the Kurdish cities and the war

[101] See Laçiner (1999b) indicating "faultlines" in the state after the speech of Sami Selcuk, the President of the High Court of Appeal, on the need for democratization three weeks after the Earthquake. The speech is available at: https://www.yargitay.gov.tr/documents/acilisKonusma/1999-2000.pdf

[102] Early demostrations, dubbed "One minute darkness for unabating light," turned into demonstrations of flashing lights between 1-28 February 1997, ending with the military memorandum.

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with the PKK, or *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê* (Kurdistan Workers' Party), legitimized the organization that Susurluk revealed as being necessary. Thus, there was the presence of people who could be easily othered. However, the victims and the subjects of anger were rather, after the Kocaeli Earthquake, the proper subjects, ordinary citizens.

The crisis narratives, after the Kocaeli Earthquake, maintained the state/society dichotomy as well as its coherence in our political imagination in a time when the conceptual body of the state and society was threatened with dissolution without an accompanying social disintegration when such enemies were not immediately available. The antipode of the commonwealth was not a Hobbesian state of nature but an unidentifiable pervasive multitude. Crisis narrative here helped to discipline an emergent sociality of an unfamiliar multitude into the more familiar conception of body politics.

The liberal approach in this dichotomy and the valuation of civil society *per se*, according to Bora (1999), itself subsumes the emerged critiques as a potential political force into the neoliberal political order by constituting civil society as a unitary subject and ignoring the horizontal links between the state and political and civil society. Bali (1999) also pointed out political limits of this notion given the link between the urban and privileged classes and elitist aspects of this notion, especially that they are intensely invested in the sovereign security concerns (Laçiner 1999a). The discourse of civil society pictured AKUT, a voluntary self-organized search and rescue team, as a proper one – simultaneously criminalizing and discarding Islamic, leftist, and feminist organizations. It is not an accident that AKUT signifies the picture of civil society (Aytekin 2000), since the president of AKUT has articulated views conforming to the approach towards Islamic civil organizations on the ground as threats in a roundtable meeting, as well as claims of AKUT being a non-political organization (Tunç et al. 1999).[103]

My claim here is that both the narrative of crisis of the state and liberal construction of the state/society dichotomy obscured the possibility of linking the state's absence and incapacity in the wake of disaster to the state's violent history and helped to subsume the threat to the state into a governable field. The critique linking the "police state" (Bora 1999) and its violent history (Balta and Paker 1999) to the post-disaster experiences could not be formulated into a radical political practice, but only absorbed into the neoliberal political frame.

[103] Ergin Cinmen responded to Nasuh Mahruki in the same roundtable with "We are seeking a political AKUT," meaning a political version of it (Tunç et al. 1999, 190).

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In short period of time, the state gained control by monopolizing relief efforts and beginning to distribute financial compensations. It started banning non-conforming NGOs, leftist, Islamic, and feminist ones, freezing their bank accounts and seizing the money they had collected, and finally taking over informal tent camps they had set up (Jalali 2002). A wide range of civil society organizations became complicit in these ordering mechanisms of the state. The military, one of the most criticized actors of the state, held a press briefing to divert the critiques away from itself to the government's faults and security threats caused by these civil initiatives by showing how the military was active in the disaster scene and implying that it would handle it better if a state of siege were declared.[104] In the same briefing, the military declared that the Islamist threat was, given the work of the Islamic civil society organizations in the earthquake areas and the Islamic media's claim of the state's collapse, not over, and therefore the so-called 28 February Process,[105] the post-coup security measures, would last thousand years if necessary. The state was not absent but rather let everybody "feel" its presence fully (Can 1999, 56).

Three months after the earthquake, the EU started the process for candidacy of Turkey, depending on the fulfillment of the conditions of democratic reforms. Turkey's candidacy had been denied in 1997, while in the same decade several Eastern European countries were accepted to EU. The frame that put politics into the dichotomy of civil society/state I elaborated above is also directly related to how it has been put to work in the discussions regarding the EU-Turkey relationship. This dichotomy also framed the discourse of a "transition to democracy" in the discussion of the politics of the former communist regimes in Eastern Europe, with which Turkey is often compared (e.g. Kubicek 2002). Transition and crisis are near kin of the philosophy of history. The crisis of authoritarian regimes and the transition to democracy through the emergence of so-called civil society signify history as a movement towards a telos by periodizing and temporalizing the state of affairs (Roitman 2014). Not accidentally, Fukuyama (1989) was declaring the end of history, with the Fall of the Berlin Wall signifying liberal Western democracy as the end point of the development of human societies. The political excess of the post-earthquake atmosphere is disciplined into this familiar political frame by crisis narratives.

[104] A disaster may be one of the few occasions when a state of emergency is desired (Fassin and Vasquez 2005), but given the suspect history of the Turkish military, its advocates were few apart from some Kemalist columnists. See chapter 5 for the legal framework and the history of emergency powers in Turkey.
[105] In this process, RP was shut down in 1998 and several politicians were banned from politics for five years, a series of religious practices restricted and strictly surveilled by the state. Its successor, FP, Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party) was also closed in 2001. AKP was established by politicians who split from FP.

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Crisis of Modernization

Besides the anger and blame for the state's failed emergency response, there was another focus of the anger: the scope of the damage and loss. The blame was, firstly, oriented towards the *Müteahhit,* the small-scale constructor who organizes the entire building process from construction to finance, from organizing labor and building materials to marketing. He was blamed as being covetous, constructing poor quality houses to maximize his rent: "Murderers! Again faulty constructions, again thievish and covetous müteahhits!",[106] "Those responsible for the disaster" or "Death *Müteahhits*".[107] However, the immediate reactions evolved gradually into identifying a more collective problem, as attention shifted then from the *müteahhit* to an ensemble of a wide range of actors, failing responsibilities, policy mistakes, and the poor decisions that had built up Turkish cities.[108] The failure of risk-aware planning and of inspection of the construction processes were reasons for the severe and "unnatural" losses. The discussion was, though, dominated by a familiar term, "crude" urbanization, which had defined the informal urbanization of Turkish cities that emerged following intensive migration from rural regions: the occupation of land at the periphery of cities, *gecekondu* construction since the 1950s, the densification of these areas through amnesties, and lastly allocation of building rights since the 1980s. The building stock that emerged out of this process was produced fast without any official inspection and believed to be of poor quality. The significant implication of these discussions was that the built environment itself had begun to be problematized as bearing inherent risks, as rendered well by the following exemplary quotation from Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001, 98, emphasis added): "The earthquakes taking place on 17 August and 12 November 1999 lay bare how poor and thus *pregnant to disasters* the quality of the urban environment, created over the course of more than 50 years of urbanization experience in Turkey, really is." Thus, one of the "truths" of the built environment revealed by the earthquakes was its inherent risks, having been but co-shaped by a crisis narrative, the crisis of modernization, to which I will turn below.

The second implication, directly related to the first, is how this reproblematization of earthquakes and the built environment is linked to the reproblematization of the state's

[106] *Hürriyet,* 18 August 1999.
[107] *Zaman*, 19 August 1999.
[108] Many columnists (e.g., Erdoğan 1999) determined a "responsibility chain" from government to the ordinary citizen. Ekinci (1999), for example, excludes the planners and architects from the "crime chain," while a few architects reflected more on their own participation in that matter (e.g., Şentek 1999).

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responsibilities. The earthquake was one classic example of the juridical notion of *force majeure* defining events that are not predictable and avoidable and suspending the question of the liability of the state. The then-president Demirel's words "Do not sue the state but the earthquake" (Peker 1999, 79) is one caricaturized articulation of this. The jurists (e.g., Kutlu 1999) began, after the earthquake, to contest the possibility of considering earthquakes as *force majeure* for regions that are known to be prone to earthquakes. The discussion is important for several reasons. First of all, because the region was known as an earthquake zone, the state has the responsibility to be prepared for disaster emergency response which failed and was criticized. This point is related to the discussion of the "unnaturalness" of the disaster, the conditions that had prepared the extensive damage and loss of life. The deployment of *force majeure* has become difficult because the event must be outside the field of governmental activity. The relationship of externality is not possible since the damage is not caused just by a natural agent but by the vulnerability of the existing building stock. The connection between the scope of the damage and the activities of the governmental bodies preceding the earthquake makes it impossible to deploy *force majeure* (Kutlu 1999, 19). The state was beginning to be considered responsible for the damage and life losses due to its role in the production of the built environment (See Tarhanlı 1999).

An example is the highly prominent juridical process regarding the collapse of the housing development Çamlık in Çınarcık, Yalova, whose *müteahhit,* Veli Göçer, became the face of the disaster after the court sentenced him. Later several official actors were sued: Documents revealed that the mayor and the head of technical services of Çınarcık Municipality had already been at fault before the earthquake because of alterations to the zoning plans in addition to not taking action against illegal construction activities as well as neglecting necessary inspections. These actors were found guilty by the court after the Kocaeli Earthquake and sentenced to imprisonment and fines in 2001.

Can's (1999, 57) reflections connect the reactions regarding the state, like "Where is the state?" and "the state remained under debris," to the built environment's violent capacity: "The state was there, in every single building, next to it or on it [...] The state was not prepared but it has prepared the disaster" with its decades long urban development politics. The problematization of the state's fault was not simply reduced to neglect by certain actors. It was the state that "produces the debris but never remains under it" (Can 1999, 56). The question was not one of failure. What was revealed was a disaster in the making for decades. The temporality of the disaster was shifting from the event to process (Oliver-Smith 1999, 26).

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The public discussions and legal considerations do not have effect only in the judgement of present and past activities. Accordingly, a discourse of preparedness has gained significance beyond the preparedness for emergency response. The damage that the earthquakes cause is considered to be reducible through practices of anticipation, risk mapping, policy making, zoning plans, earthquake resistance codes and inspection, the responsibility for all of which belongs to the state. Decisions in several legal processes demanding compensation following the Kocaeli Earthquake emphasized the preparedness activities as being the responsibility of the state. I will continue this discussion further below, and in several following chapters.

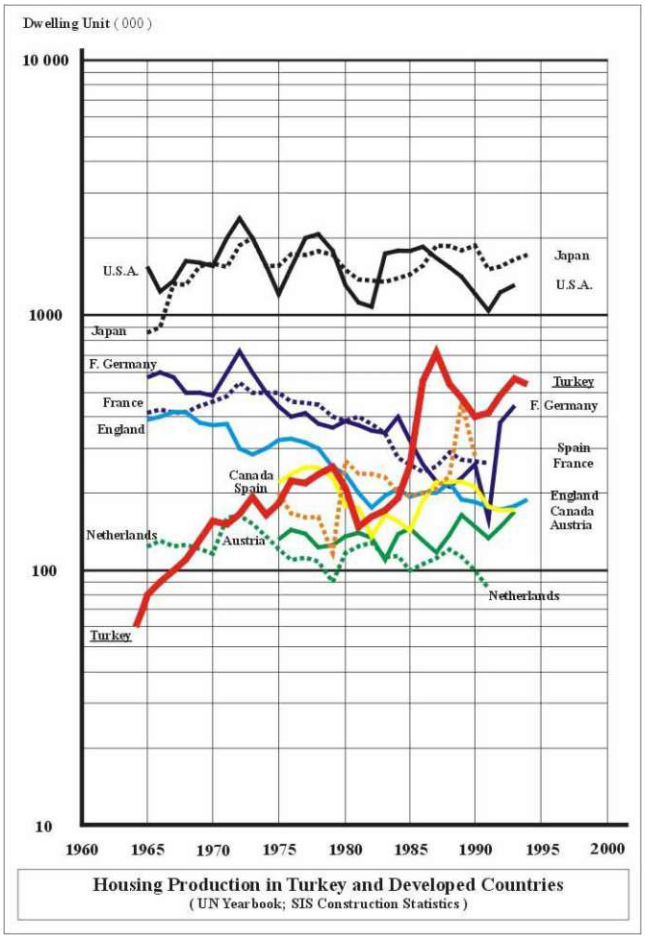

Figure 3: Housing Production in comparison (Balamir 2005a).

These discussions were but accompanied, underlined, and obscured by a crisis narrative which subsumed them into the discourse of disaster as a development problem. This has been already a hegemonic discourse in the general technocratic approach (Hewitt 1983) in transnational disaster governance, according to which disasters reveal underdevelopment, backwardness, and lack of expertise, and which establish the affective regime of disaster which put the blame on these societies themselves.[109] Even the approaches critical of this

[109] Varley (1994) cited in Bankoff (2001); see also Gunewardena (2008)

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technocratic view, such as vulnerability studies, depict disasters as a problem of development (Bankoff 2002, 2004). This is, however, not just a political discourse, but is inscribed into the experience of ordinary people, as the reaction of a middle-aged woman, who was interviewed by DW News after the floods in Germany in 2021, shows: "You don't expect people to die in a flood in Germany. You expect it maybe in poor countries, but you don't expect it here. But it was all too fast, too quick!"[110]

The crisis narrative is based on the same temporal regime of developmental history but differs slightly from the discourse of underdevelopment. An example is provided in the concluding paragraph from Murat Belge's (1999) short piece in the Newspaper *Radikal*:

> Turkish society is no stranger to earthquakes. For example our generation: How many earthquakes have we already witnessed! But nonetheless, this situation is different. We are used to earthquakes taking place in "underdeveloped" regions. But this time it hit us in a developed spot, or should I rather say, "what we thought of as developed." In this way it has brought the truth to light, that we only try to develop by camouflaging, without overcoming and transforming the structural constitution called "underdevelopment."

At first sight, for Belge, what disaster has revealed is apparently our "underdevelopment."[111] However, the quote is more than a reproduction of the discourse of underdevelopment. It is a crisis narrative. The state of Turkish cities – in a region where one third of the population of Turkey and most of the capitalist activities are concentrated – is evidence of a pseudo-development showing some sort of growth without development, a failure, an alienation from the development history, which reveals the "real problem," and helps to absorb important matters demanding serious solutions into an ever depressing crisis narrative of modernization and development.

One of the most significant contributions in the aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake, which has been republished multiple times, is İhsan Bilgin's (1999) article "Unpaid Modernization," whose main argument is that Turkish cities have experienced a fast modernization through a consensual agreement by all actors of the society without paying its full costs. Thus, the blame should be embraced by all of them. This claim is in fact a reformulation of the general argument made by urban scholars that limited financial resources have been channeled to industrialization instead of housing, leaving the pressing question of housing to the self-organized forms of building *gecekondu* and *yap-sat* that have been a factor in unprecedented

[110] "Germany floods: Cleanup efforts sweep western region," *DW,* 17 July 2021, available at: https://twitter.com/dwnews/status/1416363048726667270

[111] Akgüngör (2010), in his study in media archives, observes a tendency of the association of earthquakes with peripheral cities and rural areas. When they happen in a region seen as the economic and cultural center, he claims, they have been experienced as a shock.

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housing production (see Figure 3). Bilgin's explanation is based on several assumptions. The first is that an "urban dwelling" is not identical to a "simple dwelling." It must bear the costs of urban material, social and economic infrastructure that would easily double the cost of an urban dwelling compared with a simple dwelling, making ownership not so easy. The question is, however, whether the qualification of a dwelling as an urban dwelling makes it directly a disaster proof dwelling. The second underlying assumption is a temporal one: Despite the time lag[112] of two hundred years between them, Turkish modernization was synchronized to the pioneers of modernization, the Northern countries, without paying the same costs, which include also the hardships and insufferable qualities of housing of the proletariat in the 19th century. Turkish capitalism, at the same time, simply entered global capitalist history in the 1950s, into the mass production of consumer goods (by skipping the former stages?) and therefore was not interested in land speculation let alone investing in housing. Thus, "it works in a manner that capitalist modernization history was not used to." Even though Bilgin does not explicitly say anything about it, I would argue that his claim is based on a similar assumption of history as Belge's (1999). I would call both the discourses ones of maldevelopment, the failure of capitalist modernization in Turkey. It is depicted as an alienation from the history of capitalism, even though the majority of the world has similar experiences. He naturalizes capitalist development as history by taking the political economy of urban modernization in a geographically limited fashion. He is apparently aware of colonialism's contribution to this development, as he fleetingly refers to it in a footnote with the language of dependency theory, but he does not integrate it into his analysis. He even tends to become a narrator of the crisis of Turkish modernity: "There was one cluster that this 'large agreement' based on the flexibility cannot stand: long term calculation, reason and norm."

If the discourse of crude urbanization, with its earlier focus on the *gecekondu,* was assumed to be a symptom of underdevelopment deemed to disappear once the country was developed (Özkan 2008, 32), the crude urbanization is now regarded as a symptom of maldevelopment, a failure of development. There is a difference between the problematization of the relationship between disaster and the built environment as inherent risks or maldevelopment. Maldevelopment narrates Turkish urbanization as a crisis of Turkey's modernization and signifies capitalist modernization as history, not simply a problem of disaster threats. The conception of the built environment as maldevelopment is significant

[112] See Ahıska (2003) for an elaboration of the role of "time lag," the temporal difference in the production of not only self but also "the West."

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because, as I explore in detail in chapter 4, it converges with risk conception and obscures the distribution of risk reduction practices.

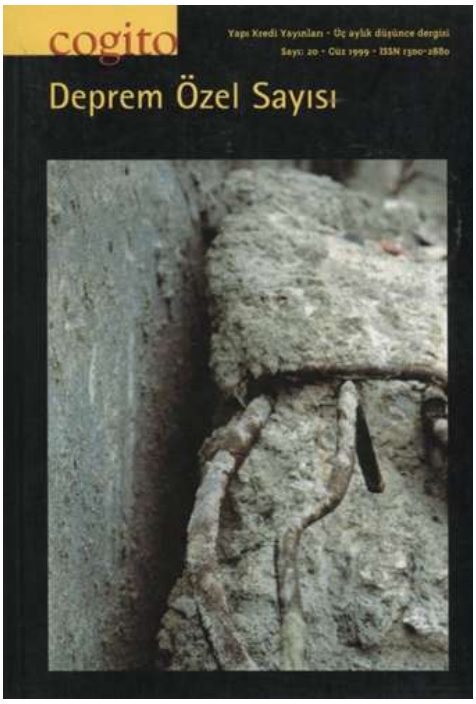

Figure 4: The cover of the journal *Cogito*'s Earthquake Special Issue in 1999, a detail of the destruction of concrete revealing reinforcing steel bars, is emblematic of the dominant theme of crisis and relevant concepts in the issue.

Crisis of Turkish Modernity

Cogito, an influential political and cultural journal, published a special issue on the earthquake in the aftermath of the event. Architectural historian Doğan Kuban (1999) begins in his contribution with a reaction to the critics of the state, labelling them "watchmen of chaos," and continuing from there to explain the real reasons for the disaster. In his explanation, the actors in the process that led to the disaster are characterized by a kind of "barbarism," lacking enlightened consciousness. They lack a proper consciousness for both the past and future beyond everyday struggles, like "primitive" clans. This characterizes nearly all aspects of city life. After all, according to him, migration brought millions of "rural migrants" to the city and ruralized it, and the cities have been governed by people like them: "This society determines this Parliament, this municipality and this city that cannot be a city" (ibid., 164). This language is of course one of the harshest ones used and should not be mistaken for the ones explored above. But anyone going through newspaper columns and media discussions would see the crucial point at stake here: the temporal regime underlying these kinds of crisis narratives. According to this view, the Turkish city is a product of

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maldevelopment lacking cityness, a symptom of false modernization. Hasan Bülent Kahraman (1999), for example, in his column in the newspaper *Radikal*, declared the death of the city, not due to the destruction but rather the impossibility to talk about the civilization, the space of which is the city: "The city, growing without any planning, became a victim of populism.[...] The space of sedentariness was now a symbol of nomadism.[...] Each neighborhood was under occupation of Anatolians and their fellow-townsmenship communities" (See also Mungan 1999).

Kuban (1999, 165) goes further in his explanation of barbarism: "The barbarian is ignorant. This society is ignorant. If 30% of a society, literate or illiterate, thinks that the earthquake is an act of God, it is ignorant. The reason for this extended ignorance is that our people cannot determine their place in the modern world." His discussion follows to assert that the barbarian society apparently works as an antipode to the modern civilized world, and he gives his version of relevance: "What the earthquake caught red-handed is the absence of the scientific attitude," similar to the foreword to the same issue of the journal by Celal Şengör (1999), one of the geophysicists the Kocaeli Earthquake made popular. He opens the volume with a brief text on societies' relationship with nature. Borrowing from anthropology, he states that primitive societies do not have a written history: their collective history does not go back more than 50 years. He goes further, saying that extraordinary events and fear dominate their past, which turns these into mythology that cannot explain anything. According to him (and also according to a widely held belief), civilized societies, on the contrary, have no rupture between their past and their present: Known and unknown are certain and there is no place for the hidden and the mysterious. This relies more or less on the Weberian disenchantment thesis. Şengör goes on to suggest that for every society it is not fully possible to situate it in either category, primitive or civilized. While remaining in Weberian waters, he points out that each society has a small group of people who knows civilization, but that most of the people are primitive-minded. Apparently, that small group includes scientists, because the text finishes with declarations as to the indispensability of science and the necessity of approaching nature with reason. If a society understands nature objectively and rationally, it does not need to live in conflict with nature. According to this temporal grid, turning to science would bring certainty, and the power of knowledge should guide actions in the future, just as if earthquake engineering and seismology first appeared

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in discussions of earthquakes in Turkey only after the Kocaeli Earthquake.[113] The exploration of crisis narratives and their temporal structures help us to reveal and denaturalize these hidden privileged positions:[114] Another origin of the term crisis is the rhetoric in Greek historical narration, in which "[a]s much as key moments in a process of change, crisis situations became moments of truth where the significance of men and events were brought to light" (Starn 1971, cited in Shank 2008, 1097).

The Kocaeli earthquake was conceived in a wide range of narratives as a device for diagnosis and judgement. It is not confined to the crisis narratives. One claim was, for example, that the Earthquake happened in Gölcük at the military base where military officials are believed to have planned the so-called "postmodern coup" of 1997, the military memorandum that forced the government to resign followed by waves of repression towards Islamic practices.[115] A picture circulated around this time, condemned by many who argued of its immorality and lack of compassion for the lost lives, showing a woman at a rally against the veil prohibition at the universities carrying a placard reading, "Was 7.4 not enough?" What is significant in this for my discussion is the common point that the earthquake was a device of judgement – revealing injustice in this case – but, differently, a judgement by God.[116] Another similar claim, also popular during the COVID-19 pandemic as well as in respect to climate change, was that nature had judged the misconduct and exploitation by humans, or had simply tested the health of the built environment and resistance of the buildings.

My point is not to favor some of these over the others, but to point out the multiplicity of revelation/judgement narratives, all of which cannot simply accept that the event cannot be fully contingent, that it must have some significance, and that the judgement delivers the

[113] After the 1939 Erzincan Earthquake, Hikmet Münir (1940) wrote in his column in the daily *Vakit* on earthquake resistant architecture, quoting from Prof. Hamit Nafiz's column on the need to prepare the geological maps of the country and the cities.
[114] See Behiç Ak's (2003) theater piece "Fay Hattı" on the earthquake as an example for how gendered privilege attributed to reason is represented by the male figure, while his wife represents the irrationality of conspiracy theories, rumors, and panic. The record of the play is available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GOGj9zbvd88&t=3955s&ab_channel=GencoErkal
[115] The interventions of the military into parliamentary politics have nearly been a regular feature of Turkish modern politics: 1960, 1971, 1980, 1997. The Turkish Military annulled the Parliament and let a technocratic government be established under a law professor, Nihat Erim. In 1997, the Military forced the government to resign through the National Security Council that was established after the 1980 Coup; in 2016, a failed coup attempt took place which was followed by a period of state of emergency declared by the government. See also chapter 5.
[116] This notion is not something new but has its historical roots in the belief that earthquakes happened due to the injustice of rulers (Ozcep 2020). Sayers' (Sayers 2001) exploration of Islamist newspapers in the wake of the Earthquake pictures the multiplicity of explanations under the rubric of Act of God. Instead of culturalist explanations, one must treat them as politically charged attempts to respond to their conditions as well as to shape how the dust of the earthquake should settle down.

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significance that something should be understood as an access point to the truth,[117] and at the same time be an attempt to affect how the dust will settle down. The point is that the frame of crisis has the same social function even if it displaces agency from Nature or God to History.[118] As Roitman (2016, 28) put it:

> The idea that history is just or unjust for certain populations is underwritten by the assumption that there is a possibility for world-immanent justice (as opposed to transcendentally derived justice). If a transcendental, such as "God" or "the planets," is not deemed responsible for the quality of our lives or for the nature of events, we nonetheless mobilize other referents that serve as a nonlocus from which to signify contingency or to qualify the nature of events. Crisis is just such a nonlocus, or an enabling blind spot, for the production of knowledge.

According to Koselleck (1988), the temporalization of history, progress, filled the gap in society, the absolutist state destructed but not occupied. The hope of justice as a future yet to come, with history itself as a movement towards it, occupied this gap left by the displacement of Christian eschatology, redemption. Karl Löwith (1957) before him had claimed that progress is a secularized Christian eschatology. However, Koselleck (1988) points out a significant transformation: that the spatial idea of the redemption of eschatology was temporalized via the idea of history as progress. There is, of course, a danger in confirming the philosophy of history itself when it is narrated as a periodizing stage, as Koselleck (1988) himself does. Yet the important point for us is the difference between crisis and the other forms of narratives: The practice of temporalization empowers certain social actors while delegitimizing others and their claims by disguising them in the anonymity of reason and history. The anonymity of reason Koselleck (1988) and history as non-locus (Roitman 2014, 2016), the claim of the non-politicality and the disembodied subject of the critique, enable them to escape the question of responsibility, securing for them an outsideness. Even though their claim to crisis produces truth and meaning and they are with that part of the political environment of the disaster, they secure themselves the domains of ethics and the "objective" world. Yet what the crisis reveals justifies certain subjects' privileged position in relation to access to the truth and empowers them to act (Barrios 2017b) by hiding it through the anonymity of reason (Koselleck 1988) and history as a non-locus (Roitman 2014).

There is a strong link between power distribution, the crisis narratives, and the temporal regime[119] displayed in these narratives. However, these were not practices of reason

[117] Except for the explanation of the earthquake as an Act of God, claiming that reasons behind God's will cannot be known (e.g., Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı 2000).
[118] The multiplicity of the ways that signification is attempted to be governed today is mostly by attributing the past tense to them, placing them in the former stages of the development and progress of the history of reason, so that the social and political claims of their subjects are delegitimized.
[119] See also Foucault (2002) on the exploration of time penetrating to the truths of things, bodies and language.

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separated from the material world. They have also emerged as ordering mechanisms of power relations in colonial and imperial practices. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian's (1983) notion of the "denial of coevalness" refers to the practices of anthropologists who share the same time with their subjects but allocate them to another time in representing them in their writings. A particular time regime has been distributed over contemporary spaces, bodies, ideas, knowledges, thoughts, orders, and also affects in time.[120] There were only two possible movements between time sequences, spatially imagined as being either forward or backward: progress/development or decay. Povinelli (2011) traces this in language with the notion of "tense," e.g., by referring to contemporary people and practices, or existing domination, with the past tense. What her notion of tense points out is that the temporal regime is not necessarily only imposed by the colonizers anymore, but its deployment is demanded from the colonized. Both refusal and denial of coevalness consitute the coloniality of this temporal imaginary. It works both to place Turkey in time in respect to the West and to produce the same temporalization within the country.

My point in bringing up the coloniality of time and the idea of crisis is not to discuss our level of development, but rather to make a case similar to that of Greg Beckett (2013a) when he formulates the question of what kind of work the concept of crisis has been doing in Haiti while the country was depicted as being in a permanent crisis.[121] The attribution of crisis to Haiti narrates the history of Haiti as describing a decline from the idea of progress and development by erasing the history of slavery, colonialism, and violence after its revolution. The crisis narrative, when it is applied to societies in the Global South, does not place its telos simply in the future. It has a form already actualized in the experiences of Western societies. Maldevelopment is, however, not simply a former stage, a decline, but an alienation from a history that is already actualized. It signifies this history not by providing empirical evidence of its former stages: The point is that experiences of many spaces cannot be assimilated into the history of development since they do not provide evidence for its prescribed course and stages. Crisis narratives, nonetheless, help here to signify and maintain this history by describing these spaces as being alienated from history itself.

[120] See also Bhambra (2007), Blaut (1993), Chakrabarty (2000), T. Mitchell (2000), Quijano (2007), and Mignolo (2012).

[121] A similar point is also made by Roitman (2016, 35) in paying attention to how the "African continent is designated and conjured under the sign of crisis." Africa is, neither in the diagnosis of pathology in the former narratives nor as a paradox in the later ones, an ontological category. It, as a permanent crisis, gives to history, she claims, an ontological status.

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The vignettes given in this part of the chapter work similarly in this regard: The first one spoils the experiences of the built environment's violent capacity, which could potentially destabilize the capitalist urban development, as well as the belief in modernization as a teleology, the promises of which turned into threats. The latter robs the experiences of the disaster of every relation to politics, turning disaster into a simple matter of scientific observation and technological advance by displacing the focus from politics to the sciences. Not only the excessive experiences of the catastrophic event but also other crisis narratives mentioned above were subsumed into a narrative of the crisis of Turkish modernity. My point is not to review the Turkish discussions around the idea of the modernity. Nor do I want to focus on the singular symptoms recruited into crisis narratives to reveal distinct truth claims. What I want to show with these examples is the temporal frame in which each part gets its meaning and obscures the very possibility of a radical questioning of the state, capitalist urban development, and modernity, having significant consequences for today. The crisis narratives coopted the very possibility of a socio-political answer with practical solutions by assimilating the disaster into the colonial/modern narrative of development and progress.

Still, every critique is deeply saturated by disappointment, affected by a past future that did not arrive: the promises of development, modernization, and progress. They are not simply descriptions of states of affairs, or blame, but a demand that there be some difference from the past futures' fate. This stuckness to those promises is a perfect example of what Berlant (2011) called cruel optimism: affective attachment to an object that one desires, but that is actually an obstacle to one's flourishing.

Dust and Catastrophe

How earthquakes are narrated is contingent upon the material, social, political and economic processes by which the event comes into being and becomes part of and co-shapes, since disasters are "political events" (Schuller 2008, 20; Cretney 2017, 2)[122] and "pose questions about the falling apart composition of the world as well as how and by whom the world should be recomposed" (Guggennheim 2014, 4). Thus, in the aftermath of a disaster, the questions about "disaster as politics" might transmute into questions of "politics as

[122] See also Donovan (2017) reflecting on "geopower" and approaching disasters as more-than-natural events in order to contest the narratives of disaster in a politics/nature dichotomy.

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disaster."[123] The idea that disasters might trigger social and political change cuts across many disciplines. My aim is not to contest this idea; since disasters affect the social and political environment in one way or another, they cannot simply happen and be forgotten. However, signifying a disaster as a turning point claims more than social and political change, but a new period. The crisis narratives, like any other narrative in the wake of the Kocaeli Earthquake, try to shape the post-disaster political environment and are not simply a matter of cultural interpretations of the disasters. Here the role of the crisis narratives is part of this problematic in a distinct way that limits the "horizon of the expectation" (Koselleck 2004), shaping expectations in a distinct relation to the idea of history and development. Even though crisis brings the openness of the future to the change, it forecloses this future and excludes the possibility of alternative futures that do not fit the developmental frame.

The designation of the future as a central organizing principle is now an affective resource, a significant feature of social and political life. I do not argue that this event was what first gave rise to this; the idea of the future as a place of development, rather, has been part of the Turkish political narrative ever since the second half of the 19th century. In fact, it had already become a political project of the new regime in the 20th century.[124] Helping this future come into being was always the most urgent matter, what Bora (2013, 7) calls "acilci modernleşme" ("modernization emergency"). However, the future now also harbors threats – not the all too familiar threats of military coups and economic collapses, but also disasters. Still, contrary to the domination of an apocalyptic future, especially in recent decades in the global North,[125] the future in Turkey, and maybe in other parts of the world, too, is a very ambiguous one: threatening as well as promising – fears and hopes are mixed in the dust.

What the crisis narratives qualifying the Kocaeli Earthquake as a turning point have not changed but consolidated even more is the idea of development, of historical time, and the conceiving of some events as bearing inevitable change as their natural outcomes. The claim,

[123] "Disaster as politics" is a widely used phrase which is coupled with "politics as disaster" by Miller (2009), meaning various periods in which politics itself is interpreted as a disaster. Miller's (2009) feminist critique is also an example of how critique is performed with the help of the notion of crisis. See also Guggenheim (2014).
[124] See Arsel 2005; Akbulut and Adaman 2013; Akbulut 2019.
[125] There has been in the last decades a new boom in the studies of future and prognostic politics. See Adams, Murphy, and Clarke (2009), Aradau and van Munster (2011), Grusin (2010), Mathews and Barnes (2016), Kleist and Jansen (2016), and Skrimshire (2019). I will turn to prognosis, anticipation, and future in chapter 3. Masco (2021) argues for a "crisis of crisis" in the explosion of narratives on dark futures, defining the role of crisis as a tool not for solving problems but of management. While agreeing with the claim, since I make a similar one, he seems to evince a nostalgia for the times when crisis could still be claimed as progress and transition to a promised future. In our case, crisis narratives still make claims for a better future in the wake of catastrophic experience.

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"Nothing will be the same anymore," which migrated from the Susurluk Accident to the post-earthquake politics[126] has naturalized the expected political change. However, instead of a radical change, crisis narratives of both the earthquake and economic collapse have never radically destabilized existing assumptions; on the contrary, a moment of radical uncertainty was absorbed via a crisis frame by consolidating existing ideas on modernity, neoliberal capitalist development, liberal democracy, producing new paths for the legitimacy of the state, expertise, and practices of intervention into the built environment. What I am claiming is that the experience of the events and their narration as crisis were productive without leading to radical change, without radically destabilizing the socio-political order. Note how they are suited to what Stuart Hall (1974, 279)[127] calls the "praxis of political signification," entailing

> the use of charged associative metaphors which summon up old meanings in the service of explaining the unfamiliar, the way discrete events are selectively composed into composite 'action-images' and 'scenarios' of political action, the use of analogies and metaphors which 'transform sentiment into significance', win plausibility and command the assent of uninformed and remote publics.

Hay (1999, 335) finds the "success" of the crisis as narrative in the "ability to provide a simplified account" that can flexibly integrate a variety of challenges. Yet its success depends also on the ability to fulfill practices of reduction through the familiar and deeply established temporal structure that promises simplification in both diagnosis and prognosis.

Claudia Aarau and Rens Van Munster (2011, 28) uses the term catastrophe to point out the excess that the term signals: "Catastrophes appear to bring that undefined extra, an element of 'un-ness' that crisis and disaster do not capture." They pay attention to the ways that an increased rendering of the future as catastrophic, related to the heightened recognition of the unknowability of this future and to the modes of knowledge production, differ significantly from former anticipatory knowledge and risk calculations. The catastrophe in this sense indicates uncertainty, the limits to known management practices, a tipping point, an

[126] The slogan migrated also to another event: While disappointments were already being declared, that the promise of change had not arrived, and that on the contrary scandals and economic collapse were faced, Erdogan, the imprisoned former mayor of Istanbul, declared the establishment of a new political party – the Justice and Development Party (AKP)– with a speech affirming their passion to serve people, using a familiar phrase: "Nothing will be the same anymore." The national elections after the 1999 Earthquakes and 2001 economic collapse, in 2002, wiped out the major parties from the political scene and brought the AKP a clear majority. The AKP is quite aware of the significance of both events as well as the crisis narratives and deploys them in the constitution of itself as a historical subject. The 13th anniversary of the AKP was celebrated through a campaign in which they dubbed its journey "kutlu yürüyüş" (blessed walk), constructing itself in the same temporal regime that I have been elaborating here. "Yürüyüş" does not here represent a spatial movement, but a movement in time that the promotion video helps us to imagine with built infrastructure projects, themselves signs of modernization and development.

[127] The article explores how minority politics are constituted in the media not as counter-forces in the political field but as *deviance*.

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overturning in the familiar disposition of the things: New methods and institutions proliferate that try to "inhabit" catastrophic future events (29). My point in bringing this term into discussion is not to argue for the deployment of this term but to discuss several points in respect to crisis. Frist of all, even known disasters like earthquakes can be catastrophic in experience, meaning that the un-ness and the excessive uncertainty are part of every disaster. The un-ness does not necessarily refer to lack of meaning. On the contrary, the extreme uncertainty gives rise to an excess of ways of giving meaning[128] with the help of known frames in order to make catastrophe something that can be coped with personally and collectively. Crisis is one of the frames that attempts to reduce the uncertainty, to turn catastrophe into something governable, to discipline it into a political order even by promising change.

Secondly, a catastrophe also signals a recognition of a heightened degree of suffering. The deployment of a crisis narrative "can run the risk of delegitimizing the experience of suffering" (Larkin 2016, 49). Additionally, formulating it through the extreme suffering and destruction of the earthquake, recognized by a wide range of actors not to have been necessarily such a catastrophe, could produce a political ecological perspective. Crisis narratives have served to obscure this potential by turning the question "what had turned the disaster into a catastrophe?" into "what went wrong in our historical development, our modernization, our evolution of modern subjectivity?" It turns the recognition of suffering into a nostalgia for never arrived past futures, "an affectual memory of modernization" (ibid.). Architects and planners have a distinct place in this affective milieu of Turkish modernity.

Even though the built environment was problematized with a new content by conceptualization of the threat as being inherent to the built environment as a new mode of thinking on disasters and built environments, it was coopted within the normative ideas on the modern city, proper modernization, and the diagnosis of Turkish cities as maldeveloped. The chance for a radical problematization of capitalist modernization itself has remained, therefore, limited to the problematization of informal urbanization.

[128] Law and Singleton (2006, 9), cited in Tironi (2014), who dwells on this excessiveness and uncertainty of disasters as an ontological condition for political experimentalism. He renders this uncertainty as a radically different condition that "dissolves any attempt to draw teleological diagrams" (Tironi 2014, 118). However, disasters are not only places of excessiveness but also of any attempt at reduction of this excessiveness, since meaning is not delivered simply by the disaster but with the attempts to govern this excess.

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Thirdly, catastrophe and crisis establish different relationships for the experiences of suffering and abandonment to the state's violence beyond the frame of natural disasters. Maldonado-Torres's (2019) argument for using the term catastrophe for the disasters in the Caribbean is to link their relationship to the longer histories of the catastrophe of colonialism. They cannot be isolated from this history and simply be made actionable as crises. Some have made contributions in the sense that the state's incapacity in the wake of the Kocaeli earthquake cannot be separated from the violent security practices in Kurdish cities that caused more than 30.000 deaths and the displacement of 3 million people.[129] Rendering these as failure, as in the case of crisis narratives, would spoil the recognition of the inherent violence in the state's security practices as contingent choices. Still, without destabilizing the violent capacity of these security practices, the recognition of the critiques of the state's lack of care for its subjects[130] after the Kocaeli Earthquake has been productive in the emergence of a wide range of practices and discourses, making anticipatory practices, production of the built environment and protection of life the sole responsibilities of the state.

The then-President Demirel has criticized the critiques of the state's incapacity in the emergency management: "What collapsed can be put back, but if you shake the trust in the state, it cannot be repaired" (Can 1999, 57). The critiques demonized by Demirel have in fact been incorporated into the state's power. Not accidentally, Erdogan,[131] in his talk at the establishment ceremony of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2001, quoted a phrase attributed to Seyh Edebali, the 13th century spiritual leader of the Ottomans: "Make humans live so that the state can live." The term *devlet*, which is now used for state, did not mean the same back then, but rather fortune, fate, wealth, status. What is at issue here is why it was deployed then – and still used today. While jurists have begun to contest the notion of *force majeure* and have opened the discussion of earthquakes to include the responsibility of the state after the Kocaeli Earthquake, after the 2011 Van Earthquake, for example, they wrote explicitly about the state's responsibility of protection of life and the right to life,[132]

[129] The idea was broad in numerous statements, like "[The] state's primary responsibility is not to weaponize but to rescue the life of people" (Tunç et al. 1999, 188). See also Bora (1999), Balta and Paker (1999).
[130] Ismail Hocaoğlu, an inhabitant of Adapazari, one of the cities damaged heavily, criticized the state for not declaring a state of disaster: "The state exists for citizens. Yet the citizen has always been existing for the state. We see now by experience that the state is not for citizens." ("The State's fear of disaster," *Yenişafak,* 2 November 1999. Available at: https://www.yenisafak.com/arsiv/1999/kasim/02/gundem/gund3.html)
[131] Erdogan won the local elections and became Istanbul's mayor in 1994, a year after a methane explosion in a public rubbish dump in Umraniye, Istanbul, killed 40 people living in 11 *gecekondus* nearby. See also chapter 6.
[132] I have encountered a single short report mentioning the phase "right to life." It was published by Mazlumder, an Islamic grassroots human rights organization, immediately after the Kocaeli Earthquake. See Deniz (1999) for the report on the juridical process and victims' rights. See for example Ilkiz (2011) on right to life after the 2011 Van Earthquake.

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incorporating life into the political order without destabilizing the sovereign legitimacy of the state, as I will discuss via the term *biocare* in the concluding chapter. The state has re-emerged through this process, armed with new legitimacies and tools.

These critiques helped the state and the wider governmental actors to manage a moment of extreme uncertainty, a potential downturn become a simple turning point, by reproducing a developmental time, obscuring any radical disruption of it, assuring simultaneously continuity and change. It does not, therefore, give way to a radical problematization of the security state and capitalist development politics, but rather to a renewal of them through the appropriation of the critiques. The emergency management, post-disaster relief, and reconstruction works are the most apparent ones. In 2009, the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency was established, bringing a wide range of governmental bodies, fragmented in the other institutions, together under one roof. Now, every earthquake turns into a scene in which political actors want to advance their careers and appropriate the success of the popularly appreciated works of disaster emergency. However, even if it is portrayed as a success in the hope of highlighting the state's presence and care for its subjects,[133] this success is constantly overshadowed by the knowledge that the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake is not governable at the existing level of vulnerability of the built environment, as claimed by Mikdat Kadıoğlu in a broadcast[134] two decades after the earthquake of 1999:

> There remains not much to do after the collapse of a building. Look, 50 thousand buildings are expected to collapse in Istanbul in the anticipated earthquake, according to the most optimistic scenario. When 50 thousand buildings collapse you cannot find 50 thousand rescue teams to assign to the wrecked buildings. The expected earthquake in Istanbul is an ungovernable earthquake. Disaster management does not mean setting up tents, distributing food, rescuing people. Disaster management is supposed to reduce risk to a governable level. The intervention for us begins with the disaster, whereas it should begin with risk reduction. To eliminate risk is not possible, so you prepare for the risk you could not reduce. To prepare for 50 thousand buildings is nonsense. You can prepare only for 50 collapsed buildings, for 500 at the most.

The "un-ness" and potential ungovernability of the catastrophe have not ceased to exist but have overshadowed socio-political life and disaster politics in Turkey, especially in Istanbul. This ungovernable aftermath of the future catastrophe has, over the years, been rendered differently in the imaginary shaped by the experiences of the Kocaeli Earthquake. Recently, Celal Şengör, for example, claimed that the country will lose its independence if the state remains inadequate to the necessary works of rescue and relief,[135] which very much conforms

[133] It is also often compared with the failings of emergency management in 1999, rendering it as a success of the AKP. See Daily *Akit* (17 August 2018), "From the ruin to the new state." See also Miş (2020) and Öztürk (2020).
[134] "Ahu Özyurt ile 10'dan 12'ye." *TV100,* 20 January 2020.
[135] Interviewed by Avcı and Karslı (2017) but circulated widely.

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to the shock doctrine (D. Harvey 2005; Klein 2007). Aziz Yeniay, the mayor of one of the districts in Istanbul, for example, characterized in 2004 the earthquake threat to Istanbul as a political threat to the whole country:

> With this method we can finish the urban transformation in slightly less than 500 years [...] The state should immediately take the urban transformation project in İstanbul within the scope of 'national security.' The highest priority of Turkey should be the buildings of İstanbul. If the anticipated Istanbul earthquake occurs, this country will collapse and even be divided, not because of terror, but because of the earthquake.[136]

The mediation of the future that accompanies these imaginaries is, though, not a Hobbesian state of nature, a space of breakdown of the social order. On the contrary, the experiences of the Kocaeli Earthquake shape these imaginations of the future, the actualized potential of abrupt self-organization without a familiar structure as well as the distrust in the state. How it was expressed by one of Çaylı's (2016, 41) informants in Gezi Park during the uprisings in 2013 is an excellent example of this legacy: "People proved in Gezi that, in case of disaster, they're likely to organize much better than the state."

As the quotation by Kadıoğlu above signals, the future catastrophe is beyond the crisis narrative; it is practically the limit of the state's action. The affective quality of the present over two decades has still been co-shaped by the temporal frame of crisis and maldevelopment; it has, however, been characterized also by a threatening future as the limit that qualifies the present as a time of action, an interval for action – to which I will turn in the next chapter. The point of the quotation from Kadıoğlu is that what can make the future catastrophe governable is interventions in the built environment and a reduction of the seismic vulnerabilities now, not just preparedness for future emergency management. The affect and temporality of the emergency are not simply in the future but already in the here and now.

Crisis narratives are not producers of radical change but part of the performative discourses and practices in *emergencyscape*. Thus, I am not suggesting that the conceptual frame has changed from crisis to emergency, as such a shift is traced in Samimian-Darash and Rotem's (2019) research on Israel's preparedness practices, since they attribute to emergency a break with experience. E*mergencyscape* is not disjoined nor distinct from the experiences or the narratives of crisis. The experience of excessive uncertainty and ungovernability, catastrophe, shapes our "horizon of expectation" (Koselleck 2004) as a threat to the state, saturating the developmental expectations with a darker future beyond the possibility of any

[136] Translated by Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008, 50); for original, see F. Özkan (2008).

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promise of redemption. If Istanbul is hit by an earthquake, it is hardly conceived as a governable disaster, a crisis, but rather as a potential catastrophe. If a crisis were seen as merely a judgement on the political and social order, actualizing change, a catastrophe represents a potential "overturning" of it. It must be delimited into a governable event, disciplined into an actionable state of affairs through a wide range of practices. The legitimacy of the state and socio-material order has been stabilized through these practices but also constantly destabilized by experiences and expectations of a radical excessive uncertainty, not only material destruction but also of social reactions.

Having begun this chapter with the dust of destruction, to end with the materiality of dust would be the perfect way to conceive of this, since it can mediate the uneasy entanglements of security and vulnerability, development and disaster, ideas and materialities, destruction and construction, practices of stabilization and destabilization. It would also reject any claim of periodization, since Turkish urbanization has already been a politics of dust and concrete for nearly a century: The aesthetics of modernity (see Larkin 2013) mediated by concrete in the early years of the Republic has become accessible to the whole range of social classes and has even found a place in the *gecekondu* constructions after the 1950s through the local production of cement (Tekin 2013). Due to its central place in politics, Hakkı Yırtıcı (2019) asked in a short piece whether concrete is a material or an ideology, assuming a dichotomy between the material and ideal. D'Avella's (2019, 6) work *Concrete Dreams* brilliantly answers this question: Concrete is a compound material consisting of Portland cement, water, and stone aggregate. We can say it also consists of expectations, dreams, existing normative ideas, and affects which people try to actualize and stabilize, since concrete is considered to be an emblem of materiality and durability. This durability is not a transhistorical characteristic but depends on political and economic processes.[137] This is why a house in Turkey never has the life expectancy that its concrete would usually have, which gains strength over time: it was, even during its construction, built in the knowledge that it would be replaced in a not-so-distant future (Bilgin 2013).

As bad concrete has become the emblem of the vulnerable buildings after the earthquake – which according to Angell (2014) also mediates the fragility of Turkish politics – the dust of demolition has taken its place in the "concrete governmentality" (Deville, Guggenheim, and Hrdličková 2014), in the stabilization of the political order. The crisis narratives tried to settle

[137] See also D'avella (2014) a similar analysis on brick, in his study of ecologies of investment in Argentina.

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down the dust of the earthquake and the excessive uncertainty in its wake, but converged with the dust of urban renewal to redisperse the compounds of the concrete, including existing ideas, expectations, dreams, and affects, throughout the urban space, producing instead uncertainty in their attempt to strengthen the built environment and stabilize the socio-political order. In the dust, experiences mix with expectation, hopes with fears, care with abandonment.

Figure 5. Orchestrated and livestreamed demolition in Esenler starting the risk-based urban renewal under the newly enacted Urban Trasformation Law (6306).

Figure 6. "Civilization tackled earthquake head-on." A picture from an article circulating on the internet, the original publication of which I could not find.

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3. Anticipating the Disaster: Temporalities and Affects of Emergency

Figure 7. Faultlines under the Marmara Sea (Armijo et al. 2005, republished in IBB 2009)

For seismologists and geologists, the location and severity of the Kocaeli Earthquake "should not have come as a surprise" (Barka 1999, 1859).[138] Indeed, in 1970 Nicolas Ambraseys had already written in his historical earthquake study that it had been 80 years since Istanbul had last experienced an earthquake and that the city should expect a severe earthquake in the near future (Barka and Er 2002, 24). Two years before the Kocaeli Earthquake, Stein, Barka, and Dietrich (1997) published a paper claiming a 12 percent probability of an earthquake near Kocaeli, along with a 15 percent probability that another would strike near Erzincan in the eastern part of Turkey, within the next 30 years. After the Kocaeli Earthquake, scientists showed with Coulomb modeling that the Düzce Fault also had an increased probability of an earthquake. Nobody knew if it would be in 10 years or tomorrow. It came three months later on the 12th of November. That their models turned out to have real predictive value was for seismologists a huge achievement (Barka and Er 2002, 25-6), though of course not one to be celebrated.

Earthquake forecasting is not just an epistemological practice: it is also a governmental tool involving a moral imperative produced through an affective economy. The moral tone is apparent in these claims, texts, papers, and interviews: "Nobody paid attention" is a critique based on the "prognosis in the past," what (Zeiderman 2016b, 117) calls "retrospective

[138] See also Reilinger et al. (2000).

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prognosis." They also have significance regarding the expectation that such claims of the missed opportunity will attract attention to the announcement of the impending earthquake and lead the way to preparations which describe "prospecting retrospects," the inclusion of "past futures" into the construction of "future presents" (Brown and Michael 2003, 4).[139]

The story here is not solely about the past futures. Seismologists were again in April 2000 warning the public that the earthquake threat, especially for Istanbul, was not over. Part of the long North Anatolian Fault (NAF) which continues under the Marmara Sea towards the west, the faultline expected to affect Istanbul had not moved for 236 years. And this was not the only bad news. They believed, based on their observation of earthquakes on the NAF in the last century, that earthquakes along the NAF[140] were migrating from east to west, and that the Kocaeli earthquake was the latest one in this series. Additionally, they believed that each earthquake in this sequence triggered the next by transferring stress to the next fault, a phenomenon called coseismicity. The probability of an earthquake equal to or greater than MMI[141] VIII within the next 30 years had increased with this most recent earthquake to 62%. In May 2000, Barka and Stein together with other scientists (Parsons *et al*. 2000) published their calculations forecasting the next earthquake in the Journal *Science*. In another paper, a different group of scientists (but also including Barka) claimed that "two events of magnitude equal to, or greater than, the Izmit [Kocaeli] Earthquake are likely to occur within the next decades beneath the Marmara Sea, south of Istanbul" (Hubert-Ferrari et al. 2000, 260-70). Unlike the aforementioned forecasts in the 1990s being limited to scientific communities, the anticipated earthquake threatening Istanbul began to circulate widely, involving public discussions, popular publications and increased visibility of seismological knowledge in the media.

This chapter looks at the techno-political practices of anticipation and risk reduction – forecasts about seismic threats, seismic risk assessments, contingency planning, and public education about preparedness – their mediation, and the circulation of their products. Even though earthquake forecasts are understood to be simple observational practices, they share the same landscape as other types of prognostic practices such as risk calculations in

[139] See also Koselleck (2004) and chapter 2.
[140] See Kayaalp and Arslan (2021,2) for an STS-perspective on the practices of earth scientists and the uncertainty regarding details concerning the so-called future earthquake, which cannot be conceived as an outcome of differences in the representation of the earth as something "fixed and complete" but rather as interactions between "the active earth, with different scientific practices and relations."
[141] Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale

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political, financial, social, and criminal management, as well as prognostic practices in the extractive industries.[142] The techno-politics of anticipation, practices of truth-making about nature, and future events are all part of our social and political reality and operate in and through distinct temporalities and particular economies of affect. They involve affects and temporal frames as they produce and circulate them. How do the techno-politics of anticipation, disaster risk reduction, and their products run through different temporal registers and generate new forms of temporal frames? How do they contribute to affective intensities, creating and distributing sensibilities? What is at stake is how prognostic practices shape the present, creating temporal frames of politics as well as governing affective intensities. Thus, they are part of *emergencyscape*: they perform emergency.

Even as geologists and geophysicists render the earth measurable, the prediction of an earthquake with an exact date and place is regarded by the scientific community as impossible. However, these scientists are expected to provide information that makes it possible to imagine an anticipated earthquake (Kayaalp and Arslan 2018). The prediction of an earthquake is formulated in terms of probability, and predictions of risks in the form of scenarios. The first category of these practices is called the assessment of seismic threat and the second the evaluation of seismic risks. A shift happens between these two different sets of practices: Nature, as the external threat, in fact, seems to disappear from the scene, as the threat becomes an inherent quality of the built environment of the city; thus it is called risk – which I will turn to in chapter 4. The unpredictable movement of the faultline turns into a flexible deadline, signaling simultaneously urgency and a window of opportunity for action. This shift creates moral urgency and makes political intervention possible as well as necessary. The practices of risk – the discourse of risk, knowledge production, risk calculation, risk representation – are both shaped by and also alter our reality, space, time, and the affective economy in which we live.

Both knowledge making and techno-political practices are assumed to belong to a sphere of reason and rational practice separate from the material/objective world[143] The technocratic language, expertise, models, tools, and devices seem to have nothing to do with emotions, which are assumed to belong to individuals and nature and are taken for granted as facticity (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990). Does techno-politics not attempt to alter only "the objective world?" Even though techno-political practices comprise the largest domain of promise and

[142]See also Adams, Murphy, and Clarke (2009), Ewald (1991), De Goede (2008), Luhmann (1991), K. Mitchell (2012), and Weszkalnys (2016), to name only a few exploring prognostic practices and politics in different domains.
[143] See chapter 1.

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threat – improving the world, increasing efficiency, eliminating threats, extending care, establishing justice and security – they are still conceived as being based purely on "rational" knowledge, itself conceived as the product of disaffected science, or as Jaggar (1989, 161) put it, "dispassionate observations of science."[144] My point is that every techno-political practice, every knowledge production and its circulation, is part of an affective economy, contributes to it, modifies it. As Jaggar (1989) pointed out, affect is, contrary to the mythos of Western epistemology and dispassionate knowledge, always a part of knowledge production. As others have shown, politics and governmental practices in a wider sense[145] are not separate from the "world" of affects, regardless of whether the language of affect is used or not.[146]

Ann Stoler (2008) has linked the governmentality of affects with the notion of "affective state" in her studies on colonial governments. Yael Navaro-Yashin (2012) has extended it to include the perspective that governmentality itself is affective. Heeding these perspectives, I prefer to use *affective economy* to combine their perspective with Sarah Ahmed's (2004b) economic model of affect, referring to the circulations of affects as well as the ways of governing these circulations. However, what circulates is not affect itself, since that would be premised on a model of affect as a thing, a "property" as having thing-like existence (ibid., 10).[147] She conceptualizes affects through the social and cultural circulation of objects: Affects reside neither in objects nor in subjects; on the contrary, affects are constituted by the circulation of objects, to which we can also count knowledge.

Both the production and the governing of the circulations of affects through the circulation of objects – such as knowledge, scenarios, maps, simulations – are understood with the help

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[144] Earth sciences epitomize the modern observational science that observes an outside reality unaffected by the social world and scientists' own affects and worldviews. See Coen (2013) for a wonderful history of seismology beyond this myth. See also Hough (2010) for a history of earthquake prediction which can be read as a book on affects of desire, urgency, hope, fear, and disappointment.

[145] See Ahmed (2004b), Anderson (2014), Stoler (2008, 2016), and Navaro-Yashin (2012).

[146] Contemporary studies of affect mostly concern aesthetic practices and cultural productions, based on the older idea that emotions are separate from knowledge produced rationally. If the aesthetic is the tie between social products and affects, then one could say this chapter is about the aesthetics of knowledge and techno-politics.

[147] I do not differentiate between affect and emotion, as various scholars prefer to do, in order to pay attention to the social character of affects and avoid an overpsychologized and individualized treatment of it. Unlike them, I am grounding this analysis on the works of feminists like Jaggar (1989), Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), and Ahmed (2004b), who have contested the individualization of emotion and conducted groundbreaking studies showing the social and political character of emotions. I especially have to note that my usage of affect does not indicate an ontology of affect that itself consolidates the separateness of affect and emotion in a way that does not allow studying affect. If emotions are only an individual and cultural fixation of affects, as Massumi's (2002, 2010) theory of affect, inspired by Deleuze and the neurosciences, claims, how can I study the movement of affects beyond emotions? Another problem with some studies following this theory is that they eventually turn out to be about the manipulation of bodies at a pre- or sub-level of consciousness. E.g., Massumi (2010), Clough (2008, 2018), and Thrift (2004). For a critique, see Barnett (2008) and Leys (2011, 2017).

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of the notion of economy (Foucault 2007). In this respect, *affective economy* is a target of governments that intervene in these circulations of affects in order to shape the attitudes of its subjects. Another significant point that Sara Ahmed's affective model (in line with Jaggar's reflections on knowledge production and the emotions) makes is that the objects/subjects of the affects are also shaped by the circulation of these affects. All of us, from governmental actors to institutions, laypeople, experts, and also the objects of the affects, have been shaped by affective intensities, albeit differently; I will reflect on this in chapter 6, too.

We are always participating in an *affective economy*. It is neither novel nor does it belong exclusively to a particular mode of governing. Every attempt to govern a disaster involves an economy of affects, ergo the governing of a complex topology of emotions, calculations, materialities, and temporalities. The *affective economy of emergency* refers to the emergence of a particular historical configuration of this affective economy that ties certain ideas, emotions, and temporalities to particular sentiments and practices: We are on the verge of a dreaded catastrophe which does not have to be one. It acts upon the economy of affects to produce a proper attitude, discarding other attitudes and labeling them as fatalism and ignorance. This kind of orientation requires a perfectly balanced affective economy of fear and hope that is assumed to increase and not diminish the capacity to act.

In this chapter, I will attend to the new forms of time and modes of politics arising from the anticipation of the Istanbul Earthquake.[148] First, I will look at the practices of anticipation and risk reduction as part of *emergencyscape* in order to show how they participate in the production of the emergency as an *effect*. The point is that these practices not only describe the exceptionality of a future event, but also create a distinct temporality – interval – within which response to this event is urgent as well as possible. Knowledge as well as other artifacts like maps that these practices produce circulate in the public and co-constitute the *affective economy of emergency*, which does not only entail fear and urgency but also hope. In the second part of the chapter, I will turn briefly to suggest that the governing of disaster risk recognizes affects and the affective capacity of knowledge and tries to govern this affective economy.

[148] Mathews and Barnes (2016) talk about two dimensions of prognostic politics: the first is the production of knowledge about the future and the second the circulation of them "through the unstable and messy institutions that act upon the future in the present" which give "rise to new forms of nature, framings of time and space, and modes of politics." The kind of form of space that has been emerging is the topic of the next chapter.

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Urgency: A Temporal Affect

The argument that discourse concerning natural disasters serves the rhetoric of urgency as a way of convincing people to generate affective publics in order to legitimize desired projects is well taken, e.g.:

> News regarding the urban renewal aiming to transform gecekondu areas and regenerate the historical heritage, as well as the developments in the construction sector, are given in the press with a "discourse of urgency" legitimized by the earthquake (Türkün, Ünsal, and Yapıcı 2014, 106).

Similarly, Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz (2014, 196-7), in their study on the urban transformation project in Kadifekale, Izmir – which resettles inhabitants elsewhere while turning the project area prone to landslides into a public park – claim that the discourse of urgency and natural disasters disguises ideologically motivated interventions with technocratic solutions. In Pérouse's (2013, 54) account, the fear of earthquake has made urban transformation irresistible, although targeting the first generation *gecekondus* with such action is for him unreasonable and would convince nobody; I shall turn to this in the next chapter. Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008, 17) approach the discourse of urgency beyond the mere ideology or political rhetoric and give consideration, even if only briefly, to the emergence of discourse around natural disasters in the aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake and the movement of this discourse into the other fields as "naturalizing" other urban problems and giving them a sense of urgency while making urban transformation a solution to these problems.

It is not always clear whether these studies treat discourse as discourse in the Foucauldian sense or as political rhetoric. What is the relationship between the fear of an earthquake and this discourse? Does earthquake talk become a tool of affective manipulation capable of generating urgency? The notion of manipulation has several problems, a limited top-down relationship being the most apparent one (C. Barnett 2008). Many have pointed to the emergence of a fear of earthquakes after 1999 and the impacts of this fear in residential choices with respect to districts regarded as safe and the age of buildings in Istanbul.[149] The fear of the anticipated earthquake is not a reference to fiction or imagination. Everybody is aware of the affective economy of the earthquake and its impacts on the city. As Angell (2014) also pointed out, the critiques have also been deploying the discourse of earthquake and urgency to attract attention to the inefficiency and misapplication of the urban

[149] See Türkün (2014) and Pérouse (2011). See Inal-Cekic and Yazici (2011) for an analysis of the link between the distribution of real estate investment and risk perception in Istanbul.

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transformation projects. As Zeiderman (2016b, 177) put it, the risk temporalities do not necessarily have to have a relation of hegemony and domination, but that on the contrary "prognosis is the ground upon which the state and critiques of it both rest." He emphasizes the importance of risk temporalities as the domain of the political struggle of the poor, but also adds that, rather than being a destabilizing force, prognostic oppositional politics "uphold the established rationalities from which they derive their meaning and force as forms of popular political expression." What is it from which a wide range of actors derive the meaning and force for their politics?

To avoid falling into the general trap in these studies that targets urgency as mere rhetoric or instrumental affective politics usually assumed to be different from rational politics, I take urgency as a temporal affect, as one of the affects of emergency,[150] as a part but also effect of the techno-political practices of earthquake mitigation. It resonates and is produced by the multiplicity of materiality, language, law, and techno-political practices.[151] It is not just fear of an imminent disastrous event. It is also a claim for the particular temporality of an exceptional threat and the action to meet this threat (now and in the near future, before it is too late). It is not just a state of being affected but also signals powers to affect, to act.[152] It defines not a state of passivity but an active demand for security and intervention. Urgency, as a temporal affect with the capacity to move bodies,[153] is what characterizes emergency: We are urged[154] to act upon a situation or an event to prevent the most future harm. These entail both the identification of a threatening event or situation and the possible response to it. Action is still possible and demanded. It does not only, therefore, evoke fear, but also hope for the mitigation of harm yet to happen (Anderson 2017), suggesting the "sense of a time limit" in which action is possible, necessary, and urgent. What is at stake here is, however, not to describe urgency as an effect of emergency on the bodies. On the contrary, a wide range of practices and discourses set a relational space – *emergencyscape* – the effect of which is emergency. These relations do not constitute a linear temporality, as though there were first the factual materiality of the threat of the earthquake, then a description of it, then the identification of it as emergency, then articulation of the response, and so on.

[150] See Adey, Anderson, and Graham (2015) and Anderson (2017).
[151] In fact, every chapter of this study looks at how different domains perform urgency and emergency.
[152] Spinoza's definition of affect is based on the notion of the capacity of bodies to affect and to be affected, which is not simply there but related directly to affection. See Ahmed (2010) for several critiques on the reception of the notion of capacity and for her approach challenging distinctions between affects as negative (decreasing power) or positive (increasing power).
[153] Tomkins (1995) attributes to the affects directly the function of the generation of urgency which causes one to be concerned about something.
[154] Urgency comes from Latin word *urgere* which means "to press hard, to drive."

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Anticipating the Exceptional Event

Forecasts about the future earthquake, anticipated to hit Istanbul and therefore named the Istanbul Earthquake,[155] demand attention be called to this exceptional event already underway and threatening the city with loss of life and property. They generate urgency and urge us to act upon the present situation to alter this future. Thus, urgency depends on the possibility of action:

> This prospect does not have to lead us to pessimism. Istanbul, despite the earthquake threat before its door and the unsafe building stock, has decisive advantages regarding the earthquake. The larger part of the city is located on the second- and third-level earthquake zones, and its nearest part lies a full 10 km away from the faultline. These are the advantages provided by nature. *And yet Istanbul has another piece of luck that has not been articulated and is far more important: It is known that the city will be hit by a severe earthquake in the near future and what can be done to prevent it from turning into a catastrophe.* Could there be a bigger chance for a city? The earthquake will certainly happen, but it will be prevented from turning into a catastrophe if this opportunity is seized. (Barka and Er 2002, 16-7, emphasis added)

Anticipation is not just a matter of a desire to know the future, but "demands action" (Adams, Murphy, and Clarke 2009, 255) strongly linked to politics, time, and space. Its increasing importance is based on the assumption that our actions in the present shape the future and on the optimism that "the future" can be shaped through "human will" and practice.[156] To shape the future, one has to be able to imagine it. The earthquake scenarios produced, based on the anticipated threat, help to determine its extent and potential widespread effects, which should then lead to determining action priorities. These, both the probability of a threat and its outcomes, may be understood generally as "risk technology" (Samimian-Darash 2013), whose function is to reduce uncertainty about the contingencies of the future.[157] The field of earthquake risk reduction distinguishes between seismic threat and seismic risk: the seismic threat is the probability of an earthquake, seismic risk is the

[155] Recently it has begun to be called the Great Istanbul Earthquake due to the small and moderate earthquakes that occured under the Marmara Sea near Istanbul.
[156] See Rescher (1991). Abram and Weszkalnys (2013) look at the belief in and the promise of planning to shape the future.
[157] Foucauldian Studies especially target risk as governmental technology interested in the calculation of the punctual occurance of an event. See for example Ewald (1991) on insurance. Beck (1992) and Giddens (1994), contrariwise, pay attention to the production of uncertainties by risk technologies, rather than to certainty. Grusin (2004, 2010) claims a new kind of prognostic politics of security after 9/11 based not on rational technologies of reduction of futures but on the creative production – "premeditation" – of many possible futures through aesthetic and cultural methods. See De Goede (2008) for differences and similarities between premeditation and risk technologies. The problem remains in all these studies of the function of the periodization of risk and the approaches to the risk. For a critique see Fressoz (2007) or Zeiderman (2016a). See also Rao's (2015) elaboration of risk as a technology for the reduction of contingency against which the volume she is introducing advocating epistemological speculation.

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calculations of the effects of an earthquake (Kundak and Türkoğlu 2007). While practices of assessment of the former, earthquake forecasts and predictions, deal with the fault lines, historical records, GPS measurements of the movement of the plates, and the notion of risk, the practices regarding the latter, the assessment of the effects, shift the focus from fault lines to the built environment, from "nature" to the city as a "cultural" product that is assumed to have decisive effects on calamity results – thus, to be more governable than nature. For this reason, the risk is related to the governable side of disaster. The point of the techno-politics of risk reduction is not to prevent seismic threat (since the earthquake cannot be prevented) but its effects. Rather, the aim is to reduce disastrous results through reorganization of the built environment and preparations for disaster emergency – in short, managing security.

Predicting the future event with risk calculations and representing it in numbers contributes to the rationalization of the disaster, renders it manageable, and makes it a field of action under a strong moral urgency. It is a condition of preventive strategies. Though numbers do not themselves suffice for making decisions and actions, governments need more to be able to make the "uncertainty manageable" and turn it into a "field of agency, a space one could (at least hope to) make informed decisions about" (Schäfers 2016, 233). To this end, many events were organized, diverse reports prepared, and some pilot projects started.[158] Diverse international organizations contributed to them and some projects were partly financed by international finance institutions.[159]

In the following part, I will focus on two reports prepared for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM). The first one, the JICA study (IMM-JICA 2002) concerns assessments of both the seismic threat and the seismic risk. The second one, Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul (IMM 2003; IBB 2003), concerns a reevaluation of the seismic risks extensively, but the main concern of this second document is the preparation of a comprehensive risk reduction and contingency plan. Without indicating that risk is imaginary or representative of an objective fact, I want to call attention to the performative character of these practices, from prediction to planning. Risk technologies participate in the production of reality.

[158] Some examples: The National Strategy for Reduction of Earthquake Severities Report in 2002 by the National Earthquake Council (replaced by the Advisory Committee on Earthquake under AFAD, the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency); the Integrated Urban Development Strategy and Action Plan Preparation Project (KENTGES) in 2009; and the Urbanization Council and its Urban Development Strategy and Action Plan in 2004.

[159] For example, the Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project (ISMEP) with a total budget of 2 billion Euro from eight separate international loans. See chapter 4.

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Microzonation Project by JICA

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), in coordination with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, conducted a microzonation project in the case of a 200 km long segment of the 1.500 km long North Anatolian Fault below the Marmara Sea being activated and subsequently effecting Istanbul and the whole Marmara Region.[160] According to the different probabilities of a break in the North Anatolian Fault (NAF),[161] four scenario earthquakes were produced to estimate the damage to be taken into consideration in planning for disaster prevention. While model A (Figure 8) is regarded as the most probable scenario with a moment magnitude of 7.5 (because of the assumption of movement of the seismic activities towards the west), model C is the least probable worst-case scenario "within reason" with moment magnitude of 7.7, assuming a simultaneous break of all fault segments beneath the Marmara Sea.[162]

These two scenarios then were used throughout the document to estimate probable damages and causalities with the help of complex mathematical models and variables extracted from the geological and geophysical data on the ground and building damage and human causality patterns from past earthquakes, data on present population and building structures, and visual inspections (in the absence of accurate data). Earthquake forecasting and scenario development combine various temporal modalities of data. The pages on which the estimation procedures were laid out and mathematical formulations presented no longer make sense for a non-expert. One looks for the numbers, maps, any tangible and readable parts to understand what these models and estimations have to say about, for example, building damage: Model A forecasts that 51,000 buildings will be heavily damaged, with another 114,000 only moderately. In the *mahalles*[163] along the coast, the number is as

[160] The Report of the JICA is not the only document assessing seismic threat and risks. See also BU-ARC (2002), BU-Munich.Re (2002). Risk assessments conducted later, including IBB (2009) and IBB (2019), as well as the Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul (IBB 2003; IMM 2003), are mostly based on both IMM-JICA (2002) and BU-ARC (2003).

[161] The fault structure under the Marmara Sea was little known until the Kocaeli Earthquake. The Kocaeli Earthquake turned the Marmara Sea into a super-site like the San Andreas Fault by bringing numerous scientists, devices, ships, and financial means together to research it; these include studies of Le Pichon and Şengör by the ship Le Surroit; ARMNET-Kocaeli University and GFZ (around Yalova, completed in 2006); PIRES-BU and GFZ (around Prince Islands, started in 2006); GONAF – AFAD and GFZ (around Derin Kuyu, started in 2011); MARsite/Marmara Supersite (co-funded by EU). See Kayaalp and Arslan (2018).

[162] See IMM-JICA (2002, Chapter 7).

[163] "Mahalle" is the smallest unit of spatial governance in the city. District municipalities consist of mahalles. The meaning goes beyond this governmental aspect, referring to spatial aspects as well as socially smaller scales like neighborhoods.

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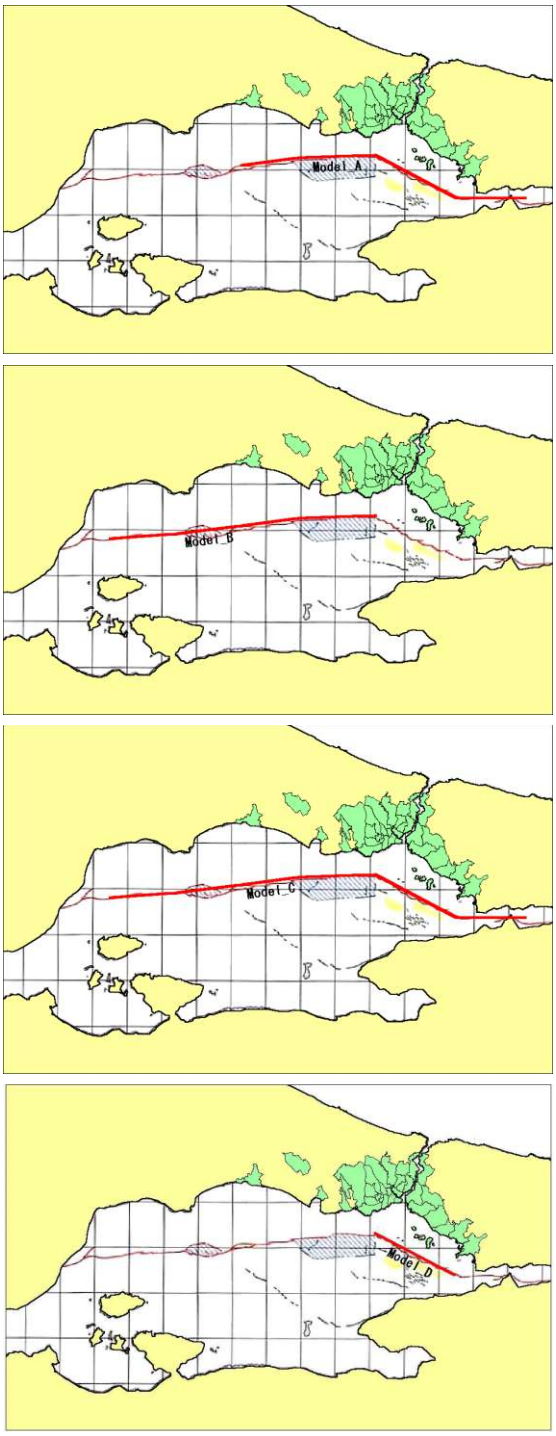
high as 30% of all buildings. Model C forecasts 59,000 heavily and 128,000 moderately damaged. In the *mahalles* along the coast on the European side, the number reaches 40% of all buildings.[164]



MODEL A

MODEL B

MODEL C

MODEL D

Figure 8. Scenario Earthquakes (IMM-JICA 2002).

[164] See IMM-JICA (2002, Chapter 7: Earthquake Analysis 7-1).

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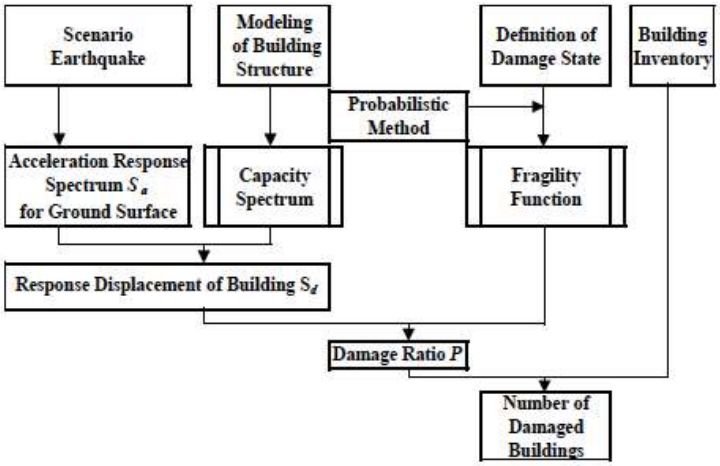

Figure 9. Estimation of potential building damages (IMM-JICA 2002).

Once building damage is estimated, this probability is used to estimate human causalities and injuries with the help of models that process data from past earthquakes, probable building damage, and data on existing building stock including type and year of construction, number of floors, and day and night population figures. For Model A, the human causalities are estimated at 73,000 dead and 135,000 severely injured. One finds in the details evocative articulations of the scale human loss like "In Fatih, more than 6,000 people will die." For Model C, the human causalities are estimated to be 87,000 dead, with 120,000 severely injured; here we read that "[i]n Bahçelievler, Fatih and Küçükçekmece, more than 6,000 people will die."[165]

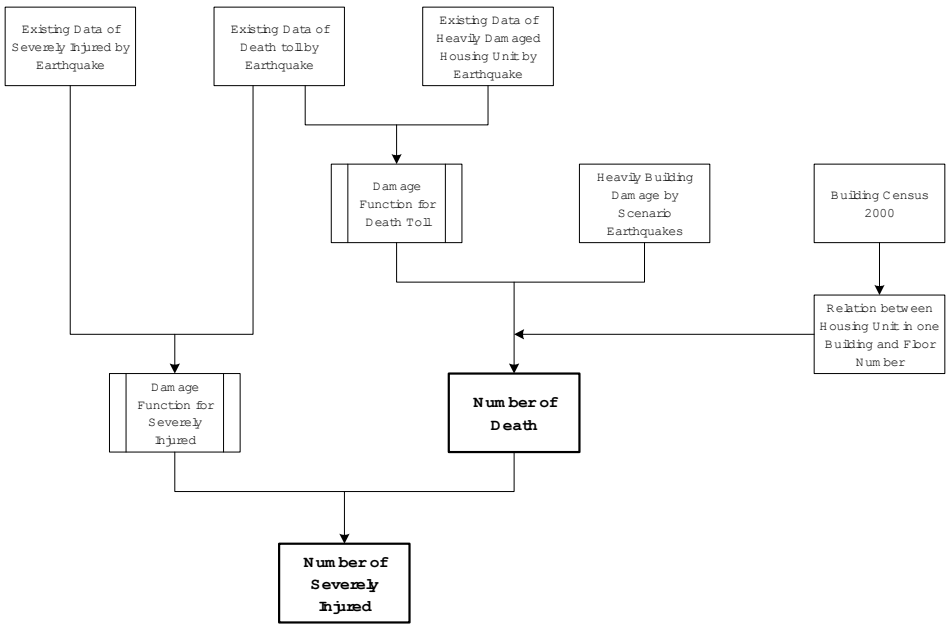

Figure 10. Estimation of human causalities (IMM-JICA 2002).

[165] Ibid.

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These predictive models of course depend on the methods chosen, the data used, interpretative tools, and built-in assumptions, and therefore vary. One is often reminded that earthquake scenarios are not produced to predict the future, as the IMM-JICA report warns (Figure 11). Mesut Pektas (2004), then Deputy Secretary-General of the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, emphasizes the same in a conference presentation entitled "A Metropolitan Municipality Prepares for the Worst: Istanbul Earthquake Master Plan":

> While no earthquake scenario is intended as any form of prediction, and the actual event may show substantial differences from the anticipated event if it happens, it serves as a basis for planning and development of preparedness measures.

The other problem with such studies is that they take a building's year of construction and assume that the concurrent building codes were adhered to, which is not the case for Istanbul due to inspection problems and *post facto* authorization of the buildings. The estimation of earthquake losses, from building damage to human causalities, from economic loss to infrastructural damage, were actualized later in 2009 and 2019 using new estimation techniques and software. The causalities were estimated in 2009 as 33,041 dead and 132,164 injured (IBB 2009).

Caution

Seismic microzonation is not the prophecy of future earthquakes. Scenario earthquakes are never meant predict the next event. It cannot be said that one of these models will occur next.

Though the analysis is based on up-to-date scientific knowledge, results include inevitable errors. The estimated damage amount and distribution included in this report can be used only for the purpose of establishing a disaster prevention / mitigation plan in Istanbul.

Figure 11. Warning in the IMM-JICA (2002) report.

When I presented a first draft years ago to my colleagues, one of them called my attention to the power of numbers, the affective capacity they have. Note the exactness of the number "33041" in the new estimations, or the usage of color red for the highest human causalities in the maps (Figure 12). This power is also used by groups critical of government policies and the application of urban transformation. The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA 2017) released a report in 2017 claiming that 625 thousand people will die should the worst-case scenario earthquake occur. This number was published in the newspapers alongside words like "fearful;" it describes not a disaster but a catastrophe and

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is beyond any other estimates. The amount of human loss predicted in this report has, however, not circulated like other information about the disappearance of the parks and empty areas determined to be used for the post-earthquake emergency. The point here is not to assert the inaccuracy of this number but suggest that the circulation of such products has mostly to do with their functions and affective capacities. It is not helpful to anticipate a catastrophe instead of a manageable disaster, nor to feel so helpless and hopeless as to diminish the capacity to act.

The seismic threat and risk assessments make the exceptionality of the event visible in a rationalized fashion and thereby help to produce the possibility of a response. Response is not a fact emerging after the identification. The function of forecasts and risk assessments is not just to produce exact rational knowledge or to serve merely as a planning tool. The effect of forecasting goes beyond these, and may be better said to be intrinsically linked with *the affective economy of emergency*. The numbers of the dead, or heavily damaged buildings inscribed into maps with color scales, drive primarily policymakers and governmental actors by confronting them with a governable disaster and not a catastrophe beyond human capacity. They do but not remain in the reports but circulate in the news, in the media, in speeches. Before I come to the circulation of these products, allow me to give a brief account of the planning practice following this study of evaluation of seismic threat and risk.

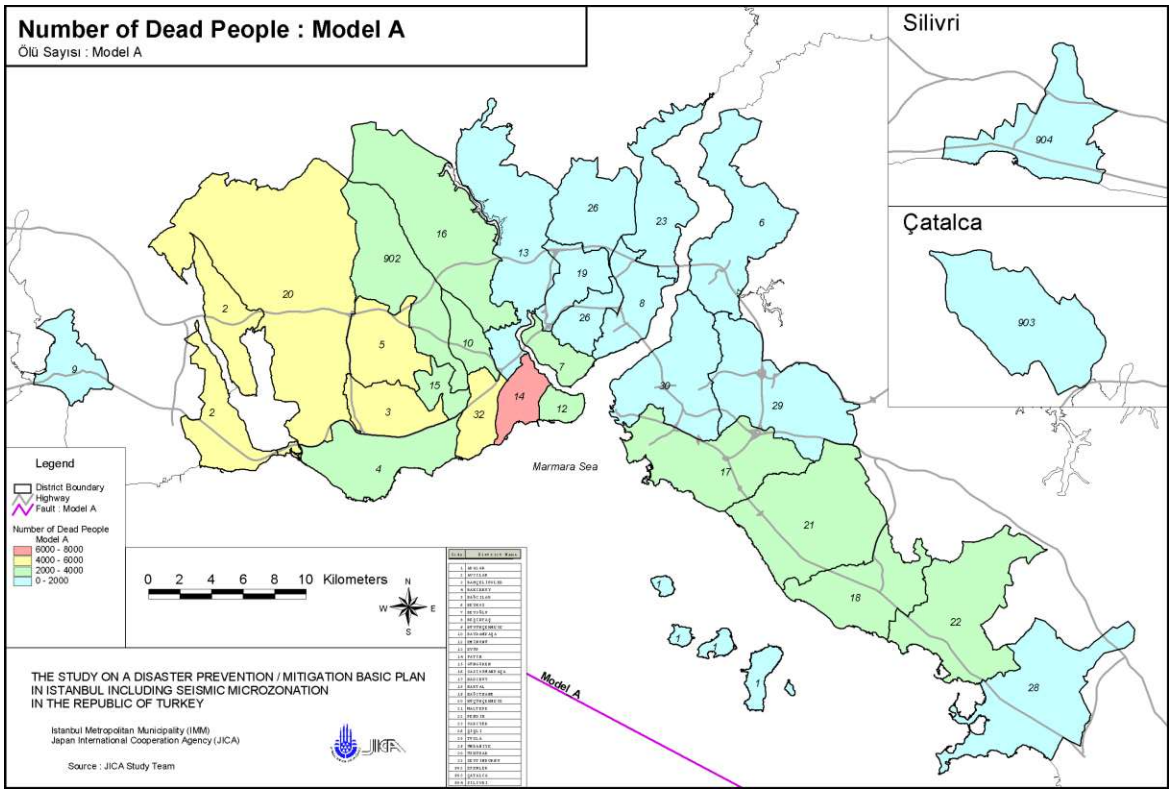

Figure 12. Number of dead people mapped for scenario earthquake A (IMM-JICA 2002).

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Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul[166]

Tackling the question of how the city and its inhabitants should prepare for this anticipated earthquake, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality ordered four Turkish universities to develop the Earthquake Master Plan (IMM 2003). However, the Earthquake Master Plan is not a "diagnosis, but a scenario of action" (Balamir 2004b), an all-encompassing mitigation plan aiming to provide a methodology for action. Its focus is not the threat and risks but the response, that is, the practices for reducing and mitigating these risks, based on the diagnostic outputs of the studies of the JICA and BU-ARC and scientific approaches developed in the 1990s (e.g., the Risk Society Thesis) postulating the complexity of modern environmental risks. It approaches the urban environment – a totality of buildings, life-lines, emergency facilities, land use patters, management processes and risks – as having both natural and human origin, ultimately identifying 13 different risk sectors. It provides a comprehensive plan, a road map to develop new tools, methods, and legal frames, describing necessary actions in these sectors[167] and integrating them into a long-term contingency plan. The entire document covers the work of assessing current legal issues, financial issues, educational issues, social issues, risk, and disaster management issues in a "synchronized" manner, as well as making determinations of short-, medium-, and long-term measures and strategies to reduce existing risks and to hinder new ones.

A shift happens between forecasting and contingency planning, as the latter's focus is not solely on the natural threat but also the built environment and social organization. Because the accurate prediction of an event, and thereby full control of its potentiality, especially in the context of natural disasters, as discussed above, does not seem possible, risk reduction practices are mostly interested in the question of how natural hazards result in disaster severities, economic and human losses, and post-disaster insecurities. They attempt to mitigate these results by changing these conditions. What this earthquake preparedness plan is interested in is not the event itself but the risks exposed by environmental factors: settlement patterns, land management, and building qualities; in sum, the organization of the population and the built environment. This turns an earthquake from a fate into a

[166] Hereafter referred to as the Earthquake Master Plan.
[167] Risk Sectors of the Contingency Plan: 1. macro-form risks, 2. risks in urban texture, 3. risks related to incompatible uses, 4. risks of productivity loss, 5. risks in special areas, 6. open space scarcity risks, 7. risks related to hazardous materials, 8. vulnerabilities of historical and cultural heritage, 9. risks in lifelines, 10. risks in building stock, 11. risks related to emergency facilities, 12. external risks, and 13. risks of incapacitated management.

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manageable contingency which does not foresee total possible control but instead tries to manage it. It must first be made manageable in order to not become a catastrophe. Urban transformation appears in this respect to be the "only" possible response to this urgency–to which I will turn to in the following chapter. What this discussion is concerned with is the shift of focus from threat to risk, from nature to the built environment. While "natural event" as threat disappears from the scene in the disaster risk mitigation approach, paradoxically, the anticipated earthquake, as an imminent event, becomes increasingly an indefinite but looming deadline, a temporal technology as an *effect* of the techno-political practices.

The Interval

> The times of future earthquakes along a fault segment are uncertain because of intrinsic variability of the earthquake faulting process and uncertainty of the observations used to estimate recurrence time. Estimations of the probability of future events over a given time interval provide the means to account for these uncertainties (Stein, Barka, and Dieterich 1997, 598).

The history of earthquake prediction is a story of a series of hope and disappointments. The impossibility of exact prediction of earthquakes and the need for long term forecasting, a "meaningfully narrow specification of time, location, and magnitude" (Hough 2010, 34), is now established among seismologists.[168] Long term forecasting is now regarded as useful for end-users; it does, however, not eliminate the uncertainties, contesting forecasts, and fragility of the models.[169] Considering this, but as a question of fulfilling the promise of certainty or of failing to be a true representation of reality, obscures an important aspect: The effect of the practices of forecasting that account for uncertainties produces a peculiar temporality that is characteristic of the emergency as *effect*: interval.

As we have seen, the passage from the practices of seismic threat modelling to seismic risk assessment and contingency planning led to shift of focus from the natural threat to built environment. While the "natural event" as threat disappears from the scene in the disaster risk mitigation approach, paradoxically, the anticipated earthquake, as an imminent event,

[168] The line between prediction, short- and long-term forecast is blurred.
[169] Earth scientists have been increasingly questioning the usefulness of earthquake forecasts and risk maps. The 2008 Wenchuan, 2010 Haiti and 2011 Tohoku earthquakes occurred in regions that were believed to be relatively safe (S. Stein, Geller, and Liu 2012; Mulargia, Stark, and Geller 2017). Even the "earthquake nation" (Clancey 2006) with the most well established history of seismology and earthquake prediction saw its earthquake science „defeated" by its object (Clancey 2012, 334). See also Allison (2013) for an ethnography of Japan's lived and felt precariousness to which the Fukushima Disaster – radiation, and mud – widely contributed. Yet, in Turkey, Japan's standard still remains the one we should endeavor to achieve in all earthquake-related matters, from prediction to engineering.

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increasingly becomes at once indefinite but also nearing a deadline, a distinct temporality. However, this deadline does not have an eschatological quality because the time until the eschatological deadline is "lacking in value" (Bakhtin 1988,148, cited in Opitz and Tellmann 2015), not to mention that eschatology focuses on deferment of action contrary to the urgency of action in the present (Adey, Anderson, and Graham 2015, 9). What characterizes the interval is the urgency of the identified response. The interval, however, makes the response meeting the exceptional event not only urgent and necessary[170] but also *possible*.

What most matters is not the future, but the time between the present and this future deadline as the time of action and the present as the time of immediate decision: as Barka and Er (2002, 19) put it, "[E]ven though we cannot know exactly how much, there is an invaluable time. This time that offers the city opportunity to determine its fate and to avoid the catastrophe must be well utilized." Such a time of possible action offers promise to meet the exceptional threat. The present gains a quality of emergency in the middle of an opened-up interval. This is what Ophir (2010, 42) calls the "suspended moment of catastrophe," a threshold between the catastrophic event and the degree of the process of catastrophization.[171] The interval is a product of discursive catastrophization, such as assessments and statements about the time and space of the threshold and our proximity to it, for the possibility of the decatastrophizing action.

Anderson (2017) frames the temporality and affect at work in emergencies with four categories: exceptionality, urgency, interval, and hope. Exceptionality involves defining an exceptional event: the "claim that some kind of event [endangering something valued like life] has happened, is happening, or will happen." Urgency is related to the claim „that action is *necessary* immediately in order to meet the event that becomes the exception" (469). Interval is the time emerging, by the „stretching or extending of the present and a temporary suspension of the transition to a future." Creation of a stabilized time for intervention makes possible the belief that „emergency action can still make a difference" and enacts an interval within which to act. This provides and is provided by hope that the future is not preordained but alterable (470). The following parts of this chapter contain data exemplifying all these temporal categories.

[170] For example, "on the grounds of the particularity and the urgency of the operations and applications" is one of the formulations in the law related to urban transformation, which can be found in several articles of the urban transformation law that refer to the exceptional authorizations or exemptions. This is not only present in the law, but also even in oppositional statements in parliamentary reports and public discussions. Here one finds the expression "urgent" or "urgency" repeatedly. One statement criticizing the government's intentions regarding urban transformation begins, for example, "Urban transformation is an urgent necessity" (from the main oppositional Party's statement, cited in TBMM 2012, 16).
[171] See Chapter 1 for the notion of "catastrophization."

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"Fault broke, science cracked"

A month after the Kocaeli Earthquake, the newspaper Milliyet (20.09.1999) published an article about the various tensions between scientists and institutions regarding the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake with the interesting title "Fault broke, science *cracked."* Summarizing 12 different scientists' interpretations[172] about the seismic threat to the city, it portrays seismic forecast as a very tension-laden field: opinions vary regarding the location, time, and magnitude of the next earthquake on the NAF. Some differences are due to the unknown geometry of the fault lines under the Marmara Sea, others to the different assumptions and models describing the behaviors of fault lines. Thus, the different tools, models and practices of earth scientists do not, according to Kayaalp and Arslan (2021), produce knowledge on something stable out there but enact different NAFs.

These discussions around the "science of uncertainty" (Kayaalp and Arslan 2018), which happened previously only in restricted milieus and thus were foreign territory for many Istanbulites then, have today become very familiar. Every regular TV audience has of late imbibed the basic terminology of seismology and disaster management, since no tremor is experienced in Turkey without the excess of discussions on the so-called Istanbul Earthquake anticipated to both hit Istanbul and potentially give way to catastrophe. This recalls the words of Karl Kraus (1908) in the piece *Das Erdbeben* written a century ago: "No tremor is felt, no liquid is spilled, without the direction in which it occurred being reported to the paper the next morning [...] Day in, day out, today, tomorrow, eternally. Until the world truly comes crashing down."[173] Kraus, however, put catastrophe against the surplus of news and assessments of scientists in the liberal press which was, he thinks, giving the public the illusion of progress and "a false sense of security – to which the rhetoric of apocalypse

[172] Aykut Barka claims that the 250-year interval is over and that the earthquake must be expected, giving a window from 3 months to 30 years. James Jackson makes an analogy between the ground and a cracked glass cup, adding that one cannot know if it will happen tomorrow or 10 years later or 100 years later and recommending that urgent measures must be taken. Nafi Toksöz finds the hypothesis realistic that the entire fault will fail at once in 25-30 years, producing an earthquake larger than magnitude 7, and suggests that the public must be made aware of this threat and an earthquake scenario must be prepared. Even so, McKenzie disagrees with observations about the regularity of the behavior of the NAF on which most of the predictions are based, declaring them to be coincidental. Naci Görür and Aral Okay disagree with the claim that there is the threat of a potential single fault failure at once under the Marmara Sea due to the unknowns about the geometry of this difficult to observe part of the NAF, pointing to various underwater studies ongoing at the time. Information about the length and geometry of the fault is directly related to the magnitude of the earthquake. Sener Üsümezsoy disregards the severity of the threat due to the assumptions about the proximity of the location of the fault and grounds his interpretation of the data in the historical earthquake records. Xavier Le Pichon, Celal Şengör and Tuncay Taymaz, based on the assumption of the 250-year period, claim a single fault failure will produce an earthquake of M=7.4, with the time interval between tomorrow and max. 20-30 years. Clark Burchfield supports this statement and claims a high certainty of M=7.5. Ian Stewart, however, disagrees with the location of the next earthquake, asserting that the stress transmission is towards the east and that this will defer the future earthquake near Istanbul.

[173] Translation by Coen (2013, 1).

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was his answer" (Coen 2013, 23). Unlike this sense of security, the surplus of news of the future catastrophe in Turkey does not necessarily negate the demonstrations of progress but is far from giving an illusional sense of security. Kraus is right, though, about the affective capacity of expert knowledge and science, especially in its wide circulation through the press. After every tremor or earthquake with moderate damage, we go through every earthquake scenario, see every fault line on the map, and hear the possible developments of the fault behaviors explained by a seismologist, as we are urged to take measures or blame the governmental actors for the slowness and failures in the preparations.

Figure 13. A photograph of Prof. Dr. Övgün Ahmet Ercan explaining the formations of faults on a map published after an earthquake in Yalova (Hürriyet, 13 Novermber 2018).

Figure 14. Headline on the scene: "Is this earthquake of 4.7 a precursor to the Great Earthquake, will it trigger other faults?"

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In what follows, I am interested in the performativity of the practices and products of seismologists beyond their discipline, in how not only the output but also the iterative methods, assumptions, and models of the earth scientists' practices circulate and contribute to affective intensities and temporalities, and thereby to the *affective economy of emergency*.

30 Years

The inevitability of the Istanbul Earthquake has been established as a fact. The knowledge that an earthquake is going to happen on a fault line either tomorrow or in hundred years is not helpful "on a scale of human lifetimes and home mortgages" (Hough 2010, 37). The form of forecasts is also directly related to the perceptions of the public, from policymakers to individual citizens. The probabilistic calculations are performative both in their production and in their circulation in the public. Think about the affective capacity of the forecast about the Istanbul Earthquake: Parsons et al. (2000) gave, in fact, probabilities for two different periods, 32% for ten years and 62% for 30 years, in their scientific paper; however, the probability reported in news media is the one for 30 years. A 30-year interval has no special significance in respect to geological time but is, rather, a standard established in the 1980s by a group working to assess the probability of a large earthquake on the San Andreas Fault in the USA. As Hough put it, under the rubric "What's So Magic about 30 Years?":

> The statisticians on the committee wanted to report on the probability of earthquakes in either one-year or one-hundred-year windows. Most members of the committee felt that one year was too short because the probabilities would be too low to get anyone's attention, and one hundred years was too long because the time frame would be too big to be a concern. The committee settled somewhat arbitrarily on thirty years as a span of time that would be within the attention span of the public and decision-makers (Hough 2010, 35).

As this quote put it, it is strongly related to the affective intensity that these numbers signal. There is a directly proportional relationship between amount of time and probability of occurrence: the longer the period, the higher the probability. If a high probability of occurrence in 100 years is predicted, it does not attract enough attention due to the amount of time. It would be nearly the same as saying that an earthquake will hit Istanbul sometime eventually. A short-term prediction would be inoperative due to the panic it would create, the high probability of falsification of the prediction, and the sense that there would be no time to prepare. A 30-year period is a moderate number in both anthropocentric and governmental respects and has nothing to do with geological time, but rather with the scale of human life as well as mortgage periods, organizational activities, the lifespans of buildings. It has affective

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power for an operative environment. It tacitly signals the knowledge that every inhabitant, as well as every building in the city, will experience the event:

> Most of the current citizens of Istanbul are likely to experience this event and may wish to prepare for it. Whether they invest in risk-reducing measures is likely to depend on whether they can assess the benefit of such an action (Smyth et al. 2004, 173).
>
> From a societal hazard mitigation point of view, the high probability of a quake in thirty years tells us most of what we need to know. Any house, commercial building, or piece of infrastructure in the East Bay area is very likely, albeit not certain, to be shaken severely during its lifetime. Enforcement of building codes, retrofitting of vulnerable structures, public education and awareness campaigns — these are priorities that scientists and many agencies are taking seriously (Hough 2010, 45).

It tells everything that policymakers, inhabitants, insurers, and real estate actors "need to know," as Hough (ibid.) explained. It is at the same time a form of "wishful thinking"[174] that keeps us from panicking and gives us the sense that we have a chance to prepare, a window of opportunity (Barka and Er 2002). The scientific assessments that predict the event as having a probability of occurrence within 30 years are affectively stretching time and creating an interval for action, while at the same time, due to there being no difference between tomorrow and 30 years in terms of the unknowability of occurrence, increasing affective intensity of urgency by narrowing the interval to an immediate moment so that it can happen at any time.

This 30-year period has the ambiguous status of both being taken as fact while also providing a flexible frame. It circulates in discussions about the Istanbul Earthquake and contributes to the temporality of that interval. I found a huge number of statements published in the last several years which strangely proclaim the amount of time left, such as "we have not much time remaining" or "the time is narrowing" or simply "we have 10 years left." For example, the newspaper *Birgün* (30.08.2017), on the 20th anniversary of the Kocaeli Earthquake, published a summary about the recent earthquakes under the headline "The Istanbul Earthquake will come in 12 years."[175] Lately, the feeling that the interval is narrowing has been especially high. Some scientists and newspapers contribute to this feeling through words, numbers, and an emphasis on urgency, or noting disappointedly that not enough has been undertaken. On the other hand, it is also interesting that we hear alternative numbers which slightly widen the interval. Ahmet Övgün Ercan, for example, in an interview after a small earthquake beneath the Marmara Sea, state that he expects the great Istanbul

[174] I am borrowing this from an expert's words on the earthquake risks in California after a few moderate earthquakes: "Most of us have an awful feeling that 30 years is wishful thinking" (See Blakeslee 1992).
[175] See also "The 30 years predicted for Istanbul fell to 10 years" (*Birgün*, 27.07.2020).

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Earthquake to occur between 2040 and 2050. According to his calculation, we have, then, an interval of 25 years, which he urges us to use efficiently for urban transformation.[176]

Circulation and Performativity of Science's Derivative Methods

We are concerned here not with the accuracy of the numbers but their performative character. What circulates is not just the end product of risk assessments but also their derivative methods. Methods of gathering and interpreting data, and calculations of probabilities, are not neutral mediums providing a more or less true description of the "reality" existing beyond them. Their products and models circulate in the public and contribute to, as well as alter, how we imagine nature, the city, and time.

Scientists use five parameters in the assessment of the seismic threat: a catalog of historical earthquakes, fault geometries, the periods in which earthquakes repeat, stress transfer, and GPS monitoring of the movement of the plates (Barka and Er 2002, 27). Investigations of these parameters result in three decisive interpretations and increase the belief that we should expect the Istanbul Earthquake in the near future: Firstly, the periods in which the earthquakes around the Marmara Sea repeat are about to conclude, and time is running out; secondly, as the earthquakes on the North Anatolian Fault are migrating from east to the west, and the last event in this chain was the Kocaeli Earthquake, the Istanbul Earthquake will be the next; and lastly, the Kocaeli Earthquake increased the stress on the faults in the Marmara Sea (ibid., 23). I will give some examples of how expert/scientific knowledge circulates and produces one of the temporalities of emergency – the interval – and part of the *affective economy of emergency*.

We have numerous examples in which seismologists explain the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake. However, I have chosen an example in which not a seismologist but a minister makes use of the derivative methods of seismology and moves them beyond the scientific community. In this movement, they also move through the affective economy of the earthquake and shape affective intensities. In 2017, Mehmet Özhaseki, at the time Minister of Environment and Urbanization, was a guest on the TV show *Hafta Sonu* [Weekend][177] on a Saturday morning. The moderator, who would often invite earth scientists to his show,

[176] *Milliyet,* 05.11.2020. Available at: https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/prof-dr-ahmet-ercan-olasi-istanbul-depremi-tarihini-acikladi-6347758
[177] *CNNTürk*, 26.08.2017. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=II6TYUpsSRY&ab_channel=CNNT%C3%9CRK

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brought the discussion around to the earthquake threat, knowing the minister to be famous for his frequent thematization of earthquake risks and urban transformation in parliament as well as in public discussions. Özhaseki explained the earthquake threat as follows:

> I have to talk about two subjects especially for Istanbul. One is the fault called the North Anatolian fault. [...] I made summaries of what the professors told us. [...] There willl be an earthquake near Istanbul's Marmara Coast. The magnitude of this quake will be over 7. This is the common view. Secondly, it will occur in 2030 at the latest, one or two people said 2045. Let our wish be that it never happens, but 2030 is the latest time given. There was an earthquake in Erzincan in 1939, then in Niksarda, a few years later in Tosya, a few years after that in Abant. The line is coming straight ahead to [moderator: the Northern Anatolian Fault Line] Adapazari and Gölcük. It exploded again in 1999 in Gölcük. The experts say there have been earthquakes in Istanbul at regular intervals. There are a few segments fracture. One takes place in 500 years, on average, 450-500 years, and another one in 250 years. These times are over now. In other words, an earthquake is expected in Istanbul from now on. Everyone says this. Now we can ignore it. Or we close our eyes and continue our lives. But those rules work, nature makes its own rules work.

The moderator tries to emphasize the threat or make it even more spectacular, but the minister remains calm and deploys his seismic knowledge with faith in the observable objectivity of nature and the affective capacity of this knowledge: Affects and temporality necessary to respond to the threat could be derived from seismology. How do we imagine, then, the earthquake and its temporalities? I do not mean to suggest something unreal with the word "imagine," but rather the effect of practices of knowledge-making. The book, *Istanbul, the City that is Waiting for its Earthquake*, written by a seismologist and a journalist together, opens by stating,

> There has been an accumulation of displacement of approximately 4.7 meters on the northern branch of the North Anatolian Fault Zone in the Marmara Sea for the last 236 years. In other words, the Middle Marmara Fault has been accumulating energy for at least 236 years for an earthquake that will significantly affect Istanbul. The probability of movement of this segment (fault segment) with an earthquake greater than 7 in the next 30 years has been calculated as 62%. (Barka and Er 2002, 15)

The authors continue with the risks the earthquake poses and how the city should prepare, concluding their initial statement by stating, "In summary, the fact that the time that nature has given to Istanbul is limited is ignored" (ibid.).

Even though the modern notion of disaster is framed as an exception to the social order, the image circulating now of the earthquake itself does not fit into this frame. The image of the earthquake is that it is already there but waiting to strike. It has been accumulating energy that will be released at an unknown time. This should not be confused with new approaches to disasters that are unfolding over time, be they perceived or not. There is nothing to unfold, because the very conditions that will make it a disaster are already there: namely, the vulnerability of the built environment (which I mentioned in chapter 2 and will look at in detail in chapter 4). It is, in this imagining, a certainty that current conditions will devolve

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into a disaster event when the natural agent strikes. The very image of the striking earthquake is a ticking bomb, with the difference being that a bomb can be deactivated but not a fault line. But the temporality is the same. It is literally a matter of time. It will be sudden as well as waited for: sudden in terms of our uncertainty of the exact time it will strike, waited for in terms of how we imagine energy accumulation, the regularity of its movement, etc. The very materialization of an earthquake is, indeed, not perceived as an exceptional event but something coming into existence out of the regular and normal course of material/natural processes – remember the words of Özhaseki above – which nearly perfectly fits the etymological root of the word emergency: "emerge," meaning "the rising of a submerged body out of the water" and "the process of coming forth, issuing from concealment, obscurity, or confinement" (Neocleous 2008, 72).

In a meeting organized by Avcılar Municipality, the most damaged district of Istanbul in the Kocaeli Earthquake, on the 21st anniversary of the Kocaeli Earthquake, Disaster Management Expert Mikdat Kadıoğlu gave a talk on the earthquake risks, deploying the metaphor of a ticking bomb:

> After the 1999 Gölcük Earthquake, our expectation of an earthquake in Istanbul in 30 years was 60 percent. So we have 9 years left. [...] We live very close to the fault. Not 100-150 kilometers. It is much more dangerous now. We are near a ticking bomb. Our time is approaching, friends. The risk of an earthquake increases with each passing day. It has started to rise to 65-70 percent.[178]

Even though we still watch seismologists on TV talking about the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake after every tremor, many know in fact that what is at stake is not the exact time of the earthquake but how to respond to it going forward. Aykut Barka, whom I have often cited above, was warning already at the time [2000] to leave seismology talks aside and begin to prepare:

> The risk in Istanbul is obvious. An earthquake larger than 7 is inevitable. But one year, or 10 years, or 30 years later. What we need to do is to put aside the fault discussions, to do what needs to be done. Ground analyses should be done without wasting time. Inventory of the buildings should be conducted, and resistant and vulnerable buildings should be determined. Places needing relocation should be determined. But we can see that nothing is being done about this issue, or it's being handled very slowly. Turkey needs to act very quickly in order to be prepared for a major earthquake in the future. We need to get rid of turtle speed.[179]

The slowness of the preparations for the anticipated earthquake is a constant part of discussions on preparedness. In 2017, the minister of Environment and Urbanization stated

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[178] *Hürriyet*, 17.08.2020. Available at: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/video/uzmanlardan-istanbul-depremi-aciklamasi-eli-kulaginda-silivri-son-uyarilardan-biri-41588996

[179] *Milliyet,* 03.05.2000. Available at: https://www.milliyet.com.tr/the-others/cinarcik-depremi-istanbulu-kurtardi-5321149

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that, up to that point, 48 "zones of risk"[180] had been declared, implicating the renewal of 120 thousand dwelling units. If one includes the renewal of individual buildings, the numbers approach 370 thousand units being at different stages of renewal, like planning, demolition, reconstruction, and some already completed. According to this number, the minister arrives at an annual average of 50-60 thousand dwelling units along with the comment "this is very slow."[181] The target is, so continues the minister, the renewal of 500 thousand[182] dwelling units, 250 thousands of them in Istanbul, each year, beginning with 2018.

Scarry (2011) argues that the claims of urgency and speed privilege action over deliberation and undermine the practices on which liberal democracies depend, like debate and negotiation. For Zebrowski (2019), speed is a significant part of a particular emergency technique he calls "event suppression" that describes accelerated action which does not prevent an event but deprives it of harm. Both concerns describe different events: While Scarry deals with a state of emergency, Zebrowski looks at emergency management – crisis management. My point is different in the respect that urgency, fear, speed, and interval constitute emergency. It is not that there is an emergency and the response to it false or true,[183] or that the response has a particular technique, but rather that emergency does not precede response. Emergency is performed by temporality, affects, and the constitution of response.

Affects and Knowledge

On a TV show in the first days of 2018,[184] the moderator asks Celal Şengör, one of the most popular earth scientists, to tell the audience how serious the threat waiting for us is. He asks him to tell the truth about the imminent earthquake threat "at the cost of frightening us," continuing with "please frighten us with the light of truth." Reminding about and emphasizing the anticipated earthquake and potential severity of its effects aim to urge

[180] The Urban Transformation Act (6306), enacted in 2012, enables the ministry to declare "risk zones" to initiate renewal at bigger scales as well as make property owner renewal at building scale easier. See for further information chapter 4, chapter 5, and conclusion.

[181] Milliyet,03.02.2017. Available at: https://www.milliyet.com.tr/ekonomi/bakan-acikladi-yilda-500-bin-konut-donusturulecek-2390064

[182] 500 thousand seem to be a magical number. When AKP came to power in 2002, it started a housing mobilization with the target of constructing 500 thousand dwelling units by TOKI (Mass Housing Administration), which was reached in 2009.

[183] See also Beckett (2013b) and papers in the volume *Contemporary States of Emergency,* edited by Fassin and Pandolfi (2010).

[184] *CNNTürk*, 31.12.2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UOa655TwqSg&ab_channel=CNNT%C3%9CRK

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action, and one can quickly draw attention to these behaviors as problems of tactical manipulation of affect: for example, as one of the earth scientists, Şener Üşümezsoy, often claims, "There is no risk of a large earthquake in Istanbul. Whoever talks of the large earthquake serves the construction sector by sowing fears."[185] Even his claim indicates the strong relationship between affects and knowledge, the affective capacity of knowledge and its affects as the domain of management and not pure manipulation. What he is referring to is not fear per se, but expert knowledge's capacity to affect: products of rational practices like risk assessment such as the magnitude of the earthquake, the number of causalities, building damage, or economic loss. An example is a newspaper article (Yilmaz 2002) reviewing the book by Barka and Er, *Istanbul: The City that is Waiting for its Earthquake.* Under the piece, a small info box attracts readers' attention, declaring that a "horrifying truth is hidden in the numbers" and proceeding to report those numbers concerning the damage, human and economic losses, and post-quake homelessness, according to four different sources:

> • BU Kandilli Earthquake Research Institute: (Prof. Dr. Mustafa Erdik et al.): 50 thousand buildings will become unusable after the 7.5 magnitude earthquake. 300 thousand families will be homeless. The death toll is estimated at 40-50 thousand, the economic loss at 30-35 billion dollars.
>
> • Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality: 6 out of every thousand people will perish in districts where structural damage will be high. Approximately 7,200 people in Bakırköy and 3,700 people in Kartal will die. 2.5-3 million people will be homeless.
>
> • Court of Accounts: 176,979 buildings will be heavily damaged in an earthquake of 7.5 magnitude. Loss of life is estimated at a minimum of 8,849 and a maximum of 73,617. Half of the buildings will not be available in first degree earthquake zones. Approximately 40 thousand people will die in the coastal area.
>
> • Prof. Dr. Erol Kulaksızoğlu (ITU): If one similar to the 1509 earthquake occurs, 224,024 people will lose their lives; 42,654 people will die if the 1766 earthquake occurs; and 12 thousand people will die if the 17 August [Kocaeli] earthquake occurs. There are 102 thousand residential buildings that need urgent strengthening. (ibid.)

I do not claim that affects emerge with the knowledge or take their final form. From the experience of the Kocaeli Earthquake to the visual signs of earthquake vulnerability in one's own dwelling, there are multiple aspects impacting affects and the channels in which they are shaped. Material and visual aspects of affection are today the domain in which the former domination of the notion of discourse is challenged. To overcome language, ideology, and subject, many scholars have turned to materiality and the biological body. While some of these scholars have been destabilizing this dichotomic ground,[186] others have been consolidating the separation between body and mind, affect and reason, and materiality and ideality.[187]

[185] Published on his Twitter account.
[186] See for example (Navaro-Yashin 2012).
[187] See for example Massumi (2010), Thrift (2004), Clough (2008).

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Feminist scholars, e.g. Jaggar (1989), and Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), have already contested the dichotomy between body and mind, affect and reason, in the 1980s and 1990s. Knowledge is, neither in its production nor its impact, separate from affects and the social world. In this context, I do not suggest a superior effect of knowledge over affect. In the techno-political practices related to anticipation of the event and its scenarios, risk maps are produced to guide possible actions. The hard data produced by multiple devices in various temporalities must be interpreted and mediated in order to communicate to the public and produce "meaningful" action. Even though these practices always involve human intervention and interpretation, bearing complex affective intensities and reasonings, they sustain the status of an objective, neutral observation and give policy interventions strong legitimacy. Surpassing conventional understanding of such "rational" practices as those that reduce the uncertainty and openness of the future,[188] they produce uncertainties and a distinct temporality – interval – by contributing to the circulation of fear and hope, by disturbing the neat distinction between reason and affect.

One does not have to search for it. Every TV audience is constantly confronted with this kind of knowledge, and not just in the form of end-products like numbers or maps. An example is the press release, after the earthquake M=5.8 near Istanbul, issued by Özdener, the president of Kandilli Observatory,[189] showing visualizations mapping the latest earthquakes and aftershocks on the fault lines beneath the Marmara Sea. He points out on the maps that the former earthquakes were near the east and west parts of the fault lines (Figure 15). The last four have been on the middle fault line, he indicates, that broke in 1766. He lays out why they are concerned, and we should be too. He emphasizes that we must "accept the reality of earthquake" without negatively affecting our psychology. Numerous seismologists and geologists perform similar explanations, employing maps on the TV after each tremor near Istanbul or any middle magnitude earthquake in Turkey.

[188] What Luhmann (1976) calls "defuturization."

[189] In the middle of the release, he also gives information about the network of observation stations and the capacity of Kandilli, stating proudly that Kandilli began observations in 1895, 2 years before the USA. The emphasis on the Kandilli Observatory's capacity and importance is due to the tensions between AFAD and Kandilli concerning the authority to control information.

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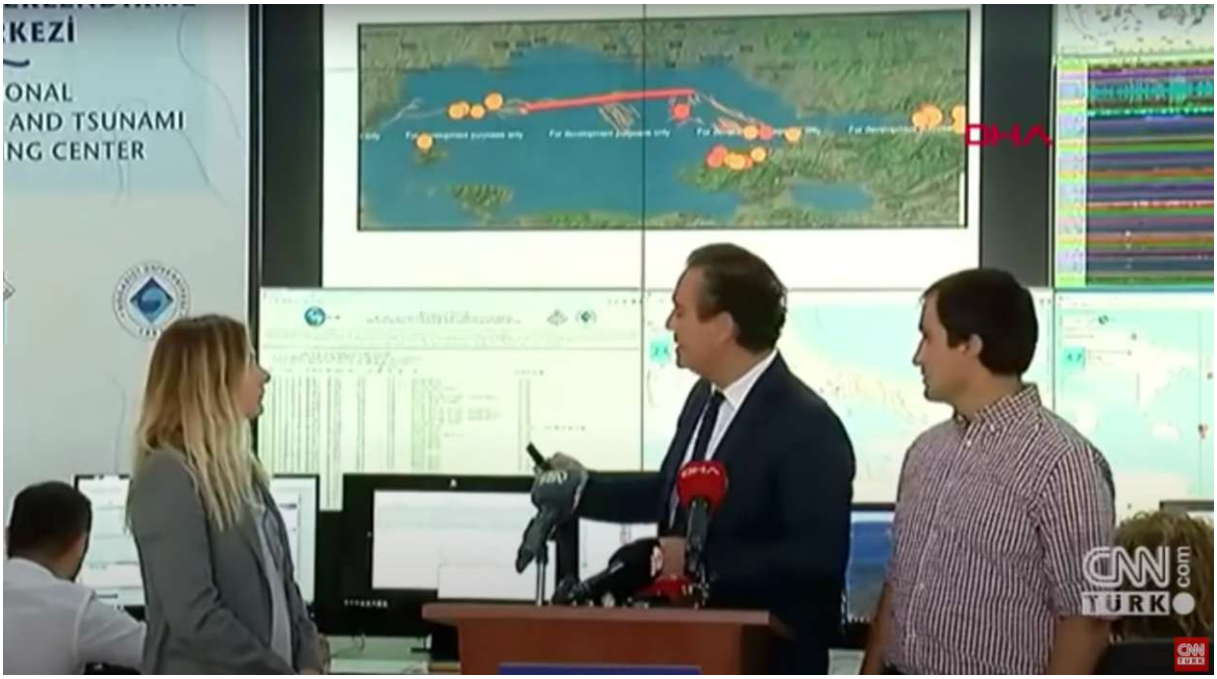

Figure 15. The president of Kandilli Observatory explaining the possible seismic behavior of the faults after an earthquake with a magnitude of 5.8 under the Marmara Sea.

Affective Economy of Emergency

In this chapter, I have paid attention to the complex topology in which knowledge, temporalities, affects, sentiments, and moral claims circulate and shape each other as well as the modes of governing acting upon them. Knowledge circulates, and it is, with its circulation, part of an affective economy. As I mentioned in the introduction, affective economy describes the circulation of things and ways of governing these circulations. I am borrowing affective economy from Sarah Ahmed's (2004b) work, *Cultural Politics of Emotions*. Her economic model of affect is based on not an ontology of affect, nor the psychological model of affect, which assigns affects to the inside and nature of human subjects, but the social and cultural model. According to her, affects reside neither in objects nor in subjects; on the contrary, affects are constituted by the circulation of objects. Affects circulate with the help of the circulation of human and non-human bodies, including ideas and knowledge.[190] Thus, the circulation of knowledge, numbers, maps, and scientific and techno-political products are a significant part of the *affective economy of emergency*.

[190] Her work, of course, goes beyond the description of a simple model to look at how in this circulation certain affects stick to certain bodies and ideas, and how the surfaces of collective and individual bodies have been produced by affects.

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I will juxtapose Sara Ahmed's economic model of affect with the older notion of economy to point out the governing of these circulations. Affective intensities, as an economy, appear as a field to be governed. The notion of economy is related to the notion of government.[191] Economy, as it was used by Greeks, referred to the management of the household and was later used to describe the Christian notion of the government of souls. Since the 18th century, the content of the term has changed and taken a new object: population. The problem of political economy and the population was not conceived as a question of the government of men, but to extend to the "government of things." The interventions in this milieu of things and their circulations have population as its object, "as the final end of government" (Foucault 2007, 105). Foucault's reflection on a quotation by La Perrire, "Government is the right disposition of things arranged so as to lead to a suitable end" (ibid., 96), gives significant clues about how notions of things are exhausted in things we today conceive as materialities like bodies, grain, or money:

> I do not think it is a matter of an opposition between things and men... men in their relationships, bonds, and complex involvements with things like wealth, resources, means of subsistence, and, of course, the territory with its borders, qualities, climate, dryness, fertility, and so on. "Things" are men in their relationships with things like customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking. Finally, they are men in their relationships with things like accidents, misfortunes, famine, epidemics, and death. (ibid.)

Foucault refers to the notion of *public* used in the 18th century to point out the extent of the notion of *population*:

> The public, which is a crucial notion in the eighteenth century, is the population seen under the aspect of its opinions, ways of doing things, forms of behavior, customs, fears, prejudices, and requirements; it is what one gets a hold on through education, campaigns, and convictions. The population is therefore everything that extends from biological rootedness through the species up to the surface that gives one a hold provided by the public. From the species to the public; we have here a whole field of new realities in the sense that they are the pertinent elements for mechanisms of power, the pertinent space within which and regarding which one must act. (ibid., 75)

The *affective economy of emergency* is this context, in which we should discuss the governing affects beyond the idea of manipulation – of the body below the level of consciousness or at the level of ideology. I have paid particular attention to the techno-political practices of anticipation and risk reduction as well as the circulation of their products, knowledge, maps, numbers, etc. These are not produced to govern affects. Rather, affects are involved in their production and their circulation is inevitably affective. In this respect, "affective states" (Stoler 2008) do not only deal with affects and sentiments as a separate field beyond "rational" practices; rather, every rational practice is also affective. As Navaro-Yashin (2012, 239) put it, "[G]overnmentality itself is affectively charged." *The affective economy of emergency*

[191] Foucault (2007, 93) points out the wide usage of the concept of government: "[...] the art of government also recall that we also talk about 'governing' a household, souls, children, a province, a convent, a religious order, and a family."

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points out the governmental actors' awareness of this affectivity. Disaster risk reduction involves and problematizes this affective economy through practices of governing the circulation of knowledge.

Fear and Hope

Governing the *affective economy of emergency* also entails affect talk that directly recognizes feelings but also tries to direct them to the proper objects:

> In our country, our citizens are, for good reason, frightened. However, *it is not the earthquake but unawareness and unpreparedness which we should be afraid of.* There are obviously troubles first of all with *raising awareness* of our citizens and with taking necessary measures for the pre- and post-earthquake period and for the moment of the earthquake. (TBMM 2010, emphasis added)

Note the way this fear's intentionality is acknowledged but immediately contravened in order to lead it in a proper direction that activates action. Affects are intentional, which means "they are 'about' something," involving "an orientation towards an object" (Ahmed 2004b, 7, following Parkinson 1995; see also Jaggar 1989). Ahmed's point about this aboutness of affects describes not a predetermined relationship between objects and affects, but calls attention to the reciprocal relationship between them in social and cultural circulation. It is not a way to eliminate fear, but to give it a proper orientation: "*[I]t is not the earthquake but unawareness and unpreparedness which we should be afraid of.*"

This orientation is temporal. Fear has been targeted in the scholarly works as functioning as a spatial technology, as in border-making processes, at various scales such as Europe's "refugee crisis," gated communities, national borders, racism.[192] As we see in the quotation, fear is, Sara Ahmed (2004b) following Heidegger notes, a temporal affect immediately linked to the temporal proximity of threat. Fear is the potentiality of loss, injury, and pain; it is felt in the present but involves the future.

> Fear involves an *anticipation* of hurt or injury. Fear projects us from the present into a future. But the feeling of fear presses us into that future as an intense bodily experience in the present [...] so the object that we fear is not simply before us, or in front of us, but impresses upon us in the present, as an anticipated pain in the future (Ahmed 2004b, 65).

The temporality of yet-to-come and uncertainty (Bloch 1986) is where fear and hope converge.[193] Both entail a future orientation: "a 'sense' of the simultaneous inevitability and

[192] See Ahmed (2003, 2004a), Bargetz (2021), Butler (2009), Low (2001), Pain (2009), Virno (2004).
[193] See also Bloch's (1998) essay "Can Hope be Disappointed?"

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uncertainty of the future" is the ground in which fear and hope become entangled (Adams, Murphy, and Clarke 2009, 249). The quote from TBMM above indirectly indicates this that inevitability but also the uncertainty of the catastrophe balances the fear of the earthquake with awareness and preparedness as a source of hope. Threat involves the future but is felt in the present[194] and demands action in the present. The awareness of not only the anticipated earthquake but also the possibility of action, as the ground of preparedness and source of hope, is what the governing, which the *affective economy of emergency* refers to, is invested in. It includes management of the circulation of knowledge in a way that helps to shape citizens' attitudes to produce a proper attitude in the prepared subject (in a prepared society). The right attitude is not neurosis or panic or paralyzed inaction,[195] though it does involve fear up to a useful degree. The proper subject of preparedness is hopeful about the future and that action is possible. She is aware of the different risks and measures against these risks and has the will to contribute to comprehensive undertakings. Cultivation of proper attitudes – the subjectivity of emergency requires – is possible through the distribution of correct information and training. It presumes this capacity in every*body*. The subjectivity conceptualized around the techno-politics of earthquake risk mitigation is not a body beyond consciousness and meaning that can be manipulated but a complex that can be educated and acted upon. The government of risk does not target a body that is only open to manipulation on a subconscious level.

How preparedness subjectivity is conceived can be studied through the notion of attitude not as being stable or fixed but rather as being composed of fluid relationships of diverse affects (Fanon 2008). Fanon's usage of attitude is not a purely psychological concept but involves the genealogy of modes of subjectivity, sociality, meanings, and power relations (ibid., xv). Contrary to the culturalist approach to attitudes like "fatalism," we are dealing in the risk reduction literature and education practices with a more complex notion of attitude which aims to normatively shape them. What is at issue here is what attitudes are assumed to exist, what attitudes are labeled as proper or improper, and how the circulation of knowledge intervenes to modify the performative capacity of the affects, thus fostering

[194] Massumi (2010) speaks of the virtuality of the threat in this regard.

[195] Zebrowski (2019, 160) situates the same point quite differently. For him, anxiety is quite useful for preparedness while it must be controlled by the logic of emergency response so that it does not turn into fear and disturb the action. In our discussion, fear (Furcht) is the right word because it is intentional, it is about something. Anxiety or anguish (Angst), on the other hand, does not have an object and relates to a general disposition to the world. (See chapters 29, 30, 40 in Heidegger 1977, 2008); for the discussions of fear and anxiety via Heidegger, see Ahmed (2003, 2004a), and Flatley (2015). Virno (2004, 32) contests this distinction by Heidegger, asserting its operative power in the border-makings of political communities, the constitution of "people."

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proper attitudes. Even though this chapter cannot analyze individual practices designed to foster a proper attitude and subjectivity, I will briefly touch on the way the general approach is conceptualized through affects, knowledge of the threat, and the constitution of the possibility of action.

In the Earthquake Master Plan (IMM 2003) the overall contingency plan for Istanbul involved a working group which scrutinized and planned the issue of increasing awareness and education.[196] Based on research by CEDIM at Boğaziçi University, the related section of the Earthquake Master Plan presents an evaluation of awareness and preparedness: Even though an awareness of the anticipated threat and risk exist among the public, this does not give way to preparations or feelings of readiness. The group points out that information about the earthquake threat alone does not lead to action. Therefore, the education campaign must also communicate that action is possible and what can be done, and especially to convey the feeling that "you can do it" (IMM 2003, 376). The meaning of earthquake must be transformed "from a disaster to be awaited in helpless fear to a natural event that can be coped with" (ibid., 361). The section particularly emphasizes "[a]ddressing cognition, emotion, attitude and expectation as a unity" (ibid.). Conflicting information causes a loss of trust in the authorities. The dissemination of knowledge, especially in the visual media, should be handled carefully so that it does not cause loss of trust nor helpless fear and panic. One sentence by an interviewee from the study by CEDIM mentioned above is interesting in this regard: "I think of Istanbul... they say there will be no Istanbul left. I feel that way inside too." (ibid., 371) After the analysis, EMPI recommends

> [...] addressing the whole psychology of the individual, creating an awareness of capability etc. types of principles can aid a campaign in creating a "can do and should do" psychology. The aim is not to scare but to provide the information that will lead to a sense of ability (ibid., 364-5).

The analysis in the Earthquake Master Plan of the exiting affective economy and temporalities of the earthquake presents two temporalities alongside the economy of fear relationally and shows a third possibility that is so far a lacking part of the temporality and affective economy of emergency:

> In sum the reality of the public is that they are scared, do not sustain their efforts, tend to ignore possibilities and are locked into "that moment." This being locked into the moment stops us from considering a gathering of resources beforehand. This locked/blocked state is shown as one reality, a future earthquake is shown as a second reality, and finally a third reality is shown, that it is possible to build one's resources for protection in the face of an earthquake (ibid., 372).

[196] Affect appears especially in the context of public education and activities to increase public awareness about earthquake readiness. Numerous education activities have been organized and textual and visual material produced by diverse institutions such as the Ministry of Education, the Red Crescent, AFAD, etc.

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What is at stake in this passage is that an awareness of not only the threat is significant but also of the possibility of response, the possibility of the alteration of this catastrophic future by action in the interval. In many documents, an attitude unconcerned with preparedness and not believing that earthquake damages can be prevented was often classified as fatalistic.[197] A shift in this attitude, according to this perspective, must be generated. The Earthquake Master Plan targets "fatalism" as an attitude emerging should the coping mechanisms seem to be difficult or lacking. The right attitude in this regard could be fostered through the dissemination of the possibility of action and successful stories. Both paralysis in fear and hopelessness are considered as the limits of the practices assembled in *emergencyscape*,[198] failures in taking into consideration the socio-material possibilities and hindrances limiting the choices of people as well as potential other threats that might be produced by the practices of disaster risk reduction – to which I will add reflections in chapter 6 with the help of the findings in the other chapters. What possibilities of action are then designated? To this question, to the built environment and planning, I turn in the following chapter.

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[197] Balamir (2002b) generalizes it and speaks of "fatalist" societies.
[198] Kaufmann (2016) also makes a similar point. The concept of resilience, according to her, "affectively modulates a population's relationship to emergencies" and is based on the idea that affects of emergency "eventually translate into action" (103). The limit of the concept of resilience is the "incapacity to act" (113).

Figure 16. Karanfilköy, Beşiktaş.

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4. From Threat to Risk

> It is widely accepted that "risk society" conditions reign and that security factors have come more to the forefront of attention than in past because of the increasing vulnerability of human settlements, first of all in places with high population density like cities (TBMM 2010, 104).

Globally, 95% of the deaths in quakes result from building deficiencies and failures (Alexander 1985). The aphorism "Earthquakes don't kill people, buildings do" that became very popular in the aftermath of the Marmara Earthquake seems to be a logical and natural conclusion resulting from this truism. But it is more than that. Earthquake-resistant building is not new; it is even not entirely modern.[199] The idea of a building resisting external natural forces may be a late imaginary, since what we now see as nature – via the dichotomy of nature/culture – is the effect of the modern/colonial practices which have rendered it as either resource or threat, separating it from society.[200] This view still holds, especially in institutions but also in critical studies. What is new is the approaching earthquake, so that the real threat is not the earthquake itself, but the buildings we inhabit.

Furthermore, it is, as I will show, not the earthquake resistance of the building alone that is problematized but the city itself: the city as a built environment, its urbanization. *Derive*, a journal of urbanism based in Vienna, published a short article on earthquake risk and public space in Istanbul titled "Istanbul – City of RISK" (Sadri and Prehl 2014). When I re-read the article, I noticed that its title had not attracted my attention until then. What does it mean to call a city a "city of risk." What is at issue here is not the intentions of the authors. As Kayaalp and Arslan (2018, 140) put it, "Once risk is attached to a territory, that place can no longer remain the same." The point is that the city has been reimagined through risk – as well as shaped by risk: We all have begun to conceive of the city this way. Through the earthquake – occurred as well as anticipated – the city has changed, along with its narrative, its future, its past, and value distribution throughout the city. This is also why the title did not attract my attention before.

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[199] See Aktaş (2017), Apak (2019), Ortega et al. (2017), and Ruggieri, Tampone, and Zinno (2015). See also Bankoff (2003).

[200] I will address later in this chapter the conception of nature as externality. See Scalercio (2018), Davis and Burke (2011), and T. Mitchell (2011) on the relationship between the conception of nature/culture and colonialism.

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Although the city has been increasingly seen as a space of risk, the idea and practices of risk do not, however, map this space homogeneously. In the immediate aftermath of the Kocaeli Earthquake in 1999, a consensus on the reason for high losses emerged: "crude" urbanization – a shorthand for the rapid, unplanned urbanization experiences of Turkish cities. The discourse points out a particular relationship established between earthquake risk and this informal urbanization of Turkish cities. As I will show in this chapter, a differential pattern of risk was produced out of the effects of the discourse and practices of risk reduction as well as urban transformations taking place after the Kocaeli Earthquake. We have the idea, for the formal neighborhoods, of the risk inherent to the materiality of an individual building, and on the other hand, for the informally emerged neighborhoods, the idea of risk inherent to the built environment. This informality, epitomized by *gecekondu*, has come to stand for risk. The informal neighborhoods are regarded as risky in an environmental sense at the neighborhood scale. Due to the fact that informality has also pervaded building practices in the formal neighborhoods (which is tacitly as well as scientifically known through the experiences of past earthquakes), a risk approach for the formal neighborhoods limited to the materiality of the buildings also emerged. This double approach of risk organizes responses differently for different parts of the city, for different inhabitants: while buildings in the formal neighborhoods are targeted with retrofitting practices – later replaced by building renewal – the informal neighborhoods have begun to be regarded as natural targets of this renewal at larger scales, also known as urban transformation. The term urban transformation is, in fact, misleading, since the practices it entails are based on the *tabula rasa* approach, which erases the whole socio-material environment. The problematization as well as the solution target informal neighborhoods "environmentally."

In this chapter, I look briefly at the discourse around "crude" urbanization and the informal building practices that have produced the city. Then, I will turn to the scholarly discussions of vulnerability and risk that shift focus from hazards to the socio-material environment of the city, as well as of the tie between disasters and practices of development, from post-disaster practices to risk reduction practices. After that, I will scrutinize the techno-politics of risk in Istanbul, from risk assessment to risk reduction methods proposed in various public documents and tested in two pilot areas. I will conclude by reflecting on the consequences of the double-sided risk approach that renders *gecekondu* neighborhoods and the informally emerged neighborhoods as the targets of renewal. This will depend on a conception of the informal built environment as a maldevelopment whose vulnerability is a pathology. Risk is not just shaped by the materiality of threat and vulnerability but also by other ideas about urbanization and social life. It is not just a matter of representation. It has consequences and co-shapes the city.

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"Crude" Urbanization and "the City of Risk"

While writing this chapter, I recalled another article I had read long ago: Vyjayanthi Rao's (2006a) article looking at how Mumbai has been narrated differently through risk. The different narrations of risk – the city of risk, the city at risk, and the city as risk – point to different theorizations of the city. There is a difference between a city at risk and a city of risk: back when Istanbul was neglected by the new nationalist regime in favor of making Ankara its capital city, the city was itself a risk to the new regime's secular nationalist ambitions.[201] Later, with the migration from Anatolia and the proliferation of *gecekondus* at its outskirts, the city gained a new status in the eyes of its elite: a city at risk. *Gecekondu* was a risk to the "cityness" of Istanbul. The term "crude" urbanization, by definition a deviation from the "norm" of the theories of urbanization,[202] is a shorthand for this imaginary. The discourse of "crude" urbanization was born out of such normative ideas and has served to diagnose a wide range of social problems – having evolved from development/poverty to culture/criminality to security/terror as the sources of urban risks.[203] Even though the elite sense of the cultural and political risk has not ceased to exist, the term gained a new diagnostic function after the Kocaeli Earthquake. The city has been narrated anew through risk with the help of "crude" urbanization. Yet it is not that the city has been conceived as being at risk, threatened by the anticipated earthquake, but that it has become the city of risk:

> [T]he sudden contemporary shift to the construction of reinforced concrete structures throughout the country since 1950's, that generates the most serious vulnerability. The uncontrolled provincial production of concrete and land-use decisions, as well as unauthorised construction processes un vastly settlements of metropolitan areas, constitute the real threat rather than natural conditions (Balamir 2002b, 45).

Istanbul, 70% of which has been produced through informal urbanization, has been increasingly framed as a space of "risk accumulations" increasing our vulnerability to natural and technological disasters (Balamir 2005b, 29). Murat Balamir, one of the planners who contributed to the Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul, often writes about Istanbul as a "risk pool." The informally built environment of the city, not just its buildings but also its social environment, is

[201] According to Keyder (1999b), Istanbul symbolized everything that the new secular-nationalist elite's westernization project wanted the country to be purified of: while Istanbul's westernized population was non-Turkish/non-Muslim, the Turkish population of the city was too bound to Islam. See also Kezer (2015).
[202] See M. Davis' (2006) *Planet of Slums* for an example of that type of theorization, and see Rao (2006b) and Roy (2011) for how the notion of slum functions in the theorization of non-Western cities. See Robinson (2002) for a critical reflection on the geographic division between urban studies and development studies. This geographic division is evidence for the coloniality of the theoretical toolbox of both.
[203] See Etöz (2000) for a critical reflection on the criminalization of the gecekondu in the 1990s. For an overview, see Akbulut and Başlık (2011), Bozkulak (2005), Erman (2001), and Kızılay (2016).

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conceived as risky.[204] The point is, as I will further show through Balamir's work later, that risk has been woven into the social and material texture of the informally urbanized parts of the city; it is, according to this theory of risk, inherent to the built and social environment.

Since it is highly important for understanding the differential conception and distribution of risk, I will give a brief overview of the informal – so-called "crude" – urbanization in order to show later that, even though informality permeated all of the urbanization and building practices, the conception of risk is contingent upon the discourse of crude urbanization, redeploying the informality epitomized by *gecekondu* with significant consequences to the production of a differential risk map and accordingly the distribution of interventions.

The process of urbanization of Turkish cities was, in fact, innovative in many ways and provided solutions to housing problems in a time of rapidly increasing population.[205] It created a housing market without allocated public resources, even produced capital (Balamir 2002a), and allowed resource distribution to the middle and working classes while compensating for their disadvantages. It was based on a non-articulated consensus considered a win-win situation for all actors (Keyder 1999a; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2001; Bilgin 2013).[206]

What we now call crude urbanization is the outcome of various practices, at the beginning of which was the appropriation of land by newcomers building very quickly a simple dwelling. This kind of accommodation came to be called *gecekondu* – literally, built overnight – referring first to the practice of fast building and later to its illegality. Occupying the land alone does not characterize the phenomenon of *gecekondu*, which became widespread with the practice of apportionment (Balamir 1996, 2002a) – the division and sale of agricultural land to *gecekondu* builders. This latter practice was informal but not illegal, though the construction of *gecekondu* was still unauthorized. Here emerged two different morphologies in *gecekondu* areas: one was in the immediate vicinity of industrial areas and workplaces, and was irregular as well as adapted to the topography; the latter is regular and densely developed.[207]

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[204] These conceptions are of course not stable and fixed. An example is the reemergence of Istanbul as the "city at risk." Especially with the mega projects like Kanal Istanbul, the third airport, and the third bridge, Istanbul's future has been sensed as being at risk from the perspective of political ecology by struggles "claiming futures" (Ferry 2016).

[205] According to Balamir (2005a), this housing production in Turkish cities was a rare occurrence globally speaking, especially in light of the lack of allocated public resources and scarce private resources. See Figure 3 in chapter 2.

[206] Bilgin (2013, 13) compares this system, which works through the reflexes of participating actors, to mechanical systems that work without external energy, while Esen and Lanz (2005) use the term "self-service city."

[207] See Erder (1996). Bugra (1998) calls commercialization in this latter period "immoral economy," which is called into question by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001).

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Another informal practice of building that emerged in the formal neighborhoods concurrently with *gecekondu* was the system of *yap-sat* (build-and-sell), an informal organization of all stages of building practice and actors alongside the process of construction of multi-story housing units. The *Müteahhit*, the most important actor in this process, organizes the landowner, all the actors in construction, and apartment buyers in a kind of temporary "solidarity" (Işık and Pınarcıoglu 2001, 104) and negotiation practice. The temporal organization allows pushing costs of land to the future, since the landowner gets for his or her land a share of the built apartments. The *müteahhit* sells the yet-to-be-built apartments to future occupants in order to finance their construction. Future occupants were able in this way to purchase property in installments at a time when there was no housing credit available. The process was pervaded by uncertainty, since the capital needed for construction had to be accumulated alongside the process of construction, which therefore had to be flexibly organized. This innovative means of developing housing provided dwellings to middle-class residents since the early 1950s and was recognized and formalized in 1965 by the Flat Ownership Law, which secured the independent ownership rights of the flats (Balamir 2002a). After the legalization, it reached its "maturity" in the 1970s (Ţsık and Pınarcıoğlu 2001, 104-8).

The role of *yap-sat* in the urbanization of Turkish cities is as important as the *gecekondu*, because the practice then migrated to the *gecekondu* neighborhoods as well. *Gecekondu* entered the Turkish Law in 1966 (The Gecekondu Law 775) that tried to limit the spread of *gecekondus* through registration and regulation. There were 13 amnesties, beginning in 1948. In the 1980s, the amnesties included additional development rights and opened these neighborhoods to the practice of *yap-sat*. The effect of *yap-sat* became far-reaching as it spread to the *gecekondu* neighborhoods, dominated the urbanization, and gave the city its contemporary shape (Balamir 1996).

In 1969 there were around 128,000 buildings in Istanbul, just 18% of the number counted in 2000 (IMM-JICA 2002). The informally emerged neighborhoods, which today largely comprise Istanbul, were built densely after they were legalized and allocated development rights and as such were theoretically subject to the same procedures as buildings in the formal neighborhoods. The numbers above, therefore, do not inform us directly about the legal status or construction process of existing buildings. In addition to that, it is necessary to make a distinction between the *gecekondu* neighborhoods that have not completed the

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legalization process, have complex property ownership landscape, and have remained at a low density, and the former *gecekondu* neighborhoods that informally emerged but were later legalized and densified since the amnesties in the 1980s (See figure 17).

Figure 17. Different densities of informally emerged neighborhoods in Istanbul. Left to right: Karanfilköy, Beşiktaş; Gülsuyu-Gülensu, Maltepe; Şirinevler, Bahçelievler.

Informality, once seen as a phenomenon of development deficit and a target of developmental strategies, is now regarded as the source of risk. The city, 70% of whose building stock emerged through informal urbanization, was now seen through the lens of risk. The Turkish experience of the reciprocal constitution of the practices as well as of discourses of informal urbanization and disaster risk is not a particularity. The maps of maldevelopment have increasingly overlapped with the maps of disaster risks.[208] This is a general tendency found amid the research on cities of the global south in addition to being observable in the politics of the World Bank that increasingly turn to risk reduction and resilience projects. Neither the theoretical shift, what I call "from external threat to internal risk," nor the most cited formula of the orientation "from post-disaster reconstruction to risk reduction" is particular to Istanbul. Still, Istanbul is one of the early laboratories of this shift.

External Threats and Internal Risks

As I focused on the earthquake threat and discussed the new temporal forms and affective economies of emergency in the foregoing chapter, here I continue with what is called "risk" in the literature by shifting attention from the fault lines to the city, from prediction to risk assessment, from anticipation to risk reduction, from earth sciences to engineering and

[208] See also Bankoff (2001, 2004), who shows how different discourses – tropicality, development, vulnerability – produce the same colonial geography. Discourses of risk and resilience seem also to occupy geography of development studies as well as development aid by institutions like the World Bank. See also Bose (2016) on how resilience projects have been dominating international donor projects while in fact differing little from these development projects. See Tierney (2015) on how resilience replaced the discourse of sustainability while continuing the process of neoliberalization.

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planning, from temporality to materiality. What happens with this shift, though, is not just a displacement of focus. Here emerges a different relationship between the city and disaster, especially earthquake. While an earthquake as a natural hazard was an external threat to the city, through the discourse of "crude" urbanization, the vulnerable built environment, it transformed into a threat that is inherent to the city – what we now call risk.

The relationship constructed between the natural and built environments as a relationship of externality corresponds to the spatial differentiation between threat and risk by Luhmann (1991, 31).[209] According to him, a threat, e.g., a natural hazard, is external to a system, while risk belongs to the system; risk is what threatens a system from within. This understanding is, of course, based on the antagonistic thinking that nature is outside the social world. Even those approaches that contested the technocratic view on natural disasters continue to enact this relationship of the externality. Think about how the claim "there is no natural disaster" seems to problematize the social, political, and economic causes of disasters while consolidating the dichotomy.

The idea of external threat is, in global disaster scholarship and practice, attributed to the "hazard-centered" paradigms of institutions and a cluster of studies called disaster studies that emerged in the Cold War USA. Natural disasters were treated as "laboratories" in which both the collective behavior in a mass emergency and the impact of a crisis on society were studied to prepare for a potential nuclear attack. The causes of natural disasters were external to the society (Revet 2012, 43), similar to a foreign attack.

Geographers and anthropologists of disaster and development working on the global South in the early 1970s began to critique this hazard-centered paradigm at the time dominating the academy and many institutions. They had striven to promote an understanding of disasters from the perspective of the social vulnerability produced by structural factors, practices of development, and the longer histories of colonialism.[210] These critiques were formulated in geographer Hewitt's (1983) "The idea of calamity in a technocratic age" that, far from being exceptional, disasters were the product of normal social order. Hence, disasters were neither exceptional nor external to society.

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[209] Danger and risk in English translation (Luhmann 1993, 22) of the book. German word *Gefahr* can be translated as both danger and threat.

[210] See O'Keefe, Westgate, and Wisner (1976); Wisner, O'Keefe, and Westgate (1977); Hewitt (1983, 1995, 1997), and the journal *Disasters* that was launched in 1977. See also Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (1999); Hoffman and Oliver-Smith (2002); Bankoff (2003); Bankoff, Frerks, and Hilhorst (2004) for anthropological perspectives on disasters critical of technocratic approaches.

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The 1990s faced a new stage in this critique alongside the concept of risk. According to this approach, disaster risk is the potentiality of entanglement of hazard and vulnerability.[211] The idea of external forces confronted an ecological understanding of disasters as entangling social and natural forces in the 1990s by geographers. We are now more familiar with this notion, especially after Katrina in New Orleans and increased discussions on climate change and the Anthropocene, often expressed with the aphorism "there is no natural disaster."[212] These studies began to shift the focus from an assumed exteriority to an internal complex process: neither the practices of capital accumulation nor natural processes are external to the social processes. Emerging at the same time, the theories of reflexive modernization and risk society,[213] influenced by the tragic technological disasters such as Chernobyl and Bhopal that occurred in the 1980s, claim in an epochal manner a significant role for risk in social change and subjectivity:[214] Western societies are, according to this approach, in a transitional period – from industrial to risk society – in which risks, as well as our perception of risks, have increased as an outcome of modernization. Thus, disasters were inherent to practices of modernization and modern society. While the latter is a northern approach, the former has been focusing on the global South. They both maintained the separation/dichotomy between nature and society which was already an effect of colonial and capitalist extractives. Despite the critiques, what is at stake for this chapter in the thesis of risk society is the very conception of risk as inherent to society and social processes. That is at the same time the common point with the vulnerability school and ecological view of disasters.

Due to the increasing visibility of the vulnerability and risk approach in global disaster governance,[215] their shift of focus from nature to the society helped the risk reduction concept to gain ground in international disaster governance. Disaster risk reduction does not only target the disaster moment or the post-disaster period, but mostly focuses on our temporal, spatial, and architectural practices in order to reduce disastrous results preemptively. According to these approaches, the earthquake threat, in our case, becomes a

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[211] As formulated by Wisner et al. (1994) "Risk=Hazard+Vulnerability"

[212] Balta and Paker (1999)'s piece on the Kocaeli Earthquake was called "Disaster: Natural or Social?" and Smith (2006) published a piece responding to Katrina, "There's No Such Thing as a Natural Disaster." These authors were formulating a question that O'Keefe, Westgate and Wisner (1976) had already published in their article, "Taking the Naturalness out of Natural Disasters," in the journal *Nature* in 1976.

[213] See Beck (1992, 1999), Beck, Giddens, and Lash (1994), Giddens (1991).

[214] See Fressoz (2007, 334), who outlines ideas of risk in the technological disasters of the 19th century and contests "the supposed radical novelty of our situation."

[215] Even though the critiques to technocratic practices and the hazard-centered view emerged in the 1970s, these discourses could not gain entrance into the transnational disaster organizations until the end of the 1990s nor begin to affect policies until the 2000s. However, despite the popularity of and emphasis on vulnerability, risk reduction notions, the technocratic practices and natural sciences dominate transnational disaster policies (Revet 2012).

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disaster threat only through environmental conditions formed by social, economic, and political factors, and hence that the space of disaster threat appearing within the city in the form of risk makes pre-emptive action to mitigate these risks possible. What earthquake preparedness is interested in is not the event itself, but the risks exposed by environmental factors: settlement patterns, land management, building qualities; in sum, the organization of the population and the built environment, as one can see in the Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul (IMM 2003).[216]

"Crude" urbanization has become the controllable side of disaster, as the focus shifted from threat to risk, making interventions into the built environment the biggest part of risk reduction practices and the response to the anticipated emergency: Even though the natural agents, faults, cannot be prevented, emergency action is still possible because losses can be prevented through interventions into the built environment. It renders earthquakes as controllable and thereby makes the built environment subject to risk management. The city under earthquake threat becomes an object of the techno-politics of risk. However, the techno-politics of risk does not exclude the prevalent idea of "crude" urbanization as maldevelopment (see chapter 2), but has converged with it. The conception of informality as maldevelopment has been co-shaping the construction of risk and the practices of risk reduction.

Two Forms of Risk

Risk reduction – regarded as a public good (Reddy 2000) – refers to an ensemble of actors and practices ranging from risk assessment and contingency planning to building practices. The study by IMM-JICA (2002) mentioned in the previous chapter has provided not only earthquake threat scenarios but also a picture of the existing situation, ranging from risks to gaps in the legal, institutional and organizational structures, as well as some recommendations[217] for improvement, including the need for a master plan. This was already the conclusion reached at the conference "The Istanbul Earthquake and Safe

[216] Hereafter referred to as the Earthquake Master Plan. Please note that the same report appeared in two versions: one version is the original report in Turkish (İBB 2003) and the other is a shorter version in English (IMM 2003).

[217] The short term actions recommended by the IMM-JICA (2002) study comprise urgent retrofitting of hospitals, schools, ports, and public facilities related to disaster management and emergency actions, and vital infrastructure systems; medium-term measures concern a master plan for disaster prevention that should organize planning, land use, and emergency actions, including an urban redevelopment plan which "should be applied to an area of extremely high population density on the European side first."

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Buildings" in November 2001,[218] which had started before the JICA study was completed (Baş, Yeşilırmak, and Öcal 2003, 44). Another conference, this one in August 2002 in Istanbul, named "Rehabilitation of Istanbul,"[219] brought together a wide range of professions and actors. In May 2002 the report (UDK 2002) of the National Earthquake Council, established in 2000 and consisting of 20 scientists, was introduced to the public. In the light of the outcomes of this report, four Turkish universities contracted by IMM began to prepare The Earthquake Master Plan for Istanbul. As per the Earthquake Master Plan's medical language, the JICA study was a "diagnosis," while the Earthquake Master Plan represents the course for treatment (Baş, Yeşilırmak, and Öcal 2003, 44), "a scenario of action" (Balamir 2004b). It focuses not on the threat and risks but on the response, i.e. the practices of reducing and mitigating the risks. The Earthquake Master Plan is not a policy document but a road map (Erdik and Durukal 2008) for an all-encompassing mitigation plan aiming to provide a methodology for action.

The Earthquake Master Plan was prepared by 80-100 scientists in record time. Its scope and frame are unprecedented not only in Turkey but the world (Balamir 2004b). It involves actions ranging from the development of risk assessment and retrofitting methods to emergency management, from organizational, administrative and legal recommendations to information database and planning. Since those involved included four universities and a wide range of professions, there were a number of positions taken within the Earthquake Master Plan. One apparent difference is between the positions of planners and engineers. Working groups of engineers prepared new methods of risk assessment as well as simple and comprehensive retrofitting methods for buildings, in order to mitigate risks inherent to the materiality of individual buildings. The planners, on the other hand, conceive risk beyond the materiality of individual buildings from an urbanization perspective.

Another difference is observable among the positions of the two working groups of planners at the Middle East Technical University-Istanbul Technical University (METU-ITU) and Yıldız Technical University-Boğaziçi University (YTU-BU). The approach of the METU-ITU group is based on the complexity of modern environmental risks developed in the 1990s (e.g., the Risk Society Thesis). It approaches the urban environment as a totality of buildings, life-lines, emergency facilities, land use patterns, and management processes; it conceives risks

[218] Published in 2002. See AKOM (2002).
[219] The conference was organized by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), the Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers (TCCE), and the Governorship of Istanbul. The proceedings were published in 2003. See İstanbul Valiliği (2003).

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as a combination of factors having both natural and human origins. The group specifies 13 different risk sectors[220] and provides a comprehensive plan – a road map to develop new tools, methods, legal frames – and describes necessary actions in these sectors, combining them under a long-term contingency plan. It identifies short-, medium-, and long-term measures and strategies to reduce existing risks and to hinder new ones: more than 70 "project packages" in 16 clusters – from macro-form risk analysis and management to retrofitting buildings, from the training of personnel and volunteers to education material, from risk mitigation in historical buildings to community participation and research. It also goes on to differentiate between risk levels and risk distribution patterns within model zones and ultimately to recommend comprehensive urban regeneration for high-risk areas.

Yıldız Technical University-Boğaziçi University (YTU-BU) prepared the Strategic Plan for Disaster Mitigation in Istanbul (SPDMI). It suggests hierarchic planning and implementation at three levels: macro- and mezzo-level strategies, as well as micro-level actions. The macro-level strategies should be determined through national, regional, and metropolitan strategic plans. Mezzo-level strategies should be developed according to macro-level strategies as well as incorporate decisions on micro-level actions such as "urban redevelopment ignition areas," "local redevelopment areas," etc. Even though the first aim of the strategic plan is risk reduction, it also suggests focusing on the city as well as neighborhoods from the perspectives of not only risks but also potentialities. According to the aim of this plan, risk reduction must be "supported by a secondary goal of improving the quality of the natural and urban environment" (IMM 2003, 195):

> The problems in Istanbul concerning the earthquake risk range from the poor quality or depreciation of the buildings, from an engineering point of view, to the poor urban environment generated by social, economic and physical deterioration as well as uncontrolled urban growth and an inflexible planning system which remains incompatible with the dynamics of the city. In this context, alternative implementations vary respectively on a palette of solutions including reinforcement, reconstruction of individual buildings, preservation of historical urban fabric, regeneration of urban areas, creating new settlements or alternative urban centers within a regional perspective, etc (ibid.).

It juxtaposes the risks in the built environment with the potentials at the city level as well as for different settlement categories – grouped according to their initial development characteristics, urban functions, and population densities.

[220] See footnote 167.

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The Earthquake Master Plan has not evolved into a policy document,[221] but fragments of methods, categories and suggestions have been used in various decisions, legal documents, and implementations. Against this picture of the fragments, two common emphases of both working groups have been ignored: the need for comprehensive planning and for the participation of all actors – especially inhabitants – in the planning and implementation. Even though it has not been realized, it has certainly influenced how we approach risk and the built environment.[222] The scope, content, and method of this document encompass the differentiated landscape of risk. Therefore, this document, discussions around it, and the pilot projects following it constitute the core of the empirical material of this chapter.

A considerable part of the work in the Earthquake Master Plan was dedicated to the methods of risk assessment by the working groups of the engineering scholars, since it is generally assumed that decision making depends on the production of accurate knowledge of risk, and calculating risk in the absence of information, especially on building stock, is difficult. As I will show here by means of the two districts of Istanbul with the most earthquake risk, the knowledge production of risk does not, however, necessarily precede the decisions regarding different kinds of risk reduction practices. In the very early post-earthquake period, there have emerged two different approaches to solving the problems posed by the risks to existing building stock: retrofitting (or renewal) of individual buildings and renewal at larger scales. These two different methods accompany two different risk approaches that depend on the distinctions and evaluations of the value of the built environment beyond the earthquake threat. One common aspect shared by both working groups is the differentiation of approaches to risks according to the urbanization history of any urban space in question.[223] Even though risk is generally considered to be a calculative tool, this analysis will show the emergence of a risk approach, a hybrid of materialities and ideas. Calculations go beyond the material and structural resistance of the buildings. Risk is not just shaped by the

[221] Erdik and Durukal (2008, 188), who were also involved in the preparation of the Earthquake Master Plan, suggest that "[t]he lack of uniformity in methodology and singularity in the recommended approaches (because of the involvement of several parties in its preparation) constitute an impediment to its use as a public policy document for implementation." Balamir (2004a) often draws critical attention to engineering professionals and industries for lobbying in favor of retrofitting and engineering solutions, to geoscientists for lobbying for earthquake research and distracting attention and resources from the Earthquake Master Plan.

[222] One can find empirical material that points to the risk approach differentiated similarly in numerous reports and documents published by the Parliament, special commissions, the Turkish Economy Congress Earthquake Working Group, the Ministry of Public Works and Development Urbanization Council, as well as KENTGES, chambers of various professions within the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UTCEA). However, the Earthquake Master Plan is singular in its clear categorization, risk definitions and appropriate solutions.

[223] While informal/formal urbanization directly constitutes one of the categories that the Strategic Plan uses, the Earthquake Master Plan also pays considerable attention to the emerged morphology.

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materiality of threat and vulnerability but also by other ideas about urbanization and social life. It is not just a matter of representation. Ideas about urbanization and urban spaces co-shape the idea of risk and vice versa. Together they have consequences and perform what we call reality.[224]

In the following section, I will analyze these two different risks through two cases and accompanying materials from the Earthquake Master Plan and other scholarly writings by the planners involved. We have two districts as laboratories: Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu. I did not choose them, but defer to the decisions made in the course of the first projects that tried to develop tools and methods for risk reduction practices at the level of the building as well as the built environment.

Zeytinburnu was selected by the Earthquake Master Plan as a pilot project for testing the rapid risk assessment methods, planning and regeneration methods suggested. Zeytinburnu was also chosen for a pre-study for evaluations of regeneration methods within the ISMEP (Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project), the follow-up project of the World Bank-financed project MEER (Marmara Earthquake Emergency Reconstruction) (Ozcevik et al. 2009). Bakırköy was one of the six municipalities[225] that were chosen as pilot project areas for micro-zoning and risk reduction projects (MHVDMS) within the MEER.[226] I will focus solely on the built environment and particularly on the residential building stock, which is regarded as the biggest concern and the most challenging aspect within the domain of risk reduction.[227]

The interesting part is that while methods for retrofitting buildings were tested in Bakırköy, Zeytinburnu was chosen for the first experiment of risk-based renewal at the neighborhood scale. The point is that nobody talked about Bakırköy as a place needing urban renewal until a few years ago. What differentiates these two districts is that Zeytinburnu is a working-class district that informally emerged and only later was legalized and densified, while Bakırköy is one of the formal districts populated by the middle class.

[224] See the discussion on this matter in chapter 1.
[225] These were Bakırköy, Bandırma, Eskişehir, Gemlik, Körfez and Tekirdağ.
[226] The outcome of this project, finalized in 2006, is a methodology handbook and disaster risk reduction plan prepared for each municipality. See Balyemez (2010) for a brief evaluation and critique of this report.
[227] I am taking all other parts of preparedness practices regarding public education and awareness, crisis management and post-disaster reconstruction out of the analysis. These are not unrelated: on the contrary, their success is regarded as being dependent on the risk reduction activities on the building stock.

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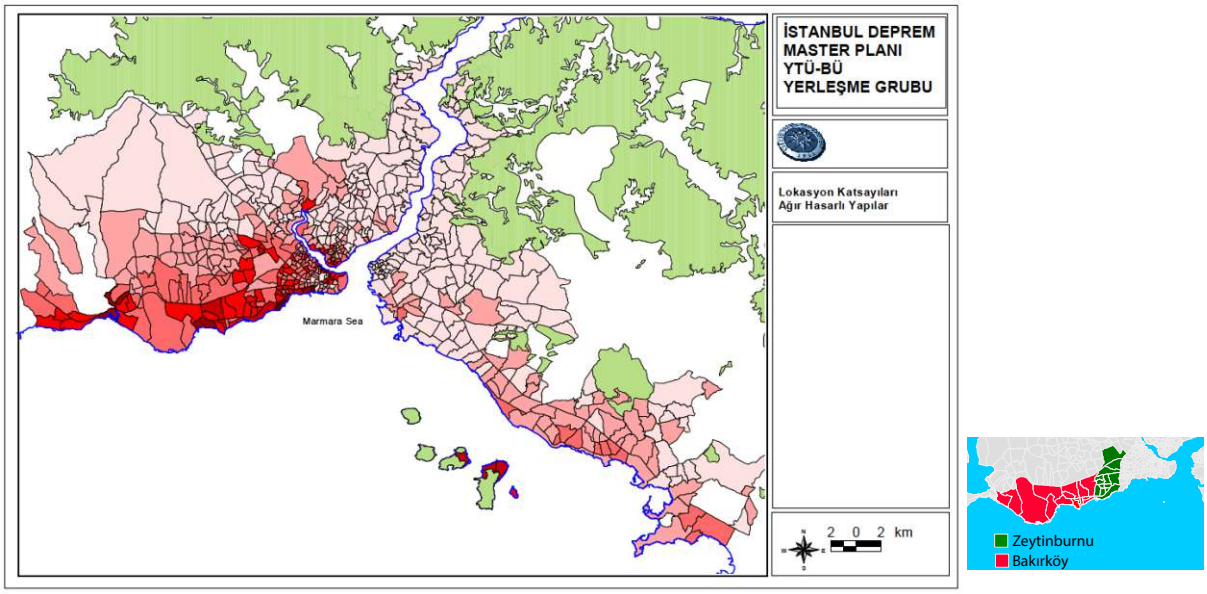

Figure 18. Map showing the distribution of heavy damaged buildings according to the location coefficient (IBB 2003, 278). The location coefficient is used to compare each *mahalle* to the average of the city. The map on the right showing Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu districts has been added.

Districts	Ratio of heavily damaged buildings (%)	Location of coefficient of heavily damaged buildings
BAKIRKÖY	18,27	3,19
BAHÇELİEVLER	13,09	2,85
FATİH	16	2,79
AVCILAR	14,08	2,46
EMİNÖNÜ	13,90	2,43
ZEYTİNBURNU	13,22	2,31
GÜNGÖREN	11,76	2,05
BAYRAMPAŞA	10,88	1,90
TUZLA	9,04	1,58
BEYOĞLU	7,50	1,31
KARTAL	7,40	1,29
PENDİK	7,11	1,24
MALTEPE	6,32	1,10
EYÜP	6,04	1,05
K.ÇEKMECE	5,35	0,93
ESENLER	5,09	0,89
KADIKÖY	4,16	0,73
BEŞİKTAŞ	4,06	0,71
BAĞCILAR	3,07	0,54
G.O.P.	2,62	0,46
ÜSKÜDAR	2,31	0,40
KAĞITHANE	2,21	0,39
ŞİŞLİ	2,13	0,37
ÜMRANİYE	1,71	0,30
BEYKOZ	1,70	0,30
SARIYER	1,33	0,23

Figure 19. List of districts according to the location coefficient of heavily damaged buildings. For values higher than 1, the area will have a higher number of heavily damaged buildings than the city average. It is a tool for prioritizing the areas for intervention (IMM 2003, 276).

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Risks in Buildings

> Earthquakes don't kill people, buildings do.
>
> Calculation of Risk = soil conditions + the quality of the building + the epicenter and strength of the earthquake (IMM 2003, 373). [228]

The calculation of risk in a building depends on various factors, especially its location and structural and material qualities. Here, the natural agent of the earthquake is still relevant as in the formula quoted above. Its relevance is related to the proximity between the location of the building and the epicenter of the earthquake, since the intensity of the tremors and the ground motion affecting the building depend on the distance (Yakut, Ozcebe, and Yucemen 2006). Hence, the different scenarios determine different distributions of the intensities of tremors and produce different maps.

Location affects the risk in yet another respect: the soil condition determines the actual forces transmitted to the building. The most prominent example of the decisive role of soil condition is the Avcılar district. In the 1999 Kocaeli Earthquake, most of the collapsed buildings in Istanbul, killing 454 people and injuring 3,600 (Erdik et al. 2000), were in the Avcılar and Tuzla districts. Avcılar, in contrast to Tuzla, is one of the metropolitan-area districts most distant from the epicenter of the earthquake, nearly 100km away from the epicenter of the earthquake. The ground on which these buildings, most of which were built after the 1980s, produced strong ground motions resulting from the "trapping of seismic energy" in low-velocity soil (Ergin et al. 2004, 335). Another example is the city Adapazarı, where liquefaction of the soft soil caused a particular pattern of destruction: buildings overturned or sank into the ground while remaining structurally undamaged (Mollamahmutoglu et al. 2003).

Figure 20. Earthquake damage due to liquefaction in Adapazarı during the Kocaeli Earthquake (Manav et al. 2019, 137).

[228] Formula of risk, recommended for public education in the Earthquake Master Plan.

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Seismic micro-zonation is a tool that gathers information on surface faulting, geophysical conditions, ground amplification, liquefaction, and slope stability, and is used to inform decisions in urban planning and risk reduction activities (Ansal, Tönük, and Kurtuluş 2009). This relatively new tool is one of the necessary inputs for earthquake scenario production, helping to evaluate ground motion behavior in light of the proximity of the location to the epicenter in order to calculate damage. Istanbul Micro-zonation Projects, begun on the European side and finished in 2007, now encompass a 700km² area on both the Asian and European sides (Celikbilek and Sapmaz 2016, 63).

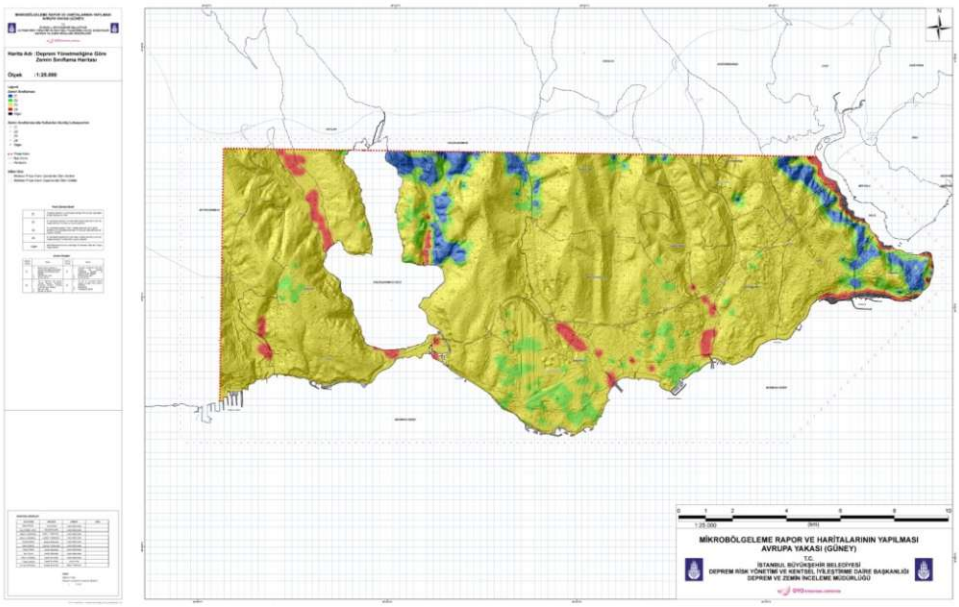

Figure 21. Micro-zonation map of the south of the European side, IMM. [229]

The general opinion is that the ground conditions in Istanbul, except for some sites with liquefaction risks, are not problematic. According to Haluk Sucuoğlu, a member of the working group of risk assessment and retrofitting methods in the Earthquake Master Plan who worked in the risk assessment studies of buildings thereafter, the discussions about soil structure contribute to an "urban legend."[230] The factor increasing earthquake risks is, he goes further, the vulnerability of the buildings, and the common characteristics of the buildings assessed as bearing high risk are their structural weakness.

It is possible to identify patterns in the collapses and their causes from the empirical data collected after each earthquake in Turkey. There are often repeated structural failures and

[229] For the reports and detailed information see https://depremzemin.ibb.istanbul/calismalarimiz/tamamlanmis-calismalar/istanbul-ili-mikrobolgeleme-projeleri/

[230] *Cumhuriyet*, 17 March 2010. Available at: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/depremde-yikilacak-binalar-belirlendi-127808

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low quality construction materials in the mostly reinforced concrete multistory buildings. The most significant point is the engineering qualities of the buildings: the quality of the building materials, structure, and detailing (Gunes 2015). Much of the information regarding these qualities of the building stock is either unavailable due to its *ex post facto* legalization or inaccurate due to undocumented changes in its construction.

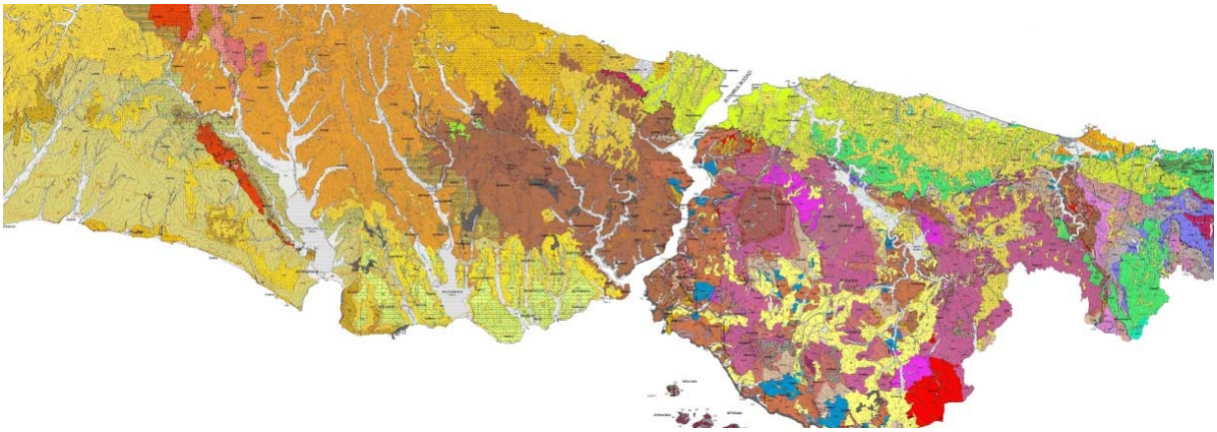

Figure 22. Istanbul Geology Map prepared and published by IMM. [231]

The Kocaeli and Düzce Earthquakes, according to the Chamber of Civil Engineers (CCE 2010, 190), are recognized as earthquakes in which not the unauthorized buildings but the buildings that were authorized and permitted for occupation were damaged. As I mentioned above, the line between formal and informal building practices is blurred, as many formal building activities have involved informal practices (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2001). Informality in building practices is not restricted to construction but extends to the process of authorization of the plans as well as approval for inhabitation after construction,[232] tasks meant to be carried out by municipalities that had often lacked the financial and labor resources to do this work (Balamir 2013). Thus, even though there were theoretically adequate earthquake codes and building inspection procedures, this informality involved in the building practices has been also a characteristic of these domains, and due to this informality in supervision and inspection, a building constructed with formal registration does not have much to say about the seismic risks it bears.

[231] Available at:
https://depremzemin.ibb.istanbul/calismalarimiz/tamamlanmis-calismalar/kent-jeolojisi-calismalari-2/

[232] The Development Law (3194) regulates the general construction process, while the Disaster Law (7269) specifies the structural engineering requirements. Theoretically, construction may begin only after the building permits are obtained from the municipality based on the plans which have to meet the provisions of both laws mentioned above. The buildings may be inhabited after municipalities grant an occupation permit based on the controls conducted by the public civil engineers from the municipality.

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In the year 2000, shortly after the Kocaeli and Düzce Earthquakes, several measures were taken in accordance with decrees re-regulating the construction process and practices of the construction professions. The earthquake-resistant design codes dated back to 1944 and had been modified several times up through the last one in 1998, before the Kocaeli Earthquake. They were updated to new seismicity standards after the earthquake.[233] With Decree 595[234] in 2000, inspection and supervision of the construction process were re-regulated. The new private building inspection firms (BIFs), to be established by the licensed engineers and architects, have been brought into the inspection process. They are authorized to inspect and supervise the construction process, and to prepare and submit the documents and reports to the municipalities. With Decree 601[235] new regulations were introduced to the construction professions, including a minimum five years' practice obligation in addition to training and examination for professional competence. Due to these regulations, the buildings constructed after 2000 are considered as being safer (Erdik and Durukal 2008).

These regulations, however, target only new developments; this is referred to in the literature as risk avoidance. They provide no solution to the risks of existing buildings. A measure targeting existing buildings, the establishment of a catastrophe insurance pool (DASK/TCIP), was adopted with Decree 587[236] in December 1999. All property owners are subject to compulsory insurance, and only those who are insured will be eligible for compensation in the case of disaster damage. This practice, though, does not reduce risks but spread them throughout society via sharing and transfers them to the transnational financial markets via reinsurance mechanisms. Yet, the question of how the unauthorized buildings will be included persists.

One of the most challenging aspects to risk reduction activities is the production of information on the earthquake performance of more than one million buildings in the city. The information on buildings used in the earthquake damage forecasts (IMM-JICA 2002; BU-ARC 2002) is the data gathered by the State Institute of Statistics in the 2000 census and includes the structure type, construction year and number of stories of a total of 724,609

[233] Which has been subsequently modified in 2007 and again in 2018.
[234] 10.4.2000 - The Decree on Construction Supervision. Decree 595 was canceled by the Constitutional Court. The content was integrated into the Building Supervision Law (4708) in 2001. The decree obliged BIFs to purchase liability insurance which did not enter into the Law. Charges for services by BIFs were limited to 4-8% of the construction costs in the decree. With the Law it was reduced to 1.43-1.74%. The Law has enforced punishments for the faults of these firms that the decree could not. The use of ready-mixed concrete was made obligatory.
[235] 28.06.2000 - The Decree of Proficiency in Construction Professionals.
[236] 27.12.1999 - Decree on Compulsory Building Insurance.

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buildings. However, this information provides no accurate input to assess the actual risks to the buildings, since it assumes that the buildings conform to the earthquake codes of their respective years of construction. The risk assessment, beyond the theoretical and mathematical calculations, was regarded as the first step to risk reduction activities, and to the prioritization of these activities and risk areas. It is not just the unauthorized buildings which lack documents and plans. Even the authorized constructions, the constructed structure, and detailing can be different from the design drawings (Yakut, Ozcebe, and Yucemen 2006), which in turn causes inaccuracy in the risk assessment procedures. Taking the number of the buildings to be evaluated into account, a large proportion of which does not have necessary engineering documents of structural systems, methods of faster evaluation needed to be developed (IBB 2003, 108). In the Earthquake Master Plan several methods were recommended for the evaluation of residential and public buildings –to be carried out in three stages – by working groups from ITU, METU, and BU. Since this work requires a substantial amount of time, financial resources, and labor, the recommended methods must be applied in the pilot districts to establish standards and to develop necessary solutions to the risks as well.

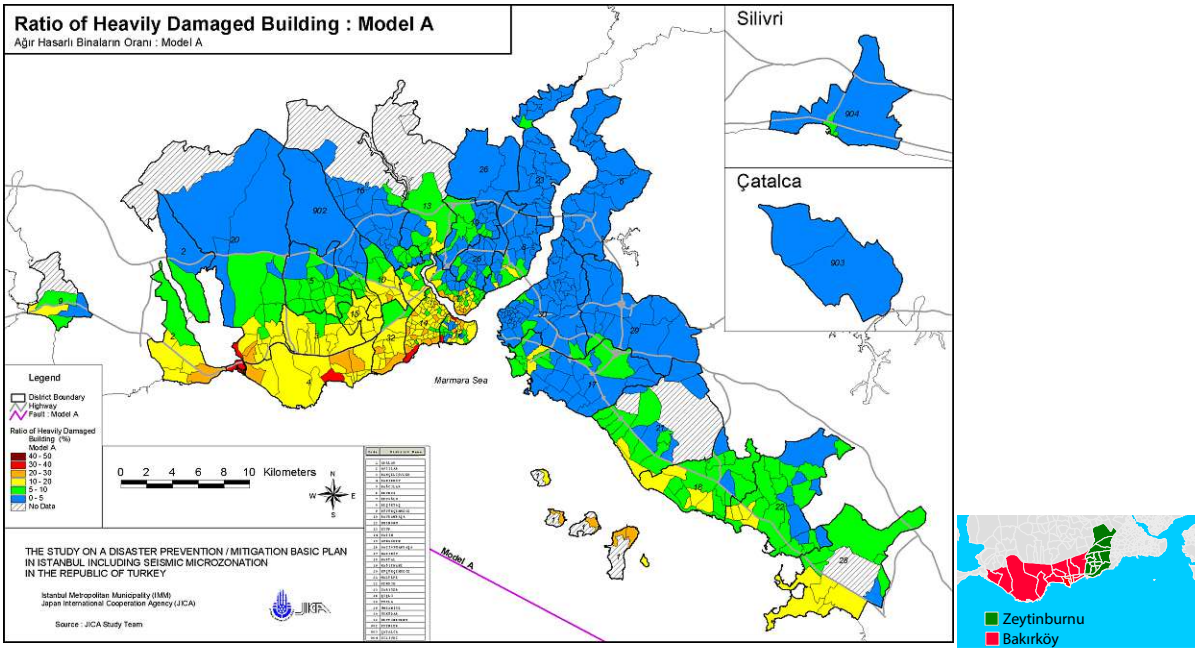

Figure 23. A map by IMM-JICA (2002) showing the ratio of heavily damaged buildings according to scenario A (see chapter 3). The map on the right showing Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu districts has been added.

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Bakırköy

Bakırköy is one of the important subcenters of the city on the European side, comprising four different settlement forms involving around 11 thousand buildings: densely constructed attached buildings, also densely constructed detached buildings, a large planned housing settlement, and detached buildings with lower density. Building density in this district began to increase in the 1960s (Akay 2018). The construction of one of Turkey's early planned housing estates, Ataköy, also began at the end of the 1950s. The district is home to a middle-class and upper-middle-class population of 210,000.

The district is one of the parts of the city nearest to the fault lines expected to cause the anticipated Istanbul Earthquake. Two stream beds traversing the district are regarded as areas bearing risk due to soil structure (ibid., 70). Bakırköy municipality contracted Istanbul Technical University and Istanbul University to perform a geological and geophysical evaluation of the district not two months after the 1999 Kocaeli Earthquake, followed by a second study for risk assessment. This highly detailed study of nearly all housing stock (96%, or 10,162 units) in the district was conducted through the examination of each building in order to determine those at high-risk. Fully 3440 (34.3%) of these buildings were classified as at high or very high risk. Only 2,234 buildings (22%) fell into the category of minimum risk (Balyemez 2010, 91).

Bakırköy was chosen as a pilot project site for a social and economic feasibility study of retrofitting methods within the MEER project. The study was conducted under the aegis of the Middle East Technical University, one of the working groups involved in the Earthquake Master Plan, and contracted to the construction firms Beca, based in New Zealand, and Prota, based in Turkey, in 2005. After the detailed reevaluation of the 3,440 buildings classified under the high or very high-risk category by the foregoing study mentioned above, the feasibility study categorized 30% of them as very high-risk, with 47% determined to be high-risk buildings. 369 of the owners from very high- and high-risk buildings were chosen for the second stage of the study, in which structural elements, details, and the material quality of the buildings examined were studied in detail and modeled "to develop technically sound, innovative, economically feasible and socially acceptable retrofit methodologies" (Hopkins et al. 2006, 2).

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Figure 24. Several steps for the detailed risk analysis of a building. © Bağcılar Municipality.

The study also shows a wide range of varying quality of these authorized buildings in this formal district, with a general strength level from 7% to 133%. Strengths in the 1,995 concrete samples taken range from 2 to 35 MPa, and a lack of ductile detailing was also observed (ibid., 3). Haluk Sucuoğlu pointed out on a TV broadcast[237] that the outsides of the buildings in the elevated neighborhoods like Yeşilköy in Bakırköy could be misleading: they may look very chic and beautiful but still bear high risk. What is at stake here is, however, not some hidden truths about the buildings – which is revealed by the engineers by examining beneath the surface (Schäfers 2016). My point is rather that the safety of the authorized buildings in the formal neighborhoods had been also suspect, but the risks were just inherent to the materiality of the buildings: structural elements, concrete and steel quality etc. Risks that were believed to have resulted from the informality in the construction process would be limited to a building's scale. Therefore, Bakırköy, as one of the oldest formal districts of the city, was the prime candidate for the studies with the most detailed analysis of the buildings and for the development of retrofitting methods.

A social study was also conducted to evaluate the socio-economic status and attitudes towards retrofitting activities of the owners of the selected 369 buildings (Hopkins et al. 2006, 6). According to this study, the real challenge in the realization of the retrofitting was not to find appropriate retrofitting methods, but rather concerned highly socio-economic and affective aspects: awareness of the threat as well as the possibility of reducing risks; the desirability of investing in the retrofitting; trust in technical expertise; access to financial assistance.

The study found that costs of retrofitting vary, ranging from 20% to more than 100 % the cost of a new building (ibid., 5). A comprehensive retrofitting is a highly expensive investment. A previous study (Smyth et al. 2004, 194) of cost-benefit analyses of three different mitigation

[237] The episode of the show (*Teke Tek*), titled "How are earthquake resistant buildings constructed?," brought three leading earthquake engineering researchers, Mustafa Erdik, Haluk Sucuoglu, and Alper Ilki, together. *Habertürk TV*, 3 November 2019. Available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PPLhu1nmL00&t=2157s&ab_channel=Habert%C3%BCrkTV

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strategies shows that none of them would be cost-effective if the loss of life was not included in the calculations. The retrofitting makes sense only if it is limited; thus, it aims only to prevent total collapse and save as many lives as possible without preventing heavy damage (ibid., 197). The study on Bakırköy (Hopkins et al. 2006) also recommends a limited retrofitting, the objective of which is to prevent collapse as well as to minimize investment and disruption to everyday life. They calculated that retrofitting the buildings included in the study could save 700 lives. If this is extrapolated to the rest of Bakırköy, the number of lives that would be saved reaches 5000 (ibid., 6).

Limitied Retrofitting as Emergency Action

Even though retrofitting was seen as an option for the authorized buildings in the formal neighborhoods, especially the limited retrofitting was first put forward as an urgent risk reduction activity for preventing collapse by a group of engineers. At the II. Istanbul and Earthquake symposium on 27 May 2000, Mustafa Erdik and his team of engineers from Kandilli Observatory and Eaarthquake Research Institute (Erdik et al. 2000) proposed a short-term plan to save a maximum number of lives with minimum investment. They stated that the future material damage due to earthquake remains below the costs of retrofitting if one does not account for the loss of life. Besides, these damages can be compensated by earthquake insurance. This makes a general retrofitting campaign difficult, nearly impossible. In general, from a risk reduction point of view, the earthquake-resistant building codes also do not prescribe a level of resistance that is too costly. It is not reasonable to demand that buildings survive a high magnitude earthquake undamaged. The plausible scenario is that buildings experience light or moderate damage that does not cause fatalities and will be repaired with the insurance money. Therefore, in order to reduce life losses, limited resources and time must be invested in limited retrofitting that would only prevent high-risk buildings from collapsing in the often observed “pancake” form. This would reduce human losses by 70% in addition to damage in neighboring buildings and rescue workload, and prevent the closure of roads. They devised guidelines to choose these buildings and analytically estimated that there would be 5000 buildings with a high risk of collapse in the districts where earthquake intensity was VIII and higher. Limited retrofitting would cost 40 thousand USD per building; for 5000 buildings the sum would total 200 million USD – 0.1% of Turkey's GDP. With this amount of investment it would be possible to prevent the loss of 20 thousand lives. However, it would also require risk assessment work and identification of each building and enforcement procedure, and 3-4 thousand USD

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credit per flat owner (Erdik et al. 2000). After this high priority intervention, a second stage could be the retrofit of another approximately 40 thousand buildings expected to experience high-level damage. The retrofit with the main criterion of life safety at this second stage would cost 1.6 billion USD (Erdik and Durukal 2008). These buildings first must be identified by the municipality and declared as being "hazardous". A legal mechanism must be introduced to force owners to retrofit these buildings under threat of their occupation permits being canceled and "building[s being] sold on behalf of the owners" (Erdik, n.d., 6).

Even though significant results in reducing fatalities in an earthquake could be achieved through limited retrofitting, it has not become a preferred solution for private residential housing (Erdik and Durukal 2008). Retrofitting has, however, been applied widely to public buildings, especially schools and hospitals, which have significant importance for the emergency period in an earthquake within the Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project (ISMEP). The project is one of the first-generation disaster-centered projects funded by the World Bank which focused on risk reduction activities rather than post-disaster reconstruction. It is currently promoted by the World Bank as a success story (World Bank 2015). Even though it was begun with a World Bank loan (419.8 million Euro), it has further extended its budget (2,017.7 million Euro) with eight separate loans from four other international financial institutions (World Bank 2018, 4). Three-quarters of this budget was already disbursed in 2018. The project also encompasses emergency response preparedness activities like establishing emergency communication, information management, and increasing response capacity, as well as awareness-raising campaigns and training programs. The project has involved a few pilot studies for retrofitting cultural heritage sites and for code enforcement in private sector housing through expert training, etc.

The project has been criticized due to its exclusion of residential building stock and therefore its limited risk reduction approach (Gunes 2015; Ay and Özkul 2021). The retrofitting of the residential buildings was at the preparation phase part of the project since the vulnerability of the housing stock is the main source of the risk. But it was later dropped due to several reasons ranging from the attitudes towards retrofitting by private homeowners and governmental actors, unresolved financing models, and legal obstacles. The involvement of the ISMEP project in reducing the vulnerability of private housing stock remained limited to indirect activities such as the training of engineers, pilot projects in improvements in compliance with buildings codes, and land use plans at the administrative level (World Bank 2018).

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Why the retrofit of residential buildings was never established as a widely used method of risk reduction has several explanations. The limited retrofit of the buildings with a high risk of collapse proposed by Erdik and his team requires the identification of these buildings (Erdik et al. 2000). As Sucuoğlu explained in the TV broadcast mentioned above,[238] one cannot say for sure this or that building will collapse. The boundary between heavy damage and collapse is blurred: One can only observe that this building collapses before that building. Yet, the costs of the limited retrofitting proposed by Erdik et al. (2000), even if applied to 40 thousand buildings, would remain below the total budget of the ISMEP.

One of the most recognized obstacles to retrofitting residential buildings is Article 19 of the Flat Ownership Law, which requires consensus among owners for retrofitting as well as renewal. The Earthquake Master Plan had already suggested that this article required a change from consensus to "majority vote"(IMM 2003, 220), and in 2007 the requirement of consensus was changed to majority vote for measures against risks, and a new provision was introduced declaring it to be sufficient that if one homeowner proves the necessity of retrofitting, others are obliged to contribute to paying the costs of retrofitting (Taylan 2015, 415).

There are other aspects. Despite the defense of retrofitting by engineers, there was substantial resistance from other actors. The main reason discussed primarily revolves around the financial aspects of retrofitting. Studies on the relationship between risk perception and mitigation actions among residences show a high belief in the effectiveness of mitigation activities, but that actions are dependent on the financial capacity of the property owners absorbing the costs (Karancı and Johnson 2009, cited in Kundak, Türkoğlu, and Ilki 2014). However, the financial aspect is not limited to the property owners' capacity to pay, given the fact that the costs of the limited retrofit remain low compared to renewal. The point is that there is the expectation that dwellings be modernized and their value increase. In this regard, retrofitting is seen as a dead investment that does not change the quality or the financial value of the building (Erdik and Durukal 2008), since newer buildings, especially those built after 2000, are regarded as safer, as mentioned above. The studies also show that those segments of the population with high-risk perception and income prefer the new residential buildings (Inal-Cekic and Yazici 2011).

[238] The episode of the show (*Teke Tek)*, titled "How are earthquake resistant buildings constructed?." *Habertürk TV,* 3 November 2019. Available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PPLhu1nmL00&t=2157s&ab_channel=Habert%C3%BCrkTV

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Discussions around the problem of risk at the building level were already very early on conceived as retrofitting vs. renewal. The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality also developed a parallel solution to the problem of the building stock with high risk: removal of the buildings with high risk after determination, expected to be around 50 thousand buildings,[239] construction of new dwellings spread throughout the city on treasury land in cooperation with the TOKI (Mass Housing Administration), and resettlement of the inhabitants of these risky buildings to these new dwellings with the opportunity to pay for them with long term loans. The financial resources needed for this solution were estimated at around 10 billion USD (M. Baş, Yeşilırmak, and Öcal 2003; Balamir 2005b).

After the Earthquake Master Plan, the IMM and Earthquake Engineering Research Center at METU conducted a risk assessment study in six of the riskiest districts of Istanbul: Zeytinburnu, Fatih, Küçükçekmece, Bahçelievler, Bayrampaşa and Güngören. 125 thousand buildings[240] were evaluated between 2004 and 2009 in accordance with the rapid risk assessment methods proposed within the Earthquake Master Plan and calibrated in the pilot project conducted in Zeytingburnu. The evaluation revealed far higher numbers of buildings at high risk than the former statistical risk and damage calculations (e.g., IMM-JICA 2002; BU-ARC 2002). According to this evaluation, around 24 thousand buildings were determined to be at risk of collapse or heavy damage in the case of an earthquake of Magnitude 7.2. The number increases to 43 thousand in the case of an earthquake of Magnitude 7.5.[241] These are of course the riskiest districts of Istanbul after Bakırköy. It must be noted that the number of buildings in Istanbul is ten to twelve times more than the number of buildings evaluated in this study. The coordinator of this project, Haluk Sucuoğlu, explained in the TV program mentioned above that they had the feeling that the high number of risky buildings in the study had frustrated the municipal actors. He thinks that this is one of the reasons why this plan mentioned above was dropped and replaced with a more market-oriented solution. As we will see towards the end of this chapter, since 2012, with the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law (6306), risks at the scale of buildings, from assessment to removal to reconstruction, have been dealt with through market mechanisms and with governmental involvement the form of tax reduction, suspension of fees, credit subsidies, and rental aid.

[239] 50,000 to 70,000 buildings are estimated to experience heavy damage or collapse by the IMM-JICA (2002) study.
[240] 101 thousand of which were reinforced concrete buildings, 24 thousand masonry.
[241] "Buildings to collapse in the earthquake were determined." *Cumhuriyet,* 17 March 2010. Available at: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/amp/haber/depremde-yikilacak-binalar-belirlendi-127808

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Figure 25. Left: Renewed buildings in Bakırköy. Right: Demolition of a building declared as risky according to the Urban Transformation Law (6306), Bakırköy.

The Urban Transformation Law (6306) does not only regulate renewal at the building scale. It also prescribes urban renewal at the neighborhood scale. This double category has, as I show in this chapter, not emerged abruptly: The buildings in the formal neighborhoods were not believed to be safe, but rather the risks were conceived to be inherent to the materiality of their buildings – due to the quality of the building materials used, structures, alterations, and aging. Hence, this view sees the appropriate solution at the level of the building: retrofitting and renewal. It did not need apply to the whole built environment nor require renewal at a larger scale, unlike the informal neighborhoods and districts, or ones that emerged informally like Zeytinburnu, to which I will now turn.

Risks Inherent to the Built Environment

The unauthorized status of buildings causes legal, financial, and technical obstacles to interventions at the scale of a single building. Lacking information about the existing unauthorized structures makes it difficult (Balamir 2013). Still, problems with the attempts at intervention at the scale of the building are not just financial, technical, or legal when we discuss risk at the level of the city. These were for some actors not viable solutions for "the city of risk," since most of the city's building stock was assumed to be unauthorized or post-facto authorized (e.g., Balamir 2004a, 2013; Ozcevik et al. 2009). When we move beyond the borders of districts with formal settlements there turns out to be another problem: dead investment in a bad environment. It means, especially for the planners, a waste of limited resources and a consolidation of the "unhealthy" built environment (M. Baş, Yeşilırmak, and Öcal 2003; Yeşilırmak 2003; Balamir 2013). Retrofitting or renewal of individual buildings

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may reduce risks at the building level but carries the built environment, seen as risky beyond the earthquake, into the future.

In this section, through the perspective of planners involved in the preparation of the Earthquake Master Plan and in the pilot projects for Zeytinburnu district, I analyze how risk has been constructed beyond the buildings' materiality for most of the city. Since 70% of the city is assumed to be urbanized informally, the *environmental* risk becomes the main problem; in other words, the risk is problematized *environmentally* for most of the city. This approach makes urban renewal an "imperative":

> Within the same period of the current Development Law (1985) again, a special law (2981 of 1984, now abrogated) provided new means to legalize unauthorized developments and buildings with the excuse of improving the urban environment. This allowed and assumed the self-planned areas and unauthorized building stock to be registered as legal and in compliance with safety standards. Thus one of the major difficulties of maintaining authentic risk reduction in the settlements of Turkey was created (Balamir 2013).[242]

Informal urbanization led to a *de facto* land use pattern lacking any analysis of the suitability of the ground for settlement in respect to fault lines as well as soil condition. Since "[t]he Development Law and Disaster Law in Turkey do not communicate with each other," in the words of Balamir (2013), the problem exists in fact for the planned areas too. Studies on previous earthquakes also show this gap in the planning and its consequence of high loss in the case of earthquakes.[243] What is actually at issue in the discourse of what I call "environmentally constructed risk" is not the question of soil conditions. Especially for Istanbul, many informally emerged neighborhoods have locations that were not attractive due to accessibility and topography, while many formal neighborhoods developed along the Marmara coastline or in the valleys. The informal neighborhoods, unattractive before due to their topography, now became desirable locations due to their solid ground.

There were legal obstacles to targeting disaster risk reduction beyond the building scale at the planning level too. The Disaster Law (7269) enacted in 1959 concerns mostly post-disaster regulations like damage assessment, compensation, emergency, and relief operations, including building design codes. On the other hand, urban and regional planning is regulated by the Development Law (3194) enacted in 1984. According to Balamir (2013), there are several problems. Firstly, the Disaster Law is not oriented enough toward disaster risk

[242] Balamir (2013) is an unedited working paper without page numbers. In order to maintain readability, the phrase "no pagination" will not be repeated in rest of this section.
[243] E.g., EERI (1995) on the Dinar Earthquake; EQE (1999) on the Kocaeli Earthquake; S. Baş, Mutlu, and Öztürk (2011) on the Van Earthquake.

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reduction. Secondly, the Development Law's planning tools are not sufficient for disaster risk reduction focused planning: It does not target the already urbanized areas, and the local authorities that are authorized for land-use planning do not have the technical and financial infrastructure for risk reduction focused planning.

There were already attempts in the late 1990s by universities to prepare a new development planning policy that took disaster risks into account.[244] After the earthquake, a draft for a bill[245] introducing new planning instruments into the policy, such as disaster maps and urban renewal, was prepared by the Ministry (Gencer 2013), though it did not come to a vote in the Parliament. The legal frame of urban renewal is created within the Municipality Law (5393) as well as in the Renewal Law (5366) generally until the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law (6306) in 2012 for risk-based renewal after the Van Earthquake.

Parallel to these developments, several urban renewal projects were launched – e.g., Ayazma in 2004 and Sulukule in 2005. These laboratories of urban renewal are the "best" candidates for beginning due to their marginalized inhabitants, low density, and attractive locations. Within the discourse of renewal around these projects, risk entangles with informality, sociality, and aesthetics, resulting in a hybrid risk notion. I will, however, discuss this hybridity of risk not through these projects, which could easily turn into a discussion of rhetoric; rather, I will look at this hybrid risk, which is environmentally constructed, through the planners' perspective involved in the Earthquake Master Plan and the follow-up studies and pilot projects in Zeytinburnu, which is the earliest laboratory of risk-based urban renewal.

Environmentally Constructed Risk

Responses to risk at the level of buildings rather than at larger scales, according to Balamir (2002b, 47), "exclude the problems of the existing and inherited stock of buildings." The high performance of housing production after the introduction of reinforced concrete, problems with inspections, and unplannedness turned the cities in Turkey into "extreme risk pools" (Balamir 2013). Risks emerge not only from the structures alone but are linked to other attributes of the settlements such as "deficiencies in accessibility, infrastructure networks,

[244] For example, "Revision of the Turkish Development Law No. 3194 and Its Attendant Regulations with the Objective of Establishing a New Building Construction Supervision System Inclusive of Incorporating Technical Disaster Resistance-Enhancing Measures," led by Polat Gülkan at the Middle East Technical University.
[245] The Draft Bill for the Development and Urbanization Law (2004). Available at: https://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=38&tipi=3&sube=0

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open spaces; little systematic control on storing-processing-transporting of dangerous materials; unauthorized uses and proximities between uses, inadequate emergency facilities in terms of capacities and/or location" (ibid.). According to this perspective of the planners, the risk is not just confined to the structure and materiality of the single building but encompasses the collectivity of the built environment. Responding to risks in these cities at the level of a single building is not sufficient.

However, the problem is not just the insufficiency of this response. The urbanization process of Turkish cities, according to this perspective, also produced "living environments lacking aesthetic values and adequate standards" (Balamir 2005b, 29) and "disturbingly low-quality environments" (Balamir 2013). Risk begins to include a wide range of attributes beyond the vulnerability of the building stock. The response at the building level turns out to be a risk for the city since it consolidates these "low-quality environments."

But the challenges are also not just confined to the built environment. Turkish urbanization has also produced "processes of segregation based on real estate" (Balamir 2005b, 29). The urban segregation into high income gated communities and central neighborhoods with urban poor and working-class neighborhoods in the informal urbanized areas produces cities of "extreme social injustice" (Balamir 2013). This requires responding to the challenges with urban regeneration and renewal projects "providing social justice" (Balamir 2005b, 29) and "development" (Balamir 2013):

> Special programs could be separately organised for a small group of authentically poor and handicapped households. Regeneration is not confined to operations of physical redevelopment. Rather it is a multi-impact social process, which represents a transformation into authorised and registered conduct, an entirely new mode of activities for many of the cases. This implies status changes not only in property ownership but also in business, employment, and in all aspects of life. Moving into a registered economy requires careful monitoring. Smooth transformation will necessitate economic sweeteners, business and property tax exemptions, other concessions for intermediary periods. This is a socialization process, and a move to higher level of organizational structures for all stake-holders (ibid.).

Since risk in this approach is constructed in terms of social and material environments produced informally and unplanned, the response cannot be reduced to "structural engineering" nor to physical renewal. Rather, it should be a "comprehensive social engineering" (Balamir 2004b, 6). The quotation additionally shows that informality is also constructed, beyond the informality of building production and even the production of the built environment, in its social, economic, and organizational aspects. "[M]oving into a registered economy" and "a transformation into authorised and registered conduct" can already trigger, through the models of participation, the urban regeneration process.

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Participation in these projects is, according to him, one of the most important aspects. If planned carefully, he asserts, it also provides a transition to a new mode of collectivity and a more democratic environment.

This context is precisely the grounds for why I call it "environmentally" constructed. The informally urbanized neighborhoods are not only problematized because of the natural threats that they are exposed to, not only because they are assemblages of low-quality building materials and engineering structures, road networks, limited open spaces, etc., but also because of existing social relationships, values, and ideas. Mechanisms problematizing them environmentally are highly related to the ones solving them environmentally – thus, a total replacement of the architectural and urban characteristics.[246]

I am, here, examining the construction of risk *environmentally* through the works of Murat Balamir, though he is by no means a single case. His approach represents the perspective of the planners well. It is not exceptional to see earthquake risk and urban renewal as an opportunity to improve the city. It is a common approach among the many actors of urban planning and governance. As Yesilirmak puts it in a question:

> Could expecting a disastrous earthquake be a driving force for urban improvement, namely the protection of the natural, historical and cultural environment, increasing the quality of the whole urban environment in addition to making the city safe against earthquakes? (Yeşilırmak 2003, 42)

The transformation of the familiar geography of maldevelopment into the geography of risk becomes apparent also in the strong expectations for urban renewal: the will to protect entangles with the "will to improve" (Li 2007) and the will to "beautify."

Zeytinburnu

Zeytinburnu, an informally emerged, *post facto* legalized and densely built district lying between Bakırköy and Fatih Districts, has been identified as one of the high-risk areas in the loss scenarios (IMM-JICA 2002 and BU-ARC 2002). The district was selected as the pilot site to examine and further develop suggestions in the Earthquake Master Plan (Erdik and Durukal 2008; Ozcevik et al. 2009). The Zeytinburnu Urban Regeneration Pilot Project[247]

[246] See Foucault (2003, 245; 2007) for a discussion of security apparatus, the notion of milieu and environment as an urban problem. However, security apparatus tries to modify the environment by modifying its dissolved variables. See also Massumi (2009). In our case, problematizing environmentally requires not modification but a total replacement of the architectural and urban characteristics.

[247] Directed by the Istanbul Urbanism Atelier (ISAT) in cooperation with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) and the Zeytinburnu District Municipality and contracted to BİMTAŞ.

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was made public in the Zeytinburnu Strategic Action Plan Report in 2005 and considered as a "laboratory" to conduct the proposed studies and generate empirical data on the models framed within the Earthquake Master Plan[248] in cooperation with a wide range of experts.

That Zeytinburnu represents the typical informal urbanization of the city makes it a proper candidate for the pilot project. It is no surprise that the then mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş, spoke of the need "to urgently and unconditionally say stop to crude urbanization"[249] at the event introducing the Zeytinburnu Pilot Project to the public: Zeytinburnu is not just the first informally emerged district of Istanbul, but is emblematic of "crude" urbanization. In addition to that, the motivations to choose Zeytinburnu for urban renewal were based on the existence of data on the building stock and the willingness of the local municipality.[250] It was seen as a unique opportunity "to demonstrate that comprehensive regeneration could prove viable in physical, economic and social terms, even under the most adverse conditions" (Balamir 2005a, 5). Indeed, with its more than 240 thousand inhabitants and more than 16 thousand buildings in the early 2000s, Zeytinburnu is bigger than some European cities and has a building density twice that of Istanbul, with more than 900 people per square kilometer. The mixed-used buildings are unauthorized or *post facto* authorized multi-story blocks on informally divided building plots that are completely built. As a working-class district, education and income level are lower than neighboring middle-class district Bakırköy.

The settlement is characterized by narrow and irregular roads with limited open spaces. According to Balamir (ibid.), this settlement characteristic requires urban renewal since the risks are not confined to the buildings but are "consistently very high irrespective of whether one is within the buildings or out in the street" during an earthquake. Problems related to the building stock, settlement structure, the mixed-use character of housing together with small industrial production, and social and economic problems characterize the district as one of the regions with "the biggest risk pool" and make it a proper candidate for urban regeneration: "It can be said that it is the area which least requires a detailed engineering analysis of the existing building stock" (Balamir 2005b, 32).

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[248] Words of Lütfi Altun, the director of the Istanbul Urbanism Atelier (ISAT). See for a summary of the program: https://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2005/01/17/zeytinburnu_deprem.htm
[249] See for a summary of the program: https://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2005/01/17/zeytinburnu_deprem.htm
[250] The founding chair of the Earthquake and Soil Survey Directory at IMM, Mahmut Baş, cited in the local news portal in Zeytinburnu: https://www.zeytinburnuhaber.org/zesat-zeytinburnu-sehircilik-atolyesi-387-haberi

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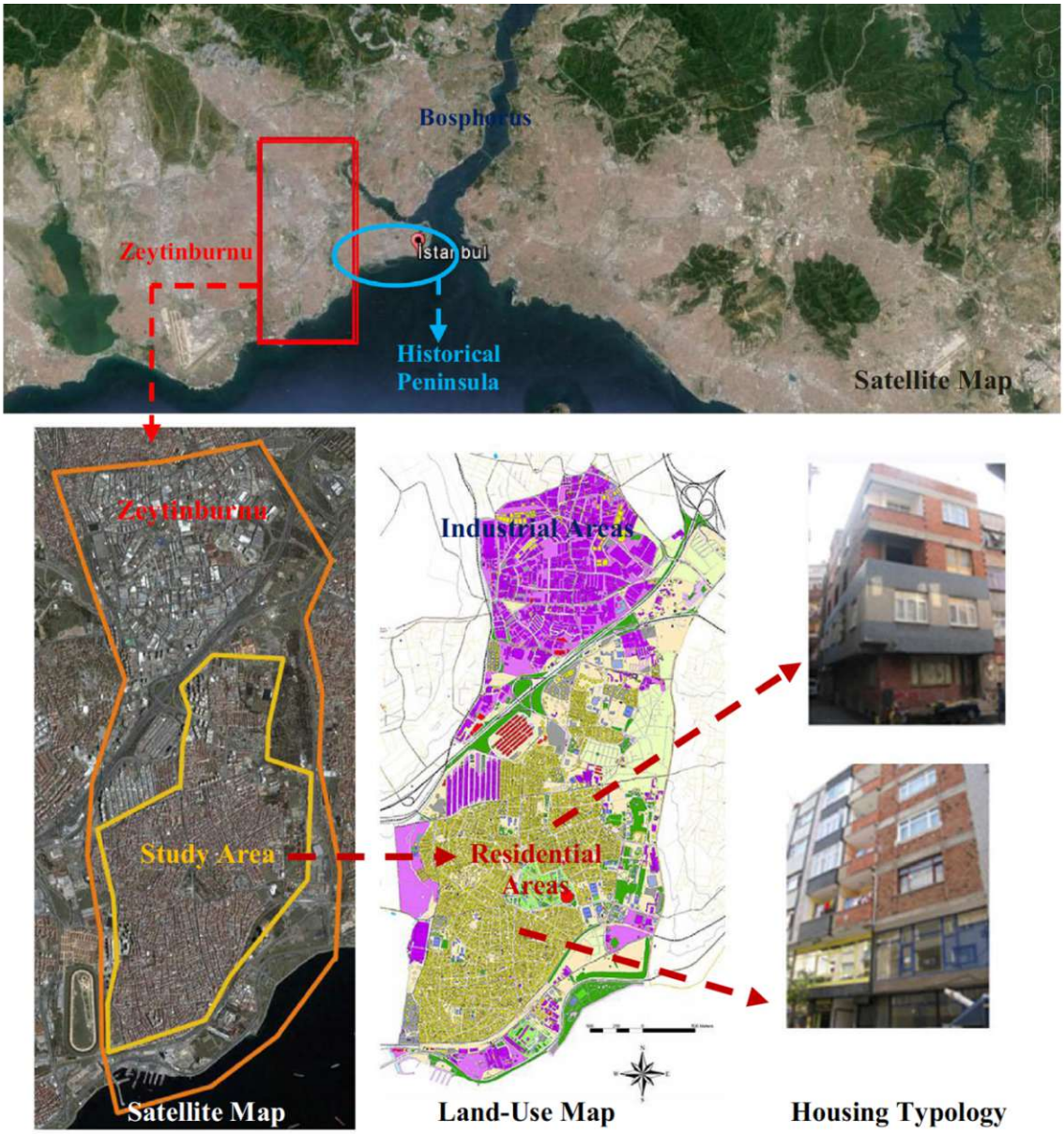

Figure 26. This figure shows how planners construct the built environment on which they work. Excerpted from Taylan (2015, 418).

Zeytinburnu apparently does not only represent informal environments in "most adverse" conditions but also "opportunities" with "major potential sites and development prospects at metropolitan scale" (Balamir 2005a, 5). The notion of risk indeed points out opportunities too Rao (2006a): As the first informal settlement of the city, it is located directly outside the historic city walls with its large green protection sites as well as historic buildings. To the south, it has a coastline with a port facility and large tracts of land. The district has a central location and good accessibility to public transportation (subway, train, and tram) as well as the previously planned and later built rapid railway Marmaray. The decentralization process has already begun with leather production facilities and will continue providing vacant buildings and spaces. The district was planned to transform from industry to trade

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and service. The pilot project prescribes the renewal of the whole district with a development scheme of two industrial and commercial nodes, north on the E5 motorway and south on the coast, as well as a high-density Urban Spine between them (Figure 26). If these opportunities are utilized in a planned way through a development partnership model, according to Balamir (2005a), the project could finance itself.

Even though its building stock and settlement characteristics are assumed to represent most of Istanbul's settlements, the district is certainly not representative in respect to its potential. As a pilot project, it was expected to be replicable in other parts of the city as well as the country; this idea has been rightly critiqued by Yeşilırmak (2003, 42), in that not all districts manifest the same potentiality as Zeytinburnu does, and therefore the solutions will not be the same.

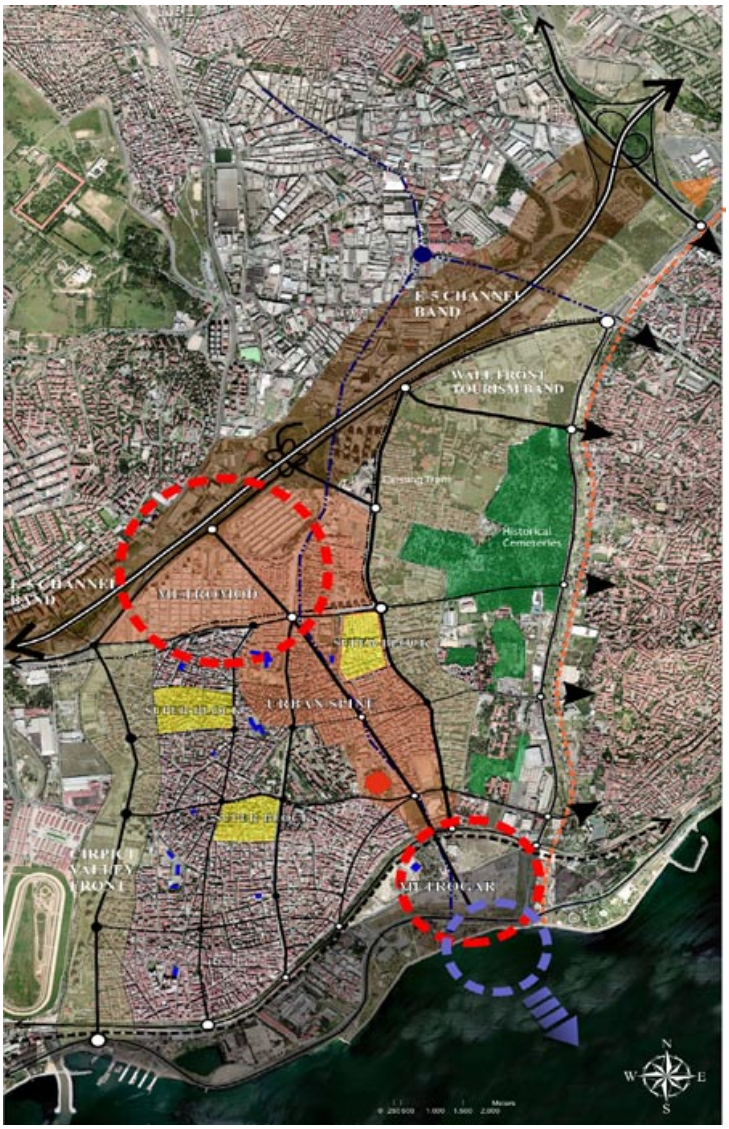

Figure 27. Metropolitan Design and Fashion Complex (Metromod) on the northern side and Metropolitan Rail Complex (Metrogar) on the south side and the dense Urban Spine between them. The area beyond the E5 Motorway constitutes the MIA, and the area between the settlements and the historical walls on the western side is also planned as Culture Valley. Excerpted from İBB (2005

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The risk assessment of the 16 thousand buildings of the district was conducted using rapid risk assessment methods proposed by the working group of engineers within the Earthquake Master Plan. The main goal of this kind of assessment is to identify buildings with a high risk of collapse.[251] As mentioned above, the rapid risk assessment methods (walk-down evaluation, preliminary evaluation, and final evaluation) are an inexpensive way to classify buildings as having low, moderate, or high risk by determining which attributes increase seismic risk as identified through empirical data gathered from building damage in earlier earthquakes. In this type of study, a detailed analysis of structure and materials is applied to very few buildings. In the Earthquake Master Plan, several methods were proposed in addition to the suggestion that their suitability and validity needed to be tested and calibrated in a pilot project before being applied to all the building stock in the city. The work was carried out by the Middle East Technical University-Earthquake Engineering Research Center (METU-EERC), which developed one of the methods proposed within the Earthquake Master Plan.

Three-tier analysis of the building stock has identified 69% of the buildings as belonging to the high-risk category (Yakut, Ozcebe, and Yucemen 2006). One of the aims of that analysis was the identification of buildings with a high risk of collapse in order to take urgent action of retrofit or removal, though the identification of these buildings is not such a simple task and the result in Zeytinburnu was also "no unanimity" (Erdik and Durukal 2008, 193), although 2,295 buildings were, in the end, selected for removal.[252]

	High-risk group		Moderate-risk group		Low-risk group		Total
Number of stories	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
⩽3	10	10	18	18	71	72	99
4	180	54	81	24	71	21	332
5	713	77	170	18	46	5	929
6	808	70	262	23	77	7	1147
7	387	73	119	23	23	4	529
Total	2098	69	650	21	288	10	3036

Figure 28. "Estimated seismic safety of buildings in Zeytinburnu" (Yakut, Ozcebe, and Yucemen 2006, 1200).

[251] Within the scope of the NATO Science for Peace project, "NATO SfP977231-Seismic Assessment and Rehabilitation of Existing Buildings."
[252] Two buildings in the district collapsed without any external force applied.

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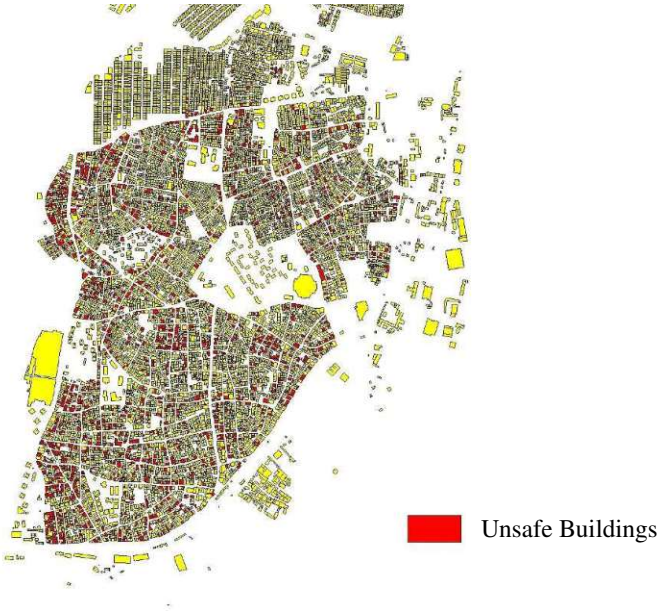

Figure 29. Distribution of the high-risk buildings in Zeytinburnu (Yakut, Ozcebe, and Yucemen 2006, 1200).

The removal of these buildings is one of the urgent measures planned. The Zeytinburnu Strategic Plan is composed of a workload spanning 20 years, involving activities at three stages – the Urgent Action Plan, the *Mahalle* Regeneration Action Plan, and the Zeytinburnu Development Action Plan. The first five years (first and second stages of the project) encompasses activities related to seismic safety: the removal of buildings at high risk of collapse; the opening of evacuation corridors and earthquake gathering areas (in the areas of the removed high-risk buildings) as emergency meeting places;[253] the construction of temporary and permanent residential housing for the inhabitants of the removed buildings; the retrofitting of public buildings; the relocation of hazardous industries away from residential areas; and the organization of crisis management. The establishment of community centers for communication and organization among inhabitants, NGOs, and public and private actors, as well as action plans for transformation areas, were planned to start at the second stage and continue into the third stage, which concerns mainly long-term development projects, such as transportation projects. Although the demolition of risky buildings and relocation of inhabitants was the initial plan, it could not be realized due to the "lack of legal and administrative basis" (Erdik and Durukal 2008, 193).

The development of several urban regeneration models in selected neighborhoods having a concentration of high-risk buildings (*Mahalle* Regeneration Action Plan) is one of the main

[253] One of the projects prepared for Zeytinburnu in accordance with the Strategic Plan is the "Green Corridor Project." See Aksoy (2010) for a pre-study of the existing green areas in Zeytinburnu. See also Sadri and Prehl (2014) on the project.

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components of the Zeytinburnu Pilot Project. The studies to determine urban regeneration areas has identified 5 neighborhoods as priority neighborhoods.[254] Sümer, with its ratio of risky buildings twice that of Zeytinburnu (12%), is maybe the one project realized so far – even if only partly – in this Action Plan. In the project area, containing 161 buildings comprising 1,250 units, the ratio of high-risk buildings increases to 47%.

Figure 30. The land owned by Koç Holding and developed by YDA. Today the Istanbul (blue)/ The soccer field. Today *Sahilpark* (yellow)/ The renewal area, where *LocaMahal* has been built (red). See the pictures below.

Figure 31. On the left *the Istanbul* (the area marked blue above), on the right *LocaMahal* and *Sahilpark* (marked yellow and red above).

[254] Sümer, Seyitnizam, Çırpıcı, Maltepe, and Telsiz districts were identified as first-degree priority regions by the Plan-Art Team. Within the project areas for relocation and transfer also determined. See Kubat et al. (2008).

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The approximately five hectare project area consists of 1,038 dwelling units and 212 commercial units. In the first stage of the project, a park with a soccer field on public land (about one and a half hectares) in the north of the project area was added to the project to construct new buildings – called *Sahilpark* – to which part of the property owners were resettled. My research in the news reveals complex project financing involving additionally a private landowner as well as a developer. The land (around 10,5 hectares) belonging to Koç Holding on the other side of the street, which accommodated a former textile factory until the 1990s, was developed by YDA, an Ankara based real estate developer. YDA has also built 640 dwelling units on the soccer field in exchange for rezoning (Waite 2020) of the land owned by Koç Holding. YDA delivered 440 of the new dwellings to KİPTAŞ, an IMM-owned company responsible for the implementation of the project. These dwelling units were exchanged for the dwellings in the renewal area: For a 100 m² unit in the project area, the property owner got a 75m² dwelling unit and a 25 m² parking lot in the newly built *Sahilpark*. One would be able to get a bigger unit if they paid the difference.

The construction of a luxury housing project on private land, *the Istanbul*, began after the completion of *Sahilpark.* The project, in addition to other high-rise buildings, also contains two residential tower blocks with 36 floors, the flats in which were sold for 5000 USD/m², while the flats in *Sahilpark* were sold for 2,600 TL/m². This financial model was portrayed in the media as a modern version of Robin Hood, taking from the rich and giving to the poor,[255] ignoring the financial returns the developer and landowner will get with the guarantee provided by the public authority.

After the completion of the first stage, the project was stopped because the increased burden to the public by this model was not sustainable. The project area, on which the pilot project was started to develop models for urban regeneration, was then declared in 2013 to be a zone of risk by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization according to the Urban Transformation Law (6306) enacted in 2012, to which I shall turn below as well as in chapters 5 and 6. After this decision, the project area, on which the new project *Loca Mahal* was built by KİPTAŞ, was totally vacated. The Zeytinburnu District now has five declared zones of risk.

[255] *Milliyet*, 4.06.2011. Available at: https://www.milliyet.com.tr/ekonomi/the-istanbul-veliefendi-koc-un-damek-ni-olacak-1398319

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Figure 32. Looking at *SahilPark* (marked yellow above) from the renewal area (marked red above, demolished now) in Sümer.

Figure 33. *LocaMahal* (marked red above).

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Spread risk

The distribution pattern of buildings with high risk, according to Haluk Sucuoğlu, the coordinator of the risk assessment study of the six most risky districts of Istanbul referred to above, makes risk reduction through urban renewal impossible. The study clearly shows that the buildings with high risk, predicted to suffer heavy damage or collapse, are buildings with five to eight stories that are spread all throughout the districts. These buildings have to be either demolished or retrofitted.[256] This study validated the former tacit knowledge sometimes illustrated by comparison to a bomb, as in the quotation below:

> The irregular urban texture of Istanbul is more worrying than the magnitude of the earthquake. 50 thousand unauthorized buildings that are spread within the 800 thousand buildings of Istanbul like lethal bombs have to be identified and eliminated.[257]

Neither the initial limited retrofitting proposal by Erdik et al. (2000) nor the IMM's attempt to demolish and relocate the riskiest buildings could be realized, as I have already mentioned. The problem, though, persisted, and became even more acute, as the risk assessment study above demonstrated. Additionally, people have a very concrete sense of the materiality of buildings and to collapses, due to the high visibility of the earthquake scenes in the media focused on rescue operations and stories about seemingly safe buildings collapsing. Each earthquake people have experienced has increased their demands to have the authorities evaluate the resistance of their buildings as well as find solutions.

The "survival project" (Balamir 2005a, 2) was replaced by a market solution with the Urban Transformation Law (6306), bringing together two basic categories of risk: risky building and zone of risk. The rebuilding of individual buildings and entire city blocks has been transforming the formal settlements with high land value, while the *post facto* legalized and densely built districts have fewer opportunities if there are not more development rights than the existing built state, since the costs of construction remain the same in different locations, while prices for individual flats differ enormously.[258]

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[256] However, retrofitting has been carried out only by a small number of wealthier owners or for public buildings (Çamlıyurt 2010).

[257] Mehmet Ali Şahin, a member of the Parliament, at a symposium on the anticipated earthquake organized by IMM and Istanbul Technical University. See https://v3.arkitera.com/h5862-istanbul-depreminde-50-bin-bina-yikilacak.html

[258] D. C. Harvey (2017) shows how differing land values and recovery policies in combination affect reconstruction after disasters and marginalize poor urban areas.

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Consequences of the Equalization of Informality with Risk

One of the consequences of the discourses on risks in the built environment, especially from the planning perspective, is the equalization of informality with risk. The density in the informally emerged but later legalized and densified neighborhoods makes urban transformation a real challenge. The financial difficulty of renewal at the neighborhood scale in these densely built settlements has made the *gecekondu* settlements a direct target for the urban renewal according to the provisions of the Urban Transformation Law (6306). In its initial form, a zone of risk has been defined as one in which there is risk of life and property loss due to conditions of the ground or the building stock on it, to be determined by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (CSB) through the application of local administration. For the latter, a rapid risk assessment method has been introduced in the bylaw. The identification of a zone of risk by this method is the responsibility of the local administration that applies to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, delivering the documentation of the risk assessment report and laboratory results for the typical buildings representative of each category of buildings in the area. The area is then declared as a zone of risk by the President.[259]

Looking through the lens of environmental risk at *gecekondu* areas is seemingly new and has been contested from the beginning. For example, Turan Mengcür, the president of the Yakacık Yenimahalle Solidarity Association, as he explained to me, confronted an earthquake engineer who was informing about seismic risks in a public meeting: "Look at the buildings that collapsed in the recent earthquake. They are all buildings with plans. You cannot show me even one *gecekondu* that collapsed and caused death. I urge you to make this issue public."[260] The engineer, as I was informed, has indeed talked about this encounter and the "truth" in the media.

[259] In the initial form by the Council of Ministers.

[260] Green's (2008) article shows that this view is not a singular case. There is widespread suspicion among the gecekondu inhabitants towards the professions of planning and engineering. However, there are also gecekondu neighborhoods which have been working with activist planners and engineers in their struggle against the renewal projects, in negotiations processes with municipalities, as well as self-initiated planning attempts like the Derbent, Karanfilköy, and Gülsuyu-Gülensu neighborhoods.

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Figure 34. Yakacık, Kartal.

"Zone of risk" is not a completed stable category that is settled once and for all but has been reshaped through multiple factors, objectives, calculations, and contestations. Inhabitants of neighborhoods declared to be zones of risk after 2012 also juridically contested these decisions with success.[261] The State Council overturned various decisions regarding zone of risk because of the ambiguity in the determination criteria of zone of risk and suggested that such decisions should be backed up scientifically so that no suspicion remains. The category of zone of risk was expanded in 2016[262] to include areas where (1) public order and safety are disturbed to the degree that everyday life is disrupted; (2) there are inadequate planning services or infrastructure, or there are damaged infrastructure and buildings incompatible with the Development Law; (3) 65% of the entire building stock is unauthorized or *post facto* authorized.[263] The equalization of risk with informality of the built environment has now been established[264] despite the contestations. With this amendment, the juridical

[261] The Chamber of Architects and Bir Umut Association, through which jurists and planners have been collaborating with the neighborhood associations, were crucial in these juridical contestations.
[262] The amendment to the Urban Transformation Law (6306) with an omnibus law (6704), dated 14.04.2016. See also chapter 5.
[263] See also chapter 5.
[264] There are few exceptions to this. One is the early examples of social housing built by the state in the 1950s and 1960s. They entail old building stock built in a very low density pattern to accommodate low-income groups and have remained now at the attractive locations of the city – e.g., Tozkopran in Güngören District (see figure 39). The second category is housing built by cooperatives in the 1980s and 1990s which are identified as risky in the early risk assessment studies and the Earthquake Master Plan. These should be considered

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establishment of informality as risk as a category is the second consequence of the discourses and practices discussed in this chapter, continuing to cause a wide range socio-material effects for the inhabitants of the declared zones of risk, which I will turn to in chapter 6. This would not be possible without the convergence of the discourses and practices of risk with the already existing discourse of informal urbanization as maldevelopment.

I want to give a last example of how the methods and tools of risk and vulnerability analysis reproduce a risk map similar to the one of maldevelopment: Kundak's (2006) attempt at developing a model to analyze vulnerabilities and risks, which groups 15 variables ranging from the threat to vulnerable populations into five categories. One of these variables is the ratio of unplanned buildings in the *mahalle*. According to this analysis, the ten most vulnerable *mahalles* are all informally emerged *mahalles*[265] with a ratio of over 84 % of their buildings unplanned, even though, according to the category of the threat, the ten *mahalles* with the highest score are in three districts: Avcılar, Bakırköy, and Bahçelievler. The problem is that the category of vulnerability includes only data on the age of *mahalle*, the number of dwelling units, the ratio of unplanned buildings, the ratio of vulnerable populations, average land value, and the number of schoolchildren. However, vulnerability alone does not account for risk: there must be exposure to a hazard and the potential for damage. The category of vulnerability accounts for 18.9% of the overall risk value. Another problem, however, is that the calculations are based on various assumptions. The age of *mahalle* and the land value, for example, are taken as negative factors, e.g. assuming that the older the *mahalle* the stronger the buildings and that populations living in the *mahalles* with higher land value are more willing to "strengthen their near environment" (Kundak and Türkoğlu 2007, 42). Thus, three of the five categories automatically function to increase the vulnerability rating of the informally emerged *mahalles*. All of this is based on the claim that lack of planning, in addition to an earthquake's intensity, plays the biggest role in increasing the earthquake's risks.

different from the first category since they are built densely. It could be appropriate to treat these similarly to the category of risky building, since the land is owned collectively and managed by a body. Some of these areas were declared as risk zones due to the conflicts and problems in the renewal process after the renewal negotiations with private developers failed. A declaration of risk zone is mostly a solution to these problems. Examples of the zones of risk in this category are concentrated in Bağcılar District.

[265] Bağcılar, Demirkapı; Bağcılar, Fatih; Ümraniye, Nazım Karabekir; Esenler, Oruç Reis; Küçükçekmece, Halkalı Merkez; Güngören, Güneştepe; Bahçelievler, Zafer; Pendik, Kavakpınar; Bağcılar, Kirazlı Fevzi Çakmak.

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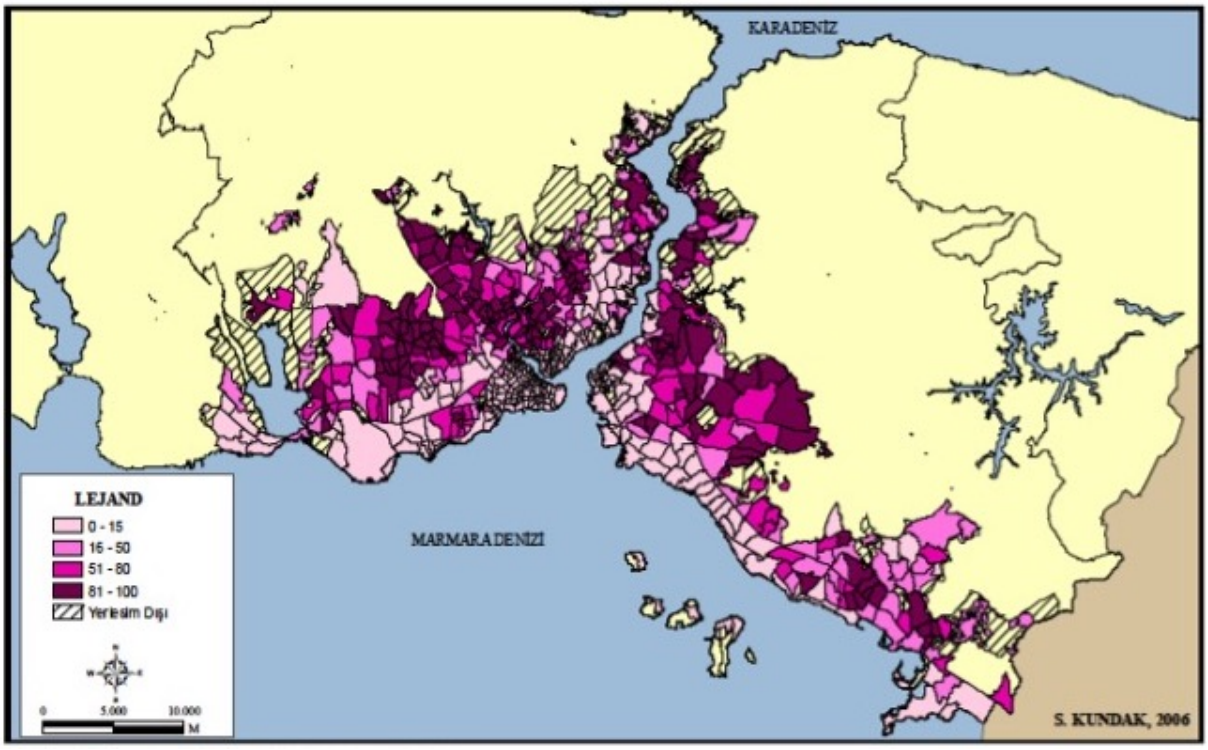

Figure 35. Map showing *Mahalles* according to the ratio of the unplanned buildings (Kundak 2006, 83).

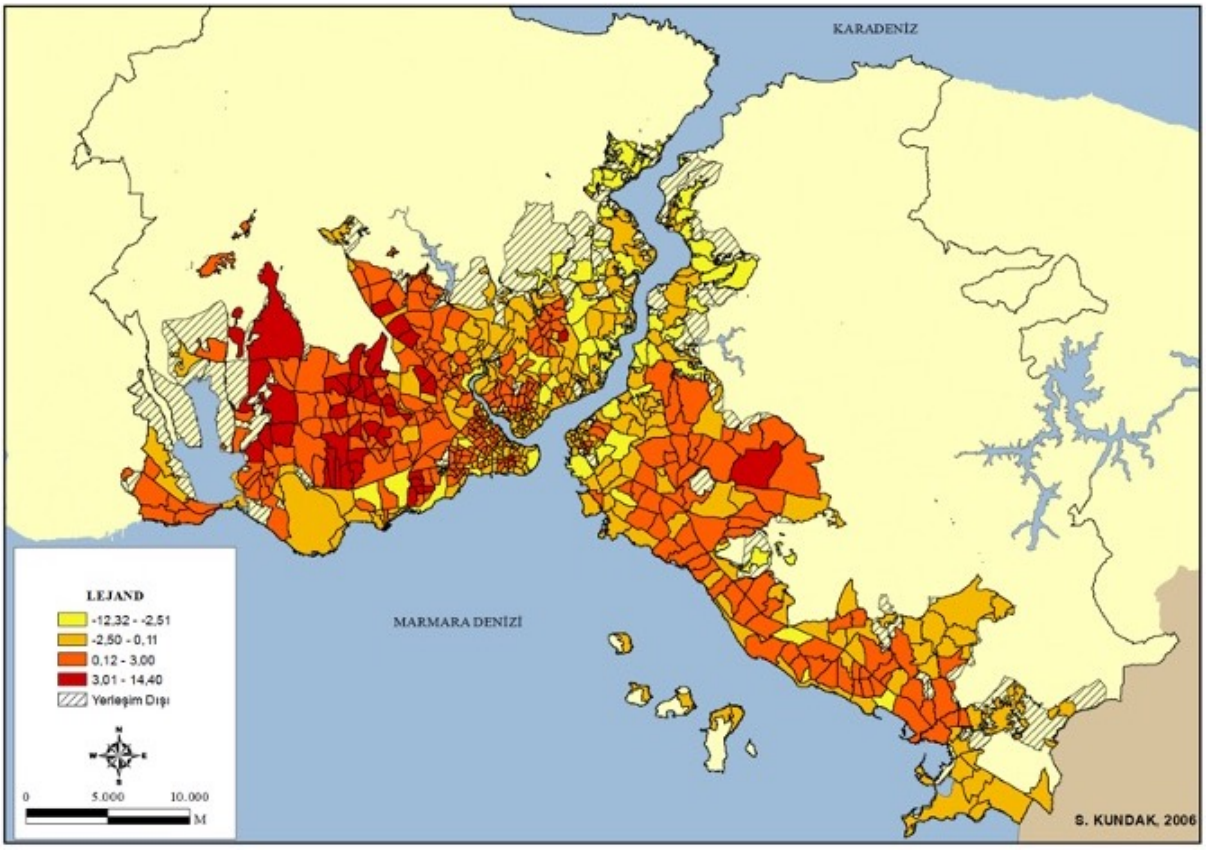

Figure 36. Map showing *Mahalles* according to the total scores of variables (Kundak 2006, 132).

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The assumed relationship between the informal neighborhoods and risk paradoxically corresponds to the marginalization theories in the scholarly works on disasters. According to these theories, there seems to be a parallel between the degree of marginalization and the dangerousness of the environmental conditions the marginalized live in. This thesis "is rooted in a representation of the environment as hazard" (Collins 2009, 590; 2010). Where the conditions of the places in which *gecekondus* emerged, perhaps not so attractive at the beginning due to their difficult topography and lack of infrastructure, we now have a dual process: while they are considered to be risky environments, their geophysical conditions – except for some alongside the riverbeds – turned out to be desirable: centrality, proximity to the forests, attractive views, solid ground. In the Strategic Plan proposed in the Earthquake Master Plan by BU-YTU group, these areas are characterized as potential future risky areas if they are legalized and allowed to develop further. While the legal and socio-economic status of the inhabitants of these areas preventing them from undertaking risk reduction measures were indicated as being problems, the low density and attractive location were recognized as opportunities for urban regeneration:

> Some unplanned areas are situated on the best spots of the metropolis in terms of natural environment or accessibility. From this viewpoint, the location rent of these areas can be used as a financial instrument for urban redevelopment. ... Low building density in unplanned areas presents opportunities for vast transformations (IMM 2003, 198).

There is also a separate but related development in the discourse on *gecekondu* and the environment: The places occupied by *gecekondus* and vastly urbanized are conceived – also as nature, external to society – as being misused and degraded by *gecekondus*. They are deemed an environmental risk to the city's natural resources.

The vulnerability and risk approaches may have made inequality a concern for disaster politics. Some effects of these discussions have, however, reproduced the geography of maldevelopment and brought new risks to disadvantaged groups. The discourse of crude urbanization as maldevelopment and the discourse of risk converged and produced this unevenly distributed hybrid notion of risk. These are not some representations separated from material reality; rather, they shape the reality in which the poor inhabitants of the *gecekondus,* who may not be at risk in their low-density buildings on solid ground, have been put at risk through the urban transformation projects, leading to biopolitical implications, of which I will briefly survey in the concluding chapter.

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Figure 37. Gaziosmanpaşa

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5. The *Legal Complex of Emergency*

On October 23, 2011, an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.2 struck seventeen kilometers from Van, one of the more economically disadvantaged cities of Turkey. Shortly thereafter, on November 9, another earthquake hit the city. A total of 644 died and 1,966 were injured,[266] while 2,262 buildings were destroyed and eight percent of all the buildings declared heavily damaged. Only thirty percent of the buildings were undamaged. Even the inhabitants of the undamaged houses lived outside their homes for days – some stayed in shelters for months – out of fear (Schäfers 2016, 231).

A materialized earthquake has this kind of power to "bring the danger of future earthquakes" that surpasses all the scientific arguments and public rhetoric (Hough 2010, 20). After the popularization of the urban transformation after the Kocaeli Earthquake, attempts at making an all-encompassing urban transformation law merely created a fragmented legal frame – that is, until the Van Earthquake. The urban transformation law, unable to be enacted for years, was legislated with a new formulation and a strong focus on disaster risks in May 2012, *in record time, just seven months* after the earthquake in Van. The Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk (6306), commonly called the "Disaster Law" or "the Urban Transformation Law,"[267] includes regulations "improved" through the renewal experiences in the 2000s and equips administrations with tools and authorizations that expand their powers and reach.

During the discussions of the draft law in Parliament, Mahmut Tanal, a parliament member from the opposition party, claimed that the conclusion to be drawn from the draft law, especially because of the provision prohibiting the courts from deciding on stays of execution, is that "the government declared an invisible state of emergency."[268] The Urban Transformation Law (6303) has been criticized by others as being an exceptional law (Şahin

[266] AFAD, Disaster Report on the Van Earthquake: https://www.afad.gov.tr/afet-raporu---van-depremi#
[267] The term Disaster Law could create confusion with the Disaster Law (7269, enacted in 1959) that regulated practices governing disasters. Therefore, I have used "the Urban Transformation Law" in this study.
[268] Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), General Meeting Protocol, 24th Period, 2nd Legislative Year, 107th Meeting, 16 May 2012 Wednesday, 45-46.
https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem24/yil2/bas/b107m.htm

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2013) to which the whole law is subordinated, for the latter will, in cases where it contradicts the Urban Transformation Law, be suspended: The legislation enacted for urban transformation suspends the articles of the law virtually in all cases where they conflict with the Urban Transformation Law. It also paved the way for the potential violation of some civil rights and freedoms recognized in the Turkish Constitution and Turkish Law, such as the right to life, the right to private property, the right to settle, and the right to housing (ibid.), mostly by referring to anticipated disasters and the provisions regulating states of emergency and states of disaster.

According to Çavdar and Tan (2013b), the government, through the Renewal Law (5366), has been trying to include the formerly excluded spaces of marginalized populations like Tarlabasi. This state of exception was limited to the marginalized populations and historical districts until the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law (6306) that, using the justification of earthquake threat, systematizes this model and expands it potentially to the whole country and all its citizens. The Agambenian conclusion they reach is that the state of exception was "normalized and turned into the norm" (ibid., 11), and that we all became potentially *homines sacri*.[269] Thus, the sovereign reorganization of space accompanies the sovereign reorganization of citizen-state and citizen-citizen relationships.

As we will see, it is true that exceptional measures, authorizations, and references to the State of Emergency Law were not introduced solely in the Urban Transformation Law (6306, enacted in 2012). The Renewal Law (5366, enacted in 2005) had already included some of the provisions enabling these exceptional measures, instruments, and authorizations. Approaching the exceptional solely from the perspective of the sovereign decision and as a limit case, however, involves some problems and lets the complex terrain be monopolized by a particular theoretical paradigm. What I am interested in here is reflecting on what this kind of reading enables or hinders in the understanding of this process, and how can we conceive the role of the law among the practices performing *emergency as an effect*.

Provisions authorizing exceptional juridical tools might seem to fit perfectly the concept of the state of exception in its Schmittian and Agambenian versions. However, suspension is but one practice in this legal complex of emergency, which does not create a lawless space

[269] The biopolitical assumptions, such as the equal subjection of all and their actual implications, will be explored in the concluding chapter of this work. The bare life is not distributed evenly in a society, not even potentially.

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but a "hyperlegality" (Hussain 2007) in which provisions proliferate, new categories and practices are codified and generalized, exceptional tools are redeployed, new juridical tools are created, legal ambiguities are produced,[270] and the powers of some administrative bodies extended while others' are limited; in sum, it does not suspend or preserve the Law but expands its reach. The Law, as I already mentioned in chapter 1, does not merely respond to an emergency (seen as an objective fact), nor does it misuse or fake an emergency (emergency as fiction), but rather participates in the performative practices of emergency. It is part of *emergencyscape*. It is important to note here that the state is not interested in declarations of states of emergency or states of disaster, as clearly stated in the aims of the Draft Bill of the Urban Transformation Law, but, on the contrary, actively avoids them by claiming emergency and exception, by embracing the exceptional. Claiming and embracing emergency does not defer the law's application nor preserve it, but actively deploys it and expands its control over social life.

Challenging the Urban Transformation Law (6306) as a state of exception only criticizes the misuse of exception and leaves the relationship of the law to exception intact. It limits our discussion to the problems of the sovereign decision and of the objectivity/subjectivity of the exceptional event. I do not begin with the question of whether the anticipated disaster is a matter of factual emergency, subjective necessity, or fiction. Instead, I examine how the emergency is performed by law, in legal texts, in the process of law-making and juridical contestation, and court decisions as part of a wider field of practices that perform emergency through definitions, anticipations, assessments, calculations, etc. The law does not stand outside of the techno-political field legitimizing power and violence. On the contrary, it actively facilitates violence, power, and subjectivities. It is not that there are power relations, nor that the law is a representation of these relations or an instrument of some powerful subjects. The law co-constitutes power relations alongside other techniques. There is neither a linear-temporal nor a topographical-spatial relationship between power relations and law. Law is itself a technique of power and should be analyzed as such.

When we think of the problem as a sovereign suspension of law and the production of space devoid of law, lawlessness, we label the process as a problem of arbitrariness and simply leave the law intact. This way of thinking hinders from understanding the law as a technique of government and its relationship to other techniques. I will not approach these practices for

[270] See also Türkün and Yapıcı (2008) and Kuyucu (2014).

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being exceptional to the law or, better stated, as being outside the law, to avoid foreclosing any possible understanding of the role of law in such processes. Following Esmeir (2012, 2015) and Hussain (2007), I will approach exceptions not as being outside the law (nor a threshold) but as legal tools that expand the scope and reach of the law's power. Therefore, I will trace them in the already existing tools and statutes that aim to expand the colonizing power of the law on social life. It is necessary to step outside the law/exception binary and treat exception as a legal tool, and suspension as a legal practice of modern law. To look at the provisions, the exceptional tools deployed, exceptional laws referred, and some others invented, would reveal more about "exception" than abstract theoretical paradigms. Instead of the imposition of some theoretical paradigms, we should take juridical practices into account on their own terms and look at how they regulate the practices of planning, building, and contestation, as well as how the law is itself shaped by these practices. In this way, I could study law not as the *Law* but as the *legal complex*[271] *of emergency,* a part of *emergencyscape,* in order to reveal the participation of the law in the making of emergency.

Another problem arising when we think about the relationship of law and space from the perspective of the concept of sovereignty is that space and law are rendered passive objects of the sovereign agency that distributes law over space (or withdraws from it). Note here that we think of space as a concrete material object and law as an abstract ideal object (Delaney 2010; Braverman et al. 2014). Is it possible to think of law and space on their own terms and as being more constitutive, actively shaping each other and constituting power?[272] This could be more attentive to the role of law in the production of space, but also to the role of the production of the built environment in the production of historical juridical order. It is important to follow the arguments and data not only from the perspective of how the law participates in the production of the space, but also from the reverse perspective: how the production of the built environment also takes part in and influences the production of law, as the histories of private property and colonization show. The production of territorial, regional, and urban spaces and property regimes has also shaped Turkish Law, from whose history the histories of exception have been erased.

[271] I am borrowing the term "legal complex" from Rose and Valverde (1998), who borrow it from Foucault and develop it further.

[272] Delaney (2010) problematizes the conception of space and law as autonomously existing domains and proposes two terms for legal geography to understand the relationship between law and space from a perspective of governmentality and performativity: nomospaces and nomosphere. These scrutinize both as being fused, as ensembles involving also ideologies, values, power relationships, and materialities.

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Theories of Exception

There is no such thing as 'The Law' (Rose and Valverde 1998, 545).

There seem to be three dominant approaches to the relationship of law to the assumed separate materialities it tries to govern: decisionism, formalism, and instrumentalism. While formalism attributes to law an absolute autonomy and locates its autonomy in its formal functioning in a closed system,[273] instrumentalism sees law as one of the direct representations of the material and social world of economic power relations, and in this sense as an instrument of domination (Bourdieu 1987, 814). The ostensible contradiction between these approaches disappears at the point where they both reaffirm the law's separateness and abstractedness from the material world. Approaching it as separate from the social and material world only becomes possible by erasing its historical conditions. In this way, the law grounds and maintains its neutrality, abstractness, and universality (T. Mitchell 2002).

Schmitt's sovereign exception seems to contest the self-referentiality of law by arguing that singular cases introduce a *gap* between the materiality of the case and the ideality of the explicitly formulated law. For Schmitt (1912), this gap is the place of the decision that cannot be bridged in the judgement with references in a closed system.[274] He identifies the decision as the external element in this system in his early work.[275] In his later work, *Political Theology* (1985 [1922]), he similarly introduces the decision by the sovereign to bridge the gap between the law and the material world. Here in this gap, the exception as unforeseeable dangerous materiality manifests itself as excess, which cannot be captured by the law. In this case, according to Schmitt, the application of the law in "normal conditions" is assured by its suspension.

As I discussed in chapter 1, Agamben (2005) contests the factuality of the exceptional event. Through states of exception, "a threshold of undecidability is produced at which *factum* and *ius* fade into each other" (ibid., 29), and "what is decided is [...] in truth,

[273] The grounding work of formalism is Hart's *The Concept of Law*. Bourdieu (1987) looks at the juridical field as a social field and believes that it is the juridical field's social characteristic that lends to law autonomy as well as responsiveness to the outside world.
[274] This can be embedded in a broader discussion, for which there is no place here: the paradox of the law's character of being determined but at the same time responsive. This paradox, according to Fitzpatrick (1992, 2001b), could only be overcome through the mythology paradoxically based on the idea of the temporal distance of the law to mythology and "primitive" societies. Interesting also is how time has become constituent in this self-narrative of modern law in particular and modernity in general.
[275] See Samuel Weber (2012, 11) for an elaboration of Schmitt's earlier work *Gesetz and Urteil* (1912).

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something undecidable in fact and law" (ibid., 30). For Agamben, Schmitt's attempt to place this anomie into the law through the fiction of the sovereignty disguises the law's original form, its "inoperativity," which comes to light in the state of exception (McLoughlin 2016):

> [T]he state of exception is neither internal nor external to the juridical order, and the problem of defining it concerns precisely a threshold, or a zone of indifference, where inside and outside do not exclude each other but rather blur with one another (Agamben 2005, 27).

Agamben transforms "Schmitt's temporal distinction between normal and exceptional politics into a spatial topology of inclusive-exclusion," and by so doing he "is able to identify the persistence of exceptional sites of emergency governance signifying the advent of a permanent 'state of emergency'" (Zebrowski 2019, 151). Agamben's second move concerns the temporality of the exception: If Schmitt's work is interested in the "conception of exception," which is a temporary state, Agamben declares its bankruptcy and theorizes the "conception of the exception-as-the-rule" (Huysmans 2008, 167). Agamben moves on with the same distinctions, formulated as fact and law, exception, and rule, but claims that the distinction had recently (between the two world wars) collapsed, as the exception had become the rule, while blurring these in a zone of indistinction and revealing the originary relationship between the law and violence. His concern is not returning to the law but keeping its inoperativity visible in order to find a radically new philosophy of political action which deposes the law and does not constitute a new law.

Coloniality of the Exception Paradigm and the *Legal Complex of Emergency*

The permanence of states of emergency as recent phenomena has been contested.[276] Schmitt and Agamben[277] do not seem to be interested in the particular histories of the modern law,

[276] See Berda (2020), Hussain (2003), Mbembe (2003), Neocleous (2006, 2008), Reynolds (2017), Svirsky and Bignall (2012).

[277] Agamben indeed seems not to be interested in the historical and material circumstances and singularities of the cases, but in the capacity of a singular case to be schematized, generalized, and used as a paradigm so that it sheds light on contemporary politics. This is, in fact, what causes his paradigms – e.g., exception, camp, *homo sacer* – to be widely used and extended to unforeseen areas, dominating various areas of study. These types of diagrams of power carefully drawn through paradigms have therefore the authority of abstraction: the careful reduction of the content, materialities, events, and socialities to diagrams, the extraction of schemes, and neatly displaced and reconstructed relations. The absence of social and material details sustains their abstract, universal functionality, and therefore generates their wide applicability – interestingly similar to the law's abstractness and universal applicability. See chapter 1. However, it also creates various political implications that he may not have intended. One example is the liberal claim of the need to return to the mythic pre-exception-as-rule period – even by scholars who identify themselves as radical leftists – so that state of emergency is confined to its contemporary status, and the norm/exception distinction becomes again clear. For

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especially in its colonial career (Svirsky and Bignall 2012). Nasser Hussain (2003) has already shown how practices of emergency governance in the colonies (exception) were constitutive of the development of Western legality. Techniques of the colonial emergency rule in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century were subsequently used in Ireland in the second half of the century.

Postulating exception as the limit of the law is, however, not helpful in understanding the law as a technique of governing. It leaves modern law untouched and reproduces its narrative (Esmeir 2012, 2015). Other scholars of colonialism have tried to look at the law-exception nexus as a technique of modern law. Timothy Mitchell (2002), for example, examines in the second chapter of his book *Rule of Experts* how the property law – "rules true in every country" – and exception nexus was one of the tools that led to the colonization of Egypt. He discloses how the separateness of law from material practices involving and initiated by it lends the law its abstract and universal character which has been, in turn, thought to be capable of capturing the material and social world at any location:

> The history of private property is rather silent on the conditions that produced it and the precedents incorporated into it. [...] Presented as a history of legislation, of an abstraction, it has little to say about how private property was actually constituted in a particular place. The abstract arrives from elsewhere, and its particular histories are incidental rather than part of its nature. If its emergence had something to do with individual appropriations, exceptional decisions, or acts of violence, these belonged to the past, from which the present was now ruptured. The break in history caused by the colonial occupation, by the arrival of modernity and civilization, helped to establish the universal character of law. The ad hoc, violent, and exceptional character of the law of property was entirely hidden by the presentation of law as something abstract, as a universal rule, with its origins elsewhere, applied to particular circumstances (2002, 57).

This temporal gap, created by rupture and "tense" (Povinelli, 2011), helps the law to establish its abstract, timeless, and universal character by hiding the exceptional violence in its initiation. In this way, the distinction between the ideality of the modern law and its realization is also possible, helping the law to colonize the social and material world without losing its ideal universality. Even the critiques of the colonial character of modern law reproduce this distinction by attributing to the colonial law hypocrisy for excluding indigenous populations from the universal ideals of the modern law in its realization. Esmeir (2012, 2015) proposes that, rather than seeing the suspension of the ideals of the modern law in its realization not as existentially contradicting the law (as in the law and lawlessness binary), we look at both as being something similar, as legalities. She rejects treating exceptions as a space empty of law, rules, and juridical mechanisms. Instead, exceptions –

a critique in this direction and why it is problematic see Neocleous (2006). See also Hussain (2007) for why claiming a return to the law hinders actual ethical and political responses.

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like administrative courts, military tribunals, etc. – are neither extra-legal nor outside the law, but "pervasive legalities" belonging to the legal techniques that helped colonial governments realize the promise of the modern law: gapless control of the social and material world. Instead of an inside-outside topography or a zone of indistinction, she speaks of multiple legalities (2012) creating what she calls "elastic positivism" (2015, 22). Declaring them to be exceptions to the modern law is a technique that maintains the abstract ideals as teleological ends, the promise of the realization of the ideals of the modern law:

> Instead of beginning with a fixed, singular, modern law and pointing to its exceptions, we might wish to begin with plural legalities, which simultaneously constitute law and mark its temporary exterior. In this case, we would attend to the production of the general juridical order, not to its exceptions. We might not find a zone of indistinction, expanding in certain times and shrinking in others. Rather, we may begin to see the entire history of law as a history of zones transgressing rules, purifying them, and mixing them up (Esmeir 2012, 232).

Similarly, later work by Hussain (2007) contests the idea that Guantanamo is an archetypical form of camp, an empty space outside the law, a lawless space. For him, Guantanamo is not an exception *par excellence* but an example of hyperlegality, and treating it as an exception has problematic political consequences. Labeling the practices at Guantanamo as exceptions ignores the fact that what we are witnessing is the "proliferation of new laws and regulations passed in an *ad hoc* or tactical manner, administrative procedures, and the use of older laws and cases tweaked and transformed for newer purposes" which is "almost hyperlegality" (Hussain 2007, 741), and these must be read in the continuum of the regulation of immigration in the 1990s. According to him, the quasi-monopolization of this issue by a single theoretical paradigm of exception leads to the claim that we should return to the rule of law, misleading and obscuring the political and ethical response needed.

What Esmeir calls "elastic positivism," and Hussain "hyperlegality," are attuned to the notion of "legal complex" – borrowed from Foucault by Rose and Valverde (1998, 542) – "refer[ring] to the assemblage of legal practices, legal institutions, statutes, legal codes, authorities, discourses, texts, norms and forms of judgment." Why I have chosen to use especially this notion in this section's subtitle – the legal complex of emergency – is that it goes beyond what elastic positivism and hyperlegality problematize, namely the law-exception dichotomy, and entails non-legal domains of government, especially expert knowledge. This notion problematizes autonomous law and its relationship to other techniques of government: "[T]he authorities who produce, define and delimit a problem for government by law may not themselves be legal at all" (ibid., 546). It opens the production (as well as suspension) of law to other fields of practice, thus to the production of the built environment, planning experts, architects, seismologists, and so on. Further, it has the

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capacity to consider the law in its relation to affects. Even though many clues will be found in the empirical details in my discussion of the case, these two last points, the relationship of law to knowledge and affect, cannot be explored in this chapter in detail; I will, however, briefly reflect on them in the concluding section.

Before I go into the details of my discussion of the exceptional provisions of urban transformation laws and their theoretical implications, I will briefly give context to and background information on the urban transformation laws as well as the state of exception/law relationship in Turkey. The frame in which I will discuss urban transformation laws is restricted to my aim of finding an approach to theoretically analyze exception/law differently. It is not possible to give a space to each regulation, nor one can elaborate every aspect of urban transformation law in a single chapter. Nevertheless, I will return to law, various provisions, and prescribed procedures again in the concluding chapter.

Histories of Exception in Turkey

In Turkey, the exception is neither a new concept nor exceptional. Total, partial or quasi suspensions of law, and accompanying discourses of threats, political, economic, and social risks, seem to be almost regular phenomena when looking at the history of the labor and property regime, coups d'état, and the governing of Turkish Kurdistan, as well as urban policing in ethnically marked neighborhoods. Since the establishment of the Republic and its first constitution, we can observe the gradual incorporation of emergency powers into the law, creating more "an enabling legal environment than a constricting normative structure" (Parslow 2016, 34).

The contemporary Turkish Constitution differentiated between two forms of exceptional governance, *sıkıyönetim* (state of siege) and *OHAL* (state of exception or state of emergency), until the latest constitutional changes[278] in 2017, when *sıkıyönetim* was removed from the constitution, and in 2018 when the law regulating *sıkıyönetim* was annulled.[279] Already the constitution of the Republic made provision for the "extraordinary circumstances" in which certain individual rights could be limited or suspended, and it granted to the government

[278] On 16.4.2017, a constitutional change containing eighteen articles was voted upon.
[279] The State of Siege Law (1402), enacted in 1971, was repealed with Article 3 of Law 7145 on 25.7.2018.

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the authority to declare a state of siege, the *idare-i örfiyye*, having originated in the first modern constitution of the Ottoman Empire to become later in 1945 the *sıkıyönetim*.

To repress the religious rebellion of Sheikh Said in Kurdistan, a military regime was established in fourteen provinces with a *post hoc* declaration by the Assembly. The legal form of this regime was created by the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu*) and gave way to other administrative bodies – Independence Courts[280] – that executed juridical practices outside the normal courts (Parslow 2016, 37). The last of a total of eleven states of siege was declared throughout the country after the military coup in 1980, though the history of states of emergency does not end with this last state of siege: The term OHAL (state of emergency) was introduced to the Turkish juridical-political system with the 1982 Constitution – created under the military regime after the coup d'état in 1980. With this constitution, the military regime established a form of civil governance that enables the military to interfere in civil politics and administration without directly governing. It gives authority to the executive forces to declare a state of emergency and govern with the help of decrees, or temporary laws, while in *sıkıyönetim* (state of siege) authority lies exclusively in the military. OHAL is a more diffused form of state of emergency, a civilian martial law that makes military law obsolete. In 1984, the newly established National Security Council (MGK)[281] lifted the state of siege and continued for four months the state of emergency. In the same year, the PKK, aka the Kurdistan Workers' Party, had become more visible in Kurdistan. In 1987, a state of emergency was declared in eight Kurdish cities with a decree (No. 285) and widened to various others and extended many times until in 2002 the new AKP government lifted it. Turkish Kurdistan was governed for fifteen years via the state of emergency. Between 2002 and 2015, Turkey witnessed no official declaration of a state of emergency, but the emergency regulations were mobilized to expropriate land and houses for various energy and mega infrastructure projects and urban transformation. In 2015, following the urban warfare with the PKK, "temporary security zones" were declared in some Kurdish cities. Following the failed military coup in 2016, a state of emergency was declared that lasted two years. Again, under a state of emergency regime, a constitutional change was approved in 2017 giving the president the exclusive power to declare a state of emergency and to publish decrees, while removing state of siege *(sıkıyönetim)* from the

[280] The martial regime, until the abolition of these courts in 1927, arrested 7,446 people and executed 660 (Parslow 2016, 38).
[281] The MGK enabled the military to interfere in parliamentary politics without needing to make use of a state of siege: e.g., a memorandum by the military forced the government in 1997 to step down, often called a postmodern coup.

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constitution. In 2018, the state of emergency, declared in 2016 for three months and extended five times, was lifted, but developments and new exceptional laws making a state of emergency obsolete are on the way.

It is not simply a suspension of the law and then a return to the law. Even though we cannot go into much detail, as seen in the very brief account above, each state of exception alters the law and incorporates the exceptional into the law. It is not simply a dichotomy of law-absence of law but various forms of legalities functioning in parallel and affecting the historical fixity of the law:

> Instead of conceptualizing sovereign legalities as situated at the threshold of law at its limit and thereby reproducing the dichotomy between inside and outside, even as one questions it, I suggest that we need to consider these spaces of sovereignty as the building blocks of the juridical order, as spaces signifying its capacities. It follows that the exterior of law is a matter of history, as is its interior. It is shifting and gives law its identity at specific historical and political moments. The singularity of law, to which exceptions can be identified, is the temporary fixity we are left with after the law has constituted its concept and produced its metanarrative of singularity (Esmeir 2012, 231).

If we exclude these building blocks of law from its history, we will not be able to approach our specific problematic, nor can we place it within the wider discussion of emergency/exception. Similarly, claiming simply that using states of emergency instrumentally to facilitate displacement or re-distribution of rent and land doesn't touch the history of the state of emergency and exceptional laws in the nationalization process, the creation of property and labor regimes, and the displacement-for-security politics in twentieth century Turkey (Parslow 2016). It is also not helpful in understanding the latest intensification of the deployment of states of emergency as well as post-emergency legal developments.[282] Gökariksel and Türem (2019, 184) point to the problem of treating exception as exceptional to the rule of law and nostalgia about the lost past, although "there is a certain banality to the state of exception." As they put it, the exception is exceptional neither to Turkish history nor to the current global political landscape.

Legal Frame of Urban Transformation

Urban transformation laws, unlike the Development Law, target the urbanized parts of cities. They are not the first laws regulating the urbanized areas *post facto*. Especially Law

[282] Yılmaz (2019) scrutinizes the case of Turkey as evidence that the state of exception has evolved from martial law into a complex legal and political form from the early years of its foundation to today. Arslanalp and Deniz Erkmen (2020) argue that a suspension of rights has not always needed a declaration of a state of emergency but is facilitated by a "mobile emergency rule." See also Erensü and Alemdaroğlu (2018) and Yonucu (2018).

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2891 (enacted in 1984) regulated how the *gecekondus* and illegal buildings would be legalized: legalization is not complete until after the production and application of improvement plans. Urban transformation laws, totally different from Law 2891,[283] prescribe renewal as the method for the transformation of these areas. The target of urban transformation is not just informal urbanized areas but also formally urbanized areas, which may be historical neighborhoods seen as "dilapidated" or neighborhoods vulnerable to disasters. Parallel to these different targets, laws authorize administrations to initiate urban transformation projects for aims grouped variously under development, aesthetics, and risk reduction.

The legal frame of urban transformation was created between 2004 and 2012. The term "urban transformation" was introduced into Turkish law for the first time in 2004 by a special law[284] legislated for a large urban transformation project in the north of Ankara. In the same year, municipalities were authorized to determine the boundaries of urban transformation areas.[285] TOKI, the Mass Housing Administration, the most powerful actor especially in urban transformation projects and generally in the production of the built environment in Turkey, was empowered and given the authority to implement *gecekondu* transformation projects by the changes in the Mass Housing Law (2989).[286] In addition to these regulations, a draft for a general urban transformation law was prepared by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement but withdrawn due to upcoming elections. The aims stated in this draft law signal an attempt to make an all-encompassing urban transformation law.

Another such attempt is the Urban Transformation and Development Law Bill, introduced in the parliament in 2005 and approved only after its reformulation, limiting the scope of law to the renewal of historical heritage and related protection sites, with a strong preference for the protection of historical heritage, tourism, and economic regeneration. This Law,[287] widely called the Renewal Law, gave some additional warrants to municipalities concerning disaster risks. It has mobilized diverse threats around the historical heritage such as disaster risk, criminality, and physical deprivation, so that the areas exposed to this law were rendered multiply risky. In the same year, with the changes to the Municipality Law (5393,

[283] This Law was repealed by Article 23 of the Urban Transformation Law (6306) in 2012.
[284] The North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law (5104), enacted in 2004.
[285] Through the Metropolitan Municipality Law (5216).
[286] Law 5162 changed the 4th article of the Mass Housing Law (2989) in 2004 and authorized TOKI to prepare, let be prepared, or change plans at every scale. Additionally, it has been authorized to expropriate land and real estate, to initiate settlement projects, and to set up partnerships with financial cooperation. With Law 5273, the Land Office was annulled and its properties, rights, and authority were transferred to TOKI.
[287] The Law on Preservation of Historical and Cultural Immovable Goods through Renovation and Enlivening Use (5366).

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Article 73),[288] municipalities were given the authority to declare and implement urban transformation projects for several aims, from urban regeneration to disaster risk reduction, authorizing them to create housing, industrial, commercial areas, technology parks, and social recreation.

In 2006, another draft law – the Bill on the Transformation Areas – came to parliament with one of the widest formulations up to then, thus a universal urban transformation law. Although it failed to enact this law, the government introduced some of its provisions into the law partially – especially with the help of an omnibus law (5793) in 2008. In this period, we are beginning to witness the further empowerment of TOKI, the Mass Housing Administration that was also authorized to implement urban transformation projects related to earthquake risks. The incorporation of urban transformation into Turkish law, however, remained fragmented, and all attempts at enacting an all-encompassing urban transformation law failed until the Urban Transformation Law (6306) was passed in 2012 following the 2011 Van Earthquake.

With the enactment of the Urban Transformation Law in 2012 and the establishment of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization by decree (No. 644) shortly before the Van Earthquake in 2011, a re-centralization tendency had become observable[289] in the urban transformation process. Previously, responsibilities were distributed among local and metropolitan municipalities in the early stages of the urban transformation process alongside the powerful central actor TOKI, which worked in cooperation with the municipalities. Various responsibilities of different institutions concerning housing, environmental governance, urbanization, urban infrastructure, and urban transformation have been brought under the auspices of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. TOKI, which had been under the Prime Ministry, has also been transferred to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

[288] The areas declared according to this Law (5393, Article 73) are called "Urban Transformation and Development Zone."
[289] A similar tendency is also recognized in general disaster governance during the same period (Hermansson 2019).

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The Urban Transformation Law (6306)

The aims of the Urban Transformation Law (6306), as stated in the bill, are to renew the built environment preemptively, before it is exposed to disaster and destruction, without deploying the Disaster Law (7296) and its prescribed exceptional measurements requiring designation of the targeted area as a "zone exposed to disaster." Instead of this mandatory designation of the practices by the Disaster Law (7296), the Urban Transformation Law (6306) strives to realize renewal of the targeted built environment at a "voluntary base." However, the statement is followed by a "but": for cases where the voluntary frame does not work, the law authorizes the ministry and administrations to carry out the work, backed up with legal tools and exceptional authorizations.
In addition to the risk reduction approach – mostly articulated as "not getting injured" instead of "healing wounds" – the bill sees urban renewal as a tool for "removing buildings that cause insecurities for life and property, are unlivable, decayed, and visually ugly; constructing aesthetically attractive buildings; and providing people safe and healthy environments to inhabit."

The Urban Transformation Law (6306) has introduced three new categories: zone of risk, risky building, and reserve area. The zone of risk is defined as having risks to life and of property loss due to ground conditions or the building stock standing upon it, to be determined by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization after the application of local administrations. The zone of risk must then be decreed by the President.[290] The buildings in such an area would be demolished and redeveloped by the local government, the private sector, or TOKI. The risky building is, as it is designated in the law text, one that has completed its economic life or suffers risk of collapse or heavy damage, to be assessed by licensed organizations or public institutions following application by one of the property owners of the buildings. Reserve area is the land set aside for the development of new settlements; it is to be identified by the Ministry and decreed by the President. The Law, further, prescribes the targets, stakeholders, and procedures for different stages in the renewal process – such as the determination of the risk, decision making, demolition, reconstruction, finance, aid, and compensation. In these stages, the Law prescribes some exceptional procedures and tools, some of which include the redeployment of state of emergency tools, while others are innovative.

[290] In its initial form, before the constitutional change, it was to be decreed by the Council of Ministers.

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Examples to the *Legal Complex of Emergency*

Since this chapter does not mean to give a detailed account of the Urban Transformation Law and the procedures prescribed in the Law and By-Law, but rather to discuss the role of the law in the production of emergency, I will only discuss the related provisions. These provisions have a clear exceptionality in the sense that they either refer to the state of emergency law or involve the suspension of other laws and institutions and the restriction of personal rights. I will give a brief account of these provisions. Some of these provisions were canceled by the Constitutional Court, and various applications of some of the provisions were also canceled by the State Council. Further, I will also trace the legal practices following cancellation or contestation. By taking the developments after these cancellations into account, I will discuss a possible way to approach exception and emergency differently in light of the theoretical opening by Esmeir (2012, 2015) and Hussain (2007) that I introduced above.

It is important to see the whole discussion in the frame of what I call *the legal complex of emergency*. In this legal complex, suspension is just one practice. *The legal complex of emergency* is not a lawless space or extra-legal space but a "hyperlegality" (Hussain 2007) in which, as I mentioned already, provisions proliferate, new categories and practices are codified and generalized, exceptional tools are redeployed, new juridical tools are created, legal ambiguities are produced, and the powers of some administrative bodies extended while those of others limited. Thus, it does not suspend and preserve the Law, but expands its reach. After scrutinizing the single provisions, in the conclusion I will reflect on how the law also participates in performing the emergency. The law does not withdraw from the exceptional and preserve itself but claims emergency and embraces exception. By embracing the exception, the law fulfills the promise of control over life (Esmeir 2012) in the name of the preservation of biological life or a right to life. The bio-political implications of the application of law and the uneven distribution of abandonment and care of life will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this study.

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Urgent Expropriation

Generally in the laws regarding the urban transformation, the authorities are empowered to expropriate[291] according to the provisions on the expropriation for the realization of settlement projects of the Expropriation Law.[292] This kind of expropriation needs to be approved by the Council of Ministers. The approval of the Council of Ministers, even though these projects are smaller than the settlement projects, gives them a privileged status: Decisions on expropriation cannot proceed legally without a declaration of urban transformation zone having first been brought before the court. Another threat that property owners may face is that this kind of expropriation allows the payment of compensation in installments (Üstün 2009, 72, 97; Yasin 2013, 97).

In the By-law of the Renewal Law (5366), a more effective tool has been given to the authorities: If they realize that usual expropriation practices may delay the realization of a project, they may deploy "urgent expropriation" according to Article 27 of the Expropriation Law. That same article of the Expropriation Law is also deployed in the Urban Transformation Law (6306, Article 6/2) to authorize urgent expropriation when the property owners of land declared as a zone of risk cannot agree by a two-thirds majority within 30 days of official notification following the demolition of their buildings.

Article 27 of the Expropriation Law (2942)[293] lists three categories of exception under which urgent expropriation can be employed: the emergence of the necessity of application of the Law on Obligations for the National Defense (3634); exceptional situations as defined in the special laws; and situations the urgency of which is decided by the Council of Ministers.[294] According to Şahin (2013, 60), even if no disaster has occurred and thus no exceptional situation is in place, lawmakers could conclude that an exceptional situation exists and that urgent expropriation is necessary to maintain public order. He, therefore, concludes that this means that an exceptional technique supplants the ordinary technique and thus leads to

[291] Law 5104, Article 5/3; Law 5366, Article 4; Law 6306, Article 6/2.
[292] Law 2942, Article 3/2.
[293] Urgent expropriation is deployed not only in the urban transformation projects but also for energy, infrastructure, and other development investment projects. See Kaya (2011). Other laws deploying urgent expropriation: the Industrial Zones Act (4737), the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism (2634), the Turkish Petroleum Law (6491), and the Electricity Market Law (6446). See Kaplan (2018).
[294] After 2018, by the president. Note that one of the draft laws that failed to come into force in 2006 – the Draft Law on the Transformation Areas – even tried to remove the requirement for a decree by the Council of Ministers.

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unjust suspension of juridical protection of personal rights (ibid.). Even though this provision has been contested since its first introduction into the urban transformation laws and is also among the provisions that have been brought to the Constitutional Court for cancellation, urgent expropriation is not one of the provisions that were canceled in 2014. The argument demanding its cancellation pointed to the central place of the right to property in modern liberal law and the dependence on it of other rights and freedoms, and contested the existence of the urgency and exceptionality requirements for the application of Article 27 of the Expropriation Law.[295]

I will come back to the right to property discourse and the biopolitics of urban transformation in the concluding chapter in this study and show that urban transformation, contrary to many claims, is organized around the liberal notion of private property, not against it. But for now the question is this: if a property regime is, in its initiation and crises, always backed up by exception, is it still possible to speak of exception? What is the point in calling it an exception? With the help of exception, the law maintains its universal and abstract ideal and its innocence from injuries and unfulfilled promises of justice, and "easily survives the inhuman conditions it creates, fosters, and inhabits" (Povinelli 2011, 150). Therefore, it is important to pay attention to and destabilize the law/exception nexus by means of *the notion of legal complex of emergency*. Otherwise, this capacity for adding injuries lives on and will always come back in a "recursive mode" (Stoler 2018a), which Abourahme (2018) calls the "boomerang effect," following Aimé Césaire.[296]

Prohibition of a Stay of Execution

In addition to curtailing the term of litigation, the Urban Transformation Law (6306, Article 6:9), in its initial form enacted in 2012, prohibited the courts from deciding for stays of execution in lawsuits against the administrative proceedings determined in this law. This provision limits not only the right to legal remedies (Doru 2013, 177) but also the domain of adjudication. Besides, according to Article 125 of the Turkish Constitution, a stay of execution sentence may be passed only if these two conditions exist at the same time: the administrative proceedings are unlawful, and the practicing of them might cause irreparable

[295] Constitutional Court's decision on 27.2.2014, Decision No: 2014/41, published on 26.7.2014-29072.
[296] Abourahme (2018) uses Aimé Césaire's phrase "boomerang effect" for dispossession as a colonial tool returning home during the global financial crisis.

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damage or damages difficult to recover. At this point, a stay of execution sentence is probably one of the most important juridical tools in the struggle against urban transformation projects. Stopping their realization until a final decision by the court was one of the strategies of which the inhabitants and groups struggling against urban transformation projects often made use. If this provision is applied, before the court passes a final sentence, irretrievable damages cannot be prevented. Even if the court decides on the cancellation of the project, the decision will lose its meaning (Şahin 2013, 68). This is the most important reason for the introduction of this provision.

This provision was introduced into the laws regulating urban transformation first by the Urban Transformation Law (6306), although it is not an innovation in Turkish Law. The abovementioned article of the Turkish Constitution is followed by a regulation which delineates exceptions to the decision of a stay of execution by the courts: states of emergency, a state of siege,[297] national mobilization, a state of war, and additionally due to reasons regarding national security, public order, and public health.[298] The Parliament commission report on the draft of the Urban Transformation Law (TBMM 2012, 7) refers to this article and exceptionality to argue in favor of a defense of the provision by linking personal rights to "right to life" – to which I shall turn in the concluding chapter.

Critics arguing against this provision have not challenged the exception *per se* but only the application of the exceptional law, emphasizing its temporary character. According to this view, although these listed exceptions are not reasons for a suspension of a stay of execution sentence, but rather for its limitation, the Urban Transformation Law (6306) suspends stays of execution "indefinitely and unconditionally" and "prohibits using this right rather than limiting it" (Şahin 2013, 68). This means the "suspension" of the right to legal remedies (Doru 2013, 177). Do we not reaffirm the exception by demanding its proper use? This provision is, due to the frame of exception mentioned here, the most referred to provision in claims that the Urban Transformation Law (6306) introduces an invisible state of exception.

The Constitutional Court repealed this provision in 2014, a decision that led to the introduction of a new juridical tool (Sezer 2017, 233). In 2014, an article was added[299] to the Administrative Procedure Act (2577) introducing "summary proceedings" into Turkish Law.

[297] "State of siege" was removed from this article by the Law on Changes in the Turkish Constitution (6771, Article 16) on 21.1.2017.
[298] English translation is available at: http://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf
[299] To the Law on Amending the Turkish Penal Code and Certain Laws (6545, Article 18), an article (20:A) has been added to the Administrative Procedure Law (2577).

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Summary proceedings aim to accelerate proceedings regarding certain cases[300] – including cases related to decrees by the Council of Ministers according to the Urban Transformation Law (6306) – in administrative jurisdiction by reducing procedures as well as shortening the procedural terms. For example, the term of litigation is reduced to 30 days from 60 days, and time for preparation by the defense is reduced from 30 days to 15 days; the time between the closing of procedures and the court's decision is reduced from six months to one month. The juridical approach regarding a decision on a stay of execution by the court is then closed, and the decision counts as final.

The Cancellation of exception becomes productive by bringing us more codifications in return, and paves the way for more legal obstacles. *The legal complex of emergency* goes beyond the exception/law dichotomy and suspension as practice – as we have seen, it is not always the redeployment of old tools: juridical struggles have forced the law to introduce new tools. It produces law. It alters the law.

Negotiated Tender

The Public Procurement Law (4734), enacted in 2002, regulates the purchase of all kinds of products and services by public institutions. The Public Procurement Authority, founded in 2002, controls these transactions. According to this law, open procurement and restricted procurement procedures are the basic methods, except for special cases determined by the law.[301] Urban transformation projects as exceptions to the Public Procurement Law (4734) were first introduced in the Renewal Law (5366) in 2005: "In the realizations in the renewal areas, purchases of all sorts of products and services and construction works are to be exempt from the Public Procurement Law, except for the articles related to the regulations of penalty and prohibition" (5366, Article 3:8f). With this regulation, the Public Procurement Law was partially suspended without any new regulations to limit and control the procurement procedures of the administrations. The objective for this provision is arguably to remove administrative barriers in order to accelerate the procedures, which can be brought together under the term de-bureaucratization. However, this simultaneously enables misuses: the

[300] Cases related to procurement and urgent expropriation, decisions taken by the High Council of Privatization, transactions according to the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism (2634), and Environmental Impact Assessment Reports according to the Environment Law (2872).
[301] Law 4734, Article 5:4f. English translation of the law available at: http://www1.ihale.gov.tr/english/4734_English.pdf

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applications of urban transformation in the renewal sites could be realized in such a way that the profit of private investors is increased or that decisions regarding the renewal sites are subjected to private investors' will and visions. This could create a dependency of public administrations on those private investors (Üstün 2009, 93).

In the Urban Transformation Law (6306), the exception, however, takes another form, one more regulated but more attuned to the emergency. Instead of exempting the urban transformation projects from the obligations and regulations of the public procurement procedures, the Urban Transformation Law (6306, Article 8/1) refers to the article of the Public Procurement Law(4734) identifying a particular exceptional form of tender – negotiated procurement: "It is imperative to conduct the tender procedures immediately, due to unexpected and unforeseen events such as natural disasters, epidemics, risk of losing lives or properties or events that could not be predicted by the contracting authority."[302] In this case, the publication of a notice is not compulsory; at least three tenderers shall be invited to submit their offers. The parliamentary commission report states that the last part of the description of situations requiring this method, "events that could not be predicted by the contracting authority," is not clearly formulated and open to abuse (TBMM 2012, 23). Objections to this article mostly concern the possibility of violation of the principle of equity and transparency (CCP 2012) and its misuse on behalf of certain interest groups. The commission report (TBMM 2012) recommended taking this regulation out of the Draft Law.

Considering that the Public Procurement Law regulates the negotiated procedure for exceptional situations (Şahin 2013), it is important to think what this meant exactly: The Urban Transformation Law (6306) adjudges the disaster risks like an actual disaster event. The negotiated tender method, used generally in the post-disaster emergency to accelerate the provision of temporary and permanent housing, for example, is now defined as a method in preemptive applications unaccompanied by any actual hazardous event. Taking the judgments of the Council of State and the Public Procurement Authority into consideration, to be able to employ this method, two requirements or conditions, depending on each other, must exist together: the exceptional situation mentioned above and the necessity to make tender urgently (Şahin 2013).

[302] Law 4734, Article 21/b. Please note that the next exceptional article (21/c) concerns events related to defense and security.

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This Article is also canceled by the Constitutional Court's decision of 2014, though the cancellation did not hinder the deployment of negotiated procedures but instead led to the modification of the Public Procurement Law. In 2018, two new categories of necessity (in italics below) were added to Article 21/b:[303]

> The negotiated procedure may be applied, where; [...] (b) it is imperative to conduct the tender procedures immediately, due to unexpected and unforeseen events such as natural disasters, epidemics, risk of losing lives or properties, *or specialization is required concerning the production techniques or states in which the necessity to conduct tender immediately is determined by the administrations to ensure life, property and building safety,* or events that could not be predicted by the contracting authority (emphasis added).

The objectives of the changes as stated in the draft law were the elimination of ambiguity in the original text of the article with clarifications and the necessity of risk reduction and preemptive practices, to intervene before any event occurs. It is important to see that with this addition, preemptive practices for disaster risk reduction have been introduced into the law text. Thus, the law participates in the making of emergency and especially the temporality of emergency. The legal tactic in this modification is not limited to this formal ordinary addition of this preemptive temporality. There is a legal loophole concerning a small detail with bigger consequences: every single instance of "necessity" is added with an "or." Now, a negotiated procedure can be used if any of these conditions obtain. This extends the discretionary power given to the authorities and creates new uncertainties instead of bringing more certainty and enabling the use of this procedure in a wide range of domain (Yıldırım 2018, 734).

What I am suggesting is, in sum, not a simple one-way causal explanation. It is not just a simple exception used to mark the limit of the law or to vacate the law. Rather, it is a more complex relationship of redeployment as well as the innovation of exceptional tools by referencing, defining, and codifying. Further, it is not just sovereign decision but also juridical contestation, blockages, cancellations, and critiques regarding legal forms that participate in the shaping of law, to which there are various ways to respond. These struggles shape the law in its formal form through legal tactics in the codification of new notions. Note that the alteration did not happen in the Urban Transformation Law (6306) but in the Public Procurement Law (4724). Thus, the notion of *the legal complex of emergency* is helpful for paying attention to and catching the problem of the boundaries of legally performed emergency. *The legal complex of emergency* does not just problematize the assumed boundary between exception and law but also boundaries within and around the law.

[303] Changes with Law 7144 (Article 11), enacted on 16.05.2018.

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Suspension of other Laws and the Authority of Related Institutions

One of the most discussed problems of the Renewal Law (5366) was its relation to the Conservation Law (2863),[304] to which until that time the historic preservation sites were subject. Although the Conservation Law (2863) is still in force, the Renewal Law (5366) abrogates its provisions that are contradictory to the Renewal Law (Üstün 2009, 100). This problem was debated in the Parliament during the process of enactment, and it was concluded that the two laws do not conflict with but rather regulate each other (TBMM 2005). The relationship between these two laws is, in fact, neither complementary nor just a simple suspension, but a flexible deployment. The Renewal Law (5366) depends on the Conversation Law (2863) because the renewal areas must be among the areas under the jurisdiction of the Conversation Law (2863). The Renewal Law (5366) does not give authority to determine the historic preservation sites (Üstün 2009, 118). However, the Renewal Law (5366) does not make clear the relation between the exiting preservation plans[305] and the urban renewal projects: It (Law 5366, Article 3) creates a new institution –renewal boards – that functions in parallel with the conversation boards[306] and approves the renewal plans, since the *renewal* practice (demolition and reconstruction) itself contradicts the regulations permitted until then in the conservation sites (Türkün and Yapıcı 2008, 52). "Creation of special venues" is one of the mechanisms of "hyperlegality" Hussain (2007, 517) identified. Although the practice of conservation prescribed by the Conversation Law (2863) was suspended, this law has occasionally been deployed to force property owners into the negotiation process, as was the case in the Tarlabaşı Renewal Project. The property owners in Tarlabaşı were fined due to the changes and renovations undertaken in their buildings registered according to the Conservation Law.[307] The Renewal Law (5366) does not just suspend the Conversation Law (2863) and the related authority of the conversation boards but instead creates a complex flexible relationship that enables suspension as well as a parallel functioning if needed.

A similar point is observable also in the discussions on the law regarding urban transformation: the relationship of urban transformation projects to existing development plans, zonings, or improvement plans.[308] While the general approach is that urban

[304] Full name of the Law: Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863).
[305] Which are prepared according to Law 2863, Article 3/8.
[306] Which were established according to Law 2863, Article 51.
[307] I have scrutinized such tactics in former research: see Batur (2015).
[308] Improvement plans were to be prepared for *gecekondu* areas legalized according to Law 2891, enacted in 1984. Legalization was first completed after the production and application of these plans.

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transformation projects must be in accord with development plans, critics have pointed out that these laws function to remove restrictions and obligations arising from existing regulations (O. Balaban 2013; T. Kahraman 2013). Especially the Urban Transformation Law (6306) made it clear that the urban transformation projects initiated according to this law do not follow ordinary planning hierarchies:

> The plans that will be realized according to this law are not subject to limitations of the laws including the Development Law (3194) approved on 3/5/1985 and other special laws containing provisions regarding the zoning plans (Law 6306, Article 9).

This provision gives this law an exceptional status over other legislation regarding planning practices. It, therefore, turns it into a law with exceptional power, and urban transformation into an exceptional planning tool (Yasin 2013). If the exception is in fact not exceptional at all and the normal way of doing thing was never according to the norm, how can we still speak of the Development Law as an ordinary planning procedure?[309] Improvement plans produced according to Law 2891, as we mentioned above, have long been the most utilized planning tools in comparison with the theoretically assumed normal planning tools for the informal urbanization of Turkish cities.[310] What is, then, persevered by these exceptions is the *idea* of law.

The same article of the law suspends the application of a wide number of laws[311] – dealing with national defense to forests, including the Renewal Law – by stipulating that the provisions of other laws hindering or contradicting the application of the Urban Transformation Law (5366) are not to be applied, on the condition of taking "the objections by these laws into consideration" (6306, Article 9.) This opens areas under the protection of special laws, including natural and historic conservation sites, to urban transformation, thus to construction. The areas previously subjected to multiple laws and now exposed to this process could be an example of Farías and Flores' (2017) notion of "bare land," that is, a land deprived of the protection of the law, that is taken outside the mediation of law. However, I would rather look from the reverse perspective instead of taking the relationship between law and space as one in which the ideal (law) is imposed on the material (space) and changes

[309] By looking into the exceptions in the development rights in Beirut, Mona Fawaz (2017) treats the exception/law distinction again not as a question of sovereignty but as a mode of governmentality by analyzing the practices of the ideal planning policy, actual modes of planning, and multiple forms of exceptions in issuing building permits, existing not in a binary relation to this ideal but extending its influence into whole spheres of governance of space and reorganization of the population. See Roy (2005) for an elaboration of informal urbanization from the perspective of exception.
[310] See chapter 4.
[311] These laws are: 3573, 6831, 7269, 189, 2565, 2634, 2863, 3621, 4342, 5366, 5403, and 2960.

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it or protect it from changes. This is, on the contrary, clearly an example of how the production of space directly participates in the alteration of a particular historical fixity of law as it is always observable in the history of the reciprocal production of space and law.

Considering the part of this law concerning "the provisions of other laws that contradict this law," the suspension is not limited to the listed laws; on the contrary, "it is a general and encompassing regulation that makes this listing unnecessary" (Kurşat 2013, 21). This kind of regulation "causes the creation of a '*lex specialis*' that does not exist in the Turkish judicial system" (Şahin 2013). Article 9 of the Urban Transformation Law (6306), which regulates the relationship of urban transformation projects to other laws as one of suspension, was canceled by the Constitutional Court's decision in 2014. However, those changes in the singular laws that are counted in the law cannot be included in this discussion due to their scope. This also shows us that *the legal complex of emergency* is not limited to the nexus of state of exception laws and urban transformation laws. The notion of *the legal complex of emergency* points out this flexible and expanding boundary of laws concerning our topic, as mentioned above.

Do more laws mean more justice?

Inhabitants of neighborhoods declared to be zones of risk have juridically contested these decisions. The first cancellation of a zone of risk by the Council of State came in 2013 for Saraçoğlu in Ankara. Similar decisions for Derbent and Tozkoparan neighborhoods in Istanbul came in 2014, and other cases were ongoing. The main argument for cancellation by the Council of State was ambiguity in the determination criteria for zones of risk and that the decision should be backed up scientifically so that there be no suspicion. In its initial version, the law did not specify concrete determination criteria, leaving administrations wide discretionary power (Sezer 2017). The pressure of such cancellations and ongoing cases led to the drafting of new provisions in 2016 with clear definitions and determination criteria. As will be clear, more codification does not directly lead to such contestations having more success. Other than the sovereign theory of law, law as a powerful technique is a domain requiring governmental powers to frame their strategies "in the language of law," while also demanding that everybody participate in this domain and articulate every political demand in the language of rights (Rose and Valverde 1998, 543).

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The definition of zone of risk was expanded in 2016 to include areas where (1) public order and safety are disturbed, to the degree that everyday life is disrupted; (2) there are inadequate planning services or infrastructure, or there are damaged infrastructure and buildings incompatible with development law; (3) 65% of the total building stock is unauthorized or *post facto* authorized. A document prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization to guide local administrations in the application process for the determination of risky areas identifies four categories which must be defined at the beginning by the local administrations applying to the Ministry. Applications based on the geophysical conditions of the ground must include a detailed technical and scientific report. If a zone of risk is to be declared due to risky building stock in the area, these applications must deliver a rapid risk assessment report (see chapter 4), performance results in these assessments, and all laboratory results of typical buildings representative of each category of buildings in the area.

The third category concerns the applications according to the first point in the provision added in 2016 – disruption of public order and safety. They must include a damage assessment report based on the Law on Compensations due to Terror and Anti-terror Actions (5233). This category was added to the law due to the destruction of parts of cities in the war between Kurdish rebels and the military in 2015 known as "Hendek Olaylari."[312] Before moving to the last category, I want briefly to discuss how this category is related to our discussion. It provides evidence that the neat distinction between law and politics is a part of the techniques of modern law by which it renders itself autonomous, and this myth of autonomy is only sustained by erasing the exceptional, and the blurred boundaries between the political and the juridical, from its history. Additionally, this category clearly shows us that it is not just the law participating in the production of the built environment, as widely conceived, but that the production (as well as destruction) of the built environment participates in law-making.

The last category – areas with 65% or more unauthorized buildings, also from the additions in 2016 – requires a detailed data set on all buildings in the area along with registration information and compatibility with the development plans. This category codifies *informality as risk* as scrutinized in chapter 4: With this provision, what was discursively defined has been codified into the law, and articulated in the language of law: informal neighborhoods are environmentally risky, more than the formal neighborhoods, so they

[312] Annihilation of these urban areas is reminiscent of such notions as urbicide (Campbell, Graham, and Monk 2007; S. Graham 2004; Abujidi 2014; Zeynep Günay 2015) and spacio-cide (Hanafi 2009, 2012)

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require responses at the neighborhood scale, thus the term zone. They are not containers of "risky buildings." In the law's initial form, all buildings in a zone of risk, even if risk assessments of them showed them to be safe, were to be included in the project in order to maintain the project uniformity (read it as *tabula rasa*). This article (6306, Article 3/7) was repealed in 2014, and reintroduced into the law in 2017 in the form of "taking the safe state of the building into account in the valuation process." This change was also canceled by the Constitutional Court in 2017.

In sum, as we have seen in previous sections, exception does not mean the absence of law. The critiques of exception mostly lead with appeals to turn back to the rule of law. However, as we also have seen, more laws do not directly bring more just rule, even when –and sometimes because – they have been codified using already established discourses and knowledge. Both help the law to extend its power over life and the social world – not to be imagined spatially, but topologically. Especially problematic is the juridification of political struggles. I do not trivialize juridical contestation, but simply call attention to the juridification of what is truly political and the colonization of the political by the law.

Conclusion

The law's role in the production of *emergency as effect* cannot be limited to suspension. As I have shown in this chapter, suspension is only one practice among others like codification, generalization, and the redeployment of existing tools as well as the invention of new ones. The law must, without excluding its specific character, be explored as a technique of power by paying attention to its own tools, its links to other juridical practices as well as to what is assumed to be outside of it. The law's relationship to its outside is not limited to its problematic relationship to the sovereign decision. It entails non-juridical practices like destruction and construction, discourses, expert knowledge, artifacts, human and institutional actors, materialities, and affects. Even though I could only explore some of these and pay special attention to the problem of the exception, this chapter opened the question of the legal aspects of urban transformation and emergency to a productive approach: *the legal complex of emergency*. This approach has shown that law itself is not a passive tool of the sovereign to be suspended in order to respond to an emergency or to be applied during normal times, but that it actively participates in the production of *emergency as effect*. It is not

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a stable tool with a fixed form that is suspended or applied but a process that co-produces the world, as itself is co-shaped by its outside as mentioned above.

A wide range of practices and their products that are not juridical are also involved in the production of law and shape the legal in the *emergencyscape.* Discourses of planning and architecture are especially significant here. The Renewal Law and other laws of urban transformation deploy knowledge produced by planners and urban researchers, e.g. "areas of decay." The *informality as risk* (elaborated in chapter 4 through the exploration of planning discourses) has gained legal form after the amendments to the Urban Transformation Law in 2016 following the juridical contestations of the several declarations of zones of risk. Furthermore, the double risk approach scrutinized in chapter 4 has been codified as "risky building" and "zone of risk" in the Urban Transformation Law (6306). As I will explore in the following chapter, these have serious consequences for inhabitants of the city.

This chapter mentioned the affects as aspects of juridical questions but did not explore them. The law, for example, refers to the urgency of urban transformation in the law text, in the discussions of single provisions, and in public discourses on the law. It will suffice to give a single example of how urgency and temporality are active parts of, and are performed by, lawmaking:

> After the discussions, the recommendation to return the draft bill [of the Urban Trasformation Law] was rejected with respect to the practicality and acceleration of the process due to these reasons: that our country may at any moment be exposed to disaster risks, that the draft bill should be passed without a moment's delay, and that the Commission possesses the competences required (TBMM 2012, 11).

What is especially important in the discussion of the affective life of law is its promising and threatening character. The law's own narrative is based on its capacity to promise justice and threaten with punishment. This aspect is also tactically at work, as in the declarations of urgent expropriation, for example, which can help to force property owners into agreement without resorting to urgent expropriation. However, each specific law is bound to the cluster of several promises and threats which are but distributed unevenly alongside the lines of race, class, gender, etc. and therefore must be explored with significant attention to embodied and embedded inequalities. The following chapter will touch on this aspect, even if I will not theoretically discuss it in respect to affects and law: How does the law pose a threat for some while promising improvement, care, and security to others? How can the same provisions deliver financial gains for some while facilitating *de facto* abandonment for others?

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We will also turn to a question that is directly related to the law and theoretical discussions of biopolitics. The contested provisions of the Urban Transformation are defended with arguments for the protection and realization of "the right to life." While scrutinizing the biopolitical meanings of "right to life," the contesting claims about the potential deprivation of our rights for *all* of us, in addition to the equal distribution of care and security, will be challenged in the next, concluding chapter.

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6. *Biocare*: Uneven Distribution of Care and Abandonment

> Practices cultivated by people [...] in one zone of social abandonment were absorbed into regulated and unregulated liberal and neoliberal capital that in turn led to the creation or intensification of new zones of social abandonment (Povinelli 2011, 124-5).

> There are indeed always winners and losers in the struggle to combat natural disaster, this much is true (Steinberg 2000, xvii).

> In every phase and aspect of a disaster – causes, vulnerability, preparedness, results and response, and reconstruction – the contours of disaster and the difference between who lives and who dies is to a greater or lesser extent a social calculus (Smith 2006).

In this concluding chapter, I will reflect on the biopolitical implications of the emergency as an effect and identify further research questions waiting for critical engagement. As the quotations above signal, the discussion will concentrate on the argument around the *uneven* distribution of biopolitical care and vulnerability (*biocare*) through existing lines of inequality and how it further deepens them. How procedures are conditioned by and reproduce inequality in post-disaster reconstruction and aid is well documented.[313] Yes, disasters do not only "reveal hidden power relations" (de Waal 2008, ix) but also generate them. The same is true for how we prepare for future disasters. Thus, our case does not concern the reconstruction and the temporality of post-disaster, but of emergency. What is at stake here is not an injury already suffered, loss of life, and subsequent claims of compensation, but the vulnerability of life – the potentiality of injury and loss– and claims about this vulnerability as well as the responsibility to protect life.

Disaster pushes the state to focus on centering life and death. We are here dealing with death, not as a sovereign right to kill but something one must prevent, to intervene in order to make live. Letting die, in the last two decades, has begun to be conceived as making die, should an exceptional threat not be responded to appropriately. The emphasis is on the state's responsibility to protect life, the lives of the masses as well as of individuals, instead of on guaranteeing flourishing of life or compensation for its misfortunes. The "politicization

[313] See Wisner et al. (1994), Boano (2009), Collins (2009), Gunewardena and Schuller (2008), D. C. Harvey (2017), Hoffman and Oliver-Smith (2002), and Walker (2003).

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of life" (Ek 2006, 368) lies at the heart of this process. Increasing demands that the state anticipates disasters, takes measures to reduce the risks, and protects its citizens from death tie the legitimacy of the state to its biopolitical responsibilities, something I call *biocare*. *Biocare* suggests not only the central place that the protection of life has, but also how the state's legitimacy has been reestablished through future-oriented action against disaster after the conception of the 1999 Earthquakes as a crisis of the state.

I will first turn to *biocare* to discuss the theoretical implications as well as the limitations of the theories of biopolitics. The modern Western literature provides two main channels of biopolitics, which I also elaborated in the discussion of emergency: Agamben's and Foucault's, both of which have their roots[314] in the critique of modern politics in Arendt's (1998[1958]) work *The Human Condition* preceding them, which pointed out the intrusion of the necessities of life into the political realm,[315] even though she did not use the term "biopolitics." This term, biopolitics, for both channels of its theorization, is the politics that places life at its center. Their common aspects nearly end here, except for the exclusion of colonial practices from their exploration, which is criticized by the many scholars[316] who further enriched the theories of biopolitics with their studies, and to which my reflections here are heavily indebted.

Two main limitations of the theories of biopolitics are the assumption of homogenous application (ignorance of inequality) and the operation through the binary construction of making live and letting die alongside other binaries like sovereign and biopower, inclusion and exclusion, and so on. After discussion at the theoretical level, I will show some (potential) experiences of care, abandonment, and violence and will argue for the importance of taking inequality into account beyond the abstract categories of bare life, population, citizenship, and rights.

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[314] Weheliye (2014, 160) points out that Foucault often utilizes Arendt's ideas and reviews the works she used in her analyses without citing her, as is the case with Angela Davis's and George Jackson's ideas. Agamben, though, pays attention to her, even if he claims a lack of biopolitical perspective in her work *Origins of Totalitarianism* (Braun 2007, 6). Kathrin Braun claims that her "rich and in-depth analysis of the specific features that constitute modern biopolitics" could let us read her "as a theorist of biopolitics *avant la lettre*" (ibid., 7). See also Povinelli (2016, 2) pointing out that she was writing about emergence of the "social," the liberal "social" state's focus on bodily needs and desires, 20 years before Foucault's lectures on biopolitics. According to Lemke (2010, 9), the term biopolitics began to be used at the beginning of 20th century by Rudolf Kjellén "to refer to politics that conceive state analog to life."

[315] See Benhabib's (1996) critique of "phenomenological essentialism." I do not think such a normative distinction between practices (and spaces) of politics and necessities would help me either, which disqualifies a wide range of practices on which the politics of feminists, racialized groups, workers, and the poor are based on.

[316] E.g. Mbembe (2003), Weheliye (2014), Svirsky and Bignall (2012).

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As I will show in the second half of the chapter, *biocare* and abandonment are so entangled that it is sometimes impossible to say at first glance if one is cared for or abandoned. Not because she is explicitly defined as a valued or undervalued life, but because the process of urban transformation and risk reduction is based on existing inequalities that have longer racialized, gendered, and classed histories. Even though the provisions for urban transformation and building renewal as risk reduction seem to apply homogeneously to the city if one approaches it through the concepts of policy and citizenship, precarious lives might be turned into vulnerable lives while privileged lives are secured and even provided revenues generating profit. I will only touch on two mechanisms upon which the uneven distribution of *biocare* and vulnerability is contingent: informality and private property.

In the last section, I will turn to the question of subjectivity, assumed affects, and proper attitudes, and will produce several counter-assumptions about how the ecologies of inequality and risk might shape people's anticipatory practices and risk choices. Lastly, I will indicate what further research is needed.

Because right to life comes first

The Urban Transformation Law was defended against critiques about exceptional authorizations and the suspension of personal rights with arguments for ensuring "the right to life." We find the most concise version of this in Erdogan Bayraktar's (then the Minister of Environment and Urbanization) speech who emphasizes that the right to life comes before the right to property:

> The right to property is fundamental, but the right to life is more important [...] The new Act 6306 [the Urban Transformation Law] has its focus on the transformation of the areas and buildings exposed to disaster risks. Its soul and message are human life, human security, and then the security of people's property (Alp 2012).

Another formulation we can find in the Parliament Commission Report, in the discussion on the most contested provision of the Law which prohibits decisions of courts on stays of execution,[317] which was criticized as being a "suspension of the right to legal remedies" (Doru 2013, 177; Şahin 2013, 68):

[317] This provision was annulled in 2014. See chapter 5.

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> The objective of this law is to ensure that the buildings under disaster risk, which might collapse at any moment and cause life and property losses, have to be made liveable and appropriate spaces to live, and property secure by improving, renewing, and transforming. In this aspect, the law is directly related to *the right to life*. On the other hand, the right to property and the right to legal remedies are the rights and freedoms that are guaranteed by the Turkish Constitution. However, the close relationship between the object of the law, "obtaining life and property security," and the right to life is very explicit. The right to life is the *sine qua non* of all other basic rights and freedoms. It is necessary to realize the works and proceedings prescribed by the law timely and as planned. If these are disrupted due to any reason, the aim of the law will be hindered, the works that ensure life and property security, and the right to life will be disrupted, and people's right to life due to the disaster risk will continue to be in peril (TBMM 2012, 7, emphasis added).

My aim here is not to turn to the *legal complex of emergency* (chapter 5) in detail but to focus on the biopolitical implications that these quotations signal. Beginning from "right to life" should not mislead us into taking "life" in the phrase for granted, which is rarely problematized. It is life that gives to the *legal complex of emergency* its capacity and is co-produced by it. I am concerned here with the state's claims regarding life's vulnerability and its protection, both of which extend the reach of the state's power by legitimizing it anew.

As I briefly examined in chapter 2, the state was, after the Kocaeli Earthquake, criticized due to its incapacity to intervene in the post-earthquake emergency, – and this incapacity was evaluated by intellectuals, even if not all of them, with respect to authoritarian sovereign politics: The state's actual responsibility to care for its citizens' well-being and security has been neglected, compromised by the state's security concerns. The state was concerned more with its alleged enemies and policing than with taking care of its citizens. Of course, the "right to life" as a phrase did not appear for the first time during this period, nor did the shift in usage take place immediately. Still, it is important to pay attention to the critiques that paved the way for this shift and to how the crisis narrative and this transformation have contributed to later developments.

As becomes clear in Article 5 of the Turkish Constitution,[318] the protection of sovereignty and the flourishing of life (not only biological life) were two co-constituted responsibilities of the state. Before "right to life" began to indicate the responsibilities of the state to protect

[318] "The fundamental aims and duties of the State are to safeguard the independence and integrity of the Turkish Nation, the indivisibility of the country, the Republic and democracy, to ensure the welfare, peace, and happiness of the individual and society; to strive for the removal of political, economic, and social obstacles which restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in a manner incompatible with the principles of justice and of the social state governed by rule of law; and to provide the conditions required for the development of the individual's material and spiritual existence."

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vulnerable life, it has been used against sovereign violence, extra-juridical killings, torture, etc.,[319] as Article 15, concerning emergency and war situations, articulates.[320]

This "right to life" indicates the life that is at the mercy of the sovereign's right to kill or let live, the bare life. It is life in the Hobbesian state of nature, in other words, the potentiality of political life under the protection of Leviathan. Bare life is protected as political life "to the extent that it is subjected to the sovereign's (or the law's) right of life and death" (Agamben 2016, 209). Agamben centers at the heart of biopolitics the production of bare life, that is, life deprived of its rights and the protection of the law and abandoned by law to death. Bare life is illustrated by the Roman juridical figure[321] of *homo sacer,* a sacred man "who may be killed and yet not sacrificed" (Agamben 1998, 11-2). It is "not simple natural life, but life exposed to death" (ibid., 55). It is the life that is called into question and exposed to the sovereign's decision on its exclusion and inclusion in the city.[322] The very notion of the "right to life," in fact, has its origin in this modern political context: the life that produces sovereignty and that must be protected by human rights against the sovereign violence that is seemingly limited by any liberal constitution.

There were a few cases examined by the European Human Rights Court toward the end of the 1990s and early 2000s in which both the petition and the judgment were predicated on the state's responsibility to inform its citizens on environmental risks. Especially relevant for these cases and judgments were the discussions and reports on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the state's responsibility to guarantee access to the full information on the risks to the public, acknowledged to be a basic human right.[323] It is interesting that while these

[319] Article 3 of the Universal Human Declaration of Human Rights states, "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person." Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) also concerns the right to life, being the first right proclaimed and seen as the most basic human right even though not all killings are necessarily seen as a violation of it, as becomes clear in the text: "Execution of a convict, killings in self-defense, or by police effecting an arrest or preventing escape, or in quelling a riot or insurrection." In fact, the right to life does not describe the active protection of life but the prohibition of its violation, and the law mostly does not elude violence but regulates it, defining legitimate violence. Legitimate violence is conceived through its converse: arbitrary and irrational violence (Asad 2007), since violence is always conceived in gradations (Anidjar 2015). See also Esmeir (2012) for how modernity legitimizes the violence conditioned by instrumentality to generate what she calls juridical humanity.

[320] "Even under the circumstances indicated in the first paragraph, the individual's right to life, the integrity of her corporeal and spiritual existence shall be inviolable except where death occurs through acts in conformity with the law of 14."

[321] See Chapter 1 on other figures operationalized by Agamben to illustrate bare life.

[322] Agamben excludes the mechanisms producing bare life – what Weheliye (2014) calls racializing assemblages – from the discussion.

[323] Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 1087 on the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, adopted on 26 April 1996 (Korff 2006, 60).

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early cases were not related to the right to life, in the case of *Öneryıldız v. Turkey* (the judgment of 30 November 2004), its petition, as well as its judgment, were reasoned according to the right to life and the state's responsibility. On 28 April 1993, a methane gas explosion occurred in a rubbish tip in Ümraniye created by the municipality, causing a landslide that engulfed 10 *gecekondu*s below it, killing 39 people. After that disaster, two mayors and several officials were found guilty of "negligence in the performance of their duties" and faced minimal penalties. The EHRC ruled that victims of disasters have to be paid compensation. The victim's petition to the ECHR claimed that the national government was responsible for the deaths and destruction of the properties. In this case, guaranteeing the safety of lives and prevention of deaths was made a positive obligation of the state.[324] However, here, the source of the disaster was directly related to activities of governmental bodies: the creation of the rubbish tip by local governance as well as not hindering the illegal settlement below it. Earthquakes, on the other hand, were until the Kocaeli Earthquake emblems of the notion of *force majeure*, characterized by outsideness, unpredictability, and unavoidability of the event. Claiming that this conception is something new, of earthquake destruction and loss as being something preventable or reducible, is not plausible, as historical and anthropological studies have shown.[325] However, the link established between the responsibilities of the state in the production of the built environment, and thereby the blame targeting the state, was new. As I touched on in chapter 2, the idea that the reasons for destruction and loss in the disasters is something outside society, and the state was critiqued in the post-earthquake period, indicating that the state was already to blame due to negligence in the process of planning and controlling the construction. The point is but a further shift of the link in the 2000s, so that the state does not only have to compensate due to its negligence but also must actively work towards preparedness for and protection from disasters to protect its citizens' lives.

The right to life concerning us in this respect, thus, does not work against the state but speaks to it, and not just for provision for the conditions for the development of life as it is clearly stated in the Constitution: What is at stake here is, rather, increasing the naturalization of attributions of responsibility to the state to protect life and of the state's claim surrounding

[324] See for the decision cited in Korff (2006, 63).
[325] E.g., in the modern narrative the Lisbon Earthquake signifies the origin of this (Coen 2012). Walker's (2003) study shows how the colonial administration in Peru tried to regulate post-earthquake reconstruction according to this principle. The architectural changes in Istanbul are also influenced by each earthquake experience (from massive construction to wood construction) as well as other disasters like fire (from wood construction to again to massive construction) (Çelik 1993). See also Bankoff (2003) as well as footnotes 113 and 199.

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the vulnerability of life. Secondly, the temporality of threat and response is still evident in the new content that vulnerability is not just constituted by an ontological injurability of the biological body but also immediately related to the futurity of an exceptional event.

Life, disaster, and state have not always been related to each other in this frame of temporality. One of the most widely used phrases, "shifting from healing wounds to risk reduction," points out a shift from injured life, to be cared for and compensated by the state, to the vulnerable life that should be identified and protected from future harm. We have a shift from blame and critique to demand. The faults of the state or its incapacity were thematized for the determination of compensation. Now, the demand for the protection of life works to force action preemptively.[326] The relationship of the state to life has begun to take form, through the temporality of emergency, in such a way that the state claims the security of life against anticipated threats as its domain of action and responsibility. This means we are witnessing the process of the production of a new truth of life as being vulnerable individually as well as collectively through anticipatory practices. The production of vulnerable life refers, however, not only to the practices that generate vulnerability but also to the emergence of the political and social discourse defining some conditions of life as vulnerable, to the political claims over these conditions and to the responses. The practices and discourses producing *vulnerable life* are constitutive parts of the *emergencyscape,* with the vulnerable life simultaneously its product.

Departing from the notion of biopower to explore this politics around the vulnerable life may seem to be convenient at first, since Foucault's concern is not the law/sovereign but the knowledge/government nexus. Modern societies are, according to Foucault, characterized by "power's hold over life [...] the acquisition of power over man insofar as man is a living being" (Foucault 2003, 139). At the turn of the 18th century, a normalizing power began to emerge, consisting first of disciplinary power and later, at the end of the century of regulatory power, of what Foucault also calls biopower. Biopower is power contrasting – though not replacing or eliminating – the sovereign power's right to make die or let live. It introduced mechanisms to make live, fostering life. However, this new technology is not interested in the life and death of individual bodies. Its mechanisms and focus lie at the level of population; it applies neither to individuals as legal subjects, as in the case of sovereign power, nor "to man-as-body," as is the case with disciplinary power, but "to man-as-living-

[326] See Adams et al. (2009) and Zeiderman (2016b).

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being," (242) "man-as-species" (243). It tries to control and predict random events that can occur in the living mass or to compensate their effects and achieve an equilibrium, the security of the whole population from internal danger. Its interest lies not in death but in morbidity as an intrinsic feature of the population, to be measured and known by statistics and intervened in at the level of wider scales like public hygiene or medicalization of the population, security measures, insurance, etc. Its primary focus is "fostering life." However, as Lemke (2011, 5) observed, "Foucault's concept of biopolitics assumes the dissociation and abstraction of life from its concrete physical bearers."

Fassin (2009, 49) argues, contra Foucault's biopower, that contemporary biopolitics is not characterized by "the power over life," understood as the technology of power making live or letting die, but "the power of life as such," that is, the legitimacy attached to life, "the life itself [...] simple fact of living." This rationale of humanitarianism, what he calls biolegitimacy, is "a generalized mode of governing" (ibid., 50; see also Fassin 2012). His intervention is especially important because he opens the discussion of biopolitics to affects, sentiments, and values, since disasters that occur or are anticipated have enormous social and political power in this respect. Affect concerning the disaster and the vulnerability of life "becomes itself a form of capital that is instrumental for governing the population" (Mavelli 2017, 823). The speech by then Prime Minister Erdogan on October 26 after the 2011 Van Earthquake, which has been repeatedly referred to by other political actors from the AKP to indicate that urban transformation is a necessity that should be targeted beyond party politics, illustrates this affective economy well:

> I am calling for this: We will begin a task with the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization together. It will be authorized for anything necessary regarding illegal buildings and gecekondu as well as to expropriate without asking those who did not demolish and renewed their buildings, and we will demolish these buildings. Regardless of the cost of if they vote for us or not; we will not take this into consideration. Because it is better to lose power than to experience these scenes again and again. Therefore, we must take this step [...] We, immediately, will intervene. We will both beautify our cities and furnish them with safe buildings. There is no other way. Therefore, we will rapidly prepare the legal regulations for this.[327]

His reference to the risks of the struggle against the populist politics of urbanization is neither a rhetorical mask nor a heroic declaration. Everybody is aware of the political determination and fearlessness such a declaration might signal. What is at stake here is not just a compassionate state, nor affective manipulation. As we discussed in chapter 3, we are

[327] "Başbakan'dan önemli mesajlar," *Hürriyet*, 26.10.2011. Available at: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/basbakandan-onemli-mesajlar-19089968

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dealing with the *affective economy of emergency*[328] that is not unrelated to the discourses and techno-political practices as mostly assumed. Politics acts upon emerging sentiments and affective economies.[329] Everybody is aware that such a declaration does not involve political risk-taking but is already based on a certain degree of consensual sentiments and knowledge about the cause of damage and the solution. On the other hand, these sentiments regarding the vulnerability of life undergo a process of naturalization and rationalization.

Seeing political actors as purely ethical, or as instrumentalizing these sentiments to disguise their intentions to serve political ends,[330] seems to be problematic. The point is, as Reid-Henry (2014, 422) argued for the case of humanitarianism and the liberal capitalist state, that "[b]oth responded to what were the felt needs of state and society at the time" by pointing out "the mutually constitutive relationship between humanitarianism and the forces of states and markets" (ibid., 419). Following this line of thinking, one can argue for a constitutive relationship between the vulnerable life – and the sentiments attached to it – and the sovereignty and legitimacy of the state. The term *biocare* is attentive to this constitutive relationship between the affects and sentiments concerning the vulnerability of life, biolegitimacy (Fassin 2009; 2012), and concerns about the security of the political order itself. Seeing biolegitimacy as a mask for other hidden agendas misses how it helps to extend the reach of the power of the state and the market. On the other hand, conceiving the incorporation of the affects and sentiments concerning the vulnerability of life against the earthquake as a top-down political manipulation does not recognize the power of the social as a productive force. In the post-disaster atmosphere after the Kocaeli Earthquake, as well as today, affects and sentiments concerning the vulnerability of life serve as the basis and tools of the critique of urban governmental practices (Angell 2014; Çaylı 2016; Zeiderman 2016b)

The fate of the sovereignty of the state, its protection does not depend solely on its capacity to determine an enemy (Schmitt 2007) or to produce bare life (Agamben 1998) as is often pursued in the cases of states of exception concerning territorial security and terror. What is

[328] This isn't to say that the techno-politics and economy of affect have distinct targets of governance: on the contrary, every practice of governing involves affects. See chapter 3.
[329] According to Mavelli (2017, 823), governing "through the accumulation of constructive sentiments becomes a central biopolitical rationality of government." Articulated in this way, it signals that the government is the source of such sentiments and turns them into political forces. See Fassin (2012) for a more complicated approach. His notion of "humanitarian reason" already disrupts the dichotomy of affect/reason.
[330] See e.g. Marchezini (2015) for a claim of using the sentiments regarding saving lives to justify violence. However, this article is important because it shows the convergence of the coloniality of the biopolitics of disaster and its effects. See, for further discussions of this through humanitarianism and global politics, Calhoun (2004, 2010), Gunewardena (2008), Donini (2008), and Fassin and Pandolfi (2010).

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at stake here is also not the convergence of biopower and sovereignty which enables killing to protect the biopolitical purity of society, as in the *Society Must Be Defended* seminar by Foucault (2003). The new legitimacy pool of the state, to which its sovereignty is strongly bound, is its capacity to protect and care.[331] Before devoting myself to this, I must note that it does not mean that the sovereign reason is replaced by a will-to-care. It would be inaccurate to claim that protecting life has replaced protecting sovereignty itself, the state. The state's agenda for the protection of its sovereignty, according to Sancar (2012), still precedes all other social and economic interests and constitutes its main objective. Even though the state of emergency rule in Turkish Kurdistan, which had lasted twenty-two years, was lifted in 2002, and martial law was removed from the Turkish Constitution with the last constitutional changes in 2016, the political threat to sovereignty, the friend/foe distinction, still matters to Turkish politics. Still, we have to pay attention to the political shifts and emergent legitimacy base mentioned above.

With the biopolitical context of earthquake risks, emergency merges both the threat to life and the threat to sovereignty. The ungovernability of the anticipated event is a catastrophe for the state. The exceptionality of the event is not a potential disorder – social disintegration or a Hobbesian state of nature – in the wake of future disaster as mostly assumed. It is also not just the severe losses, individual injuries, and deaths, but also its potentially exceeding the limits of governability, a loss of the state's legitimacy as we first experienced at a lower degree during the Kocaeli Earthquake. The potentiality of a catastrophe links the state's legitimacy to care for the population as well as for individuals. Thus, *biocare* emphasizes not only the central place and value that life is given, as the term biolegitimacy explains, but the assumed responsibility of the state to protect life, and thus the state's claim on the vulnerability and security of life, on which the legitimacy of the state depends, and by which the success of the state is measured. Rather than saying that the sovereign reason is replaced by a will-to-care, with a compassionate state, it suggests a co-constitutive relationship between them. Biocare is constitutive of *emergencyscape* by suggesting a will-to-care that is calibrated to the market logic of cost-benefit calculations and the state's sovereign logic of control. The will-to-care never operates externally to them. Biocare is always entangled with "legitimate" violence as well as institutionalized valuation and (de)valuation. The question

[331] I am, of course, aware of the Hobbesian sovereignty's construction around the "protection" (it is, though, conceptualized protection) of individuals from each other, the potential disintegration of the society. Here, the protection is from natural disasters that were before simply contingencies assumed to be outside of the society.

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of sovereignty becomes inevitably linked to the "biopolitical claims over vulnerable life" (Reid-Henry 2014, 419).

We are dealing here with neither Agamben's sovereign power/bare life nor Foucault's biopower/making live. "The partial or limited capacity of biopolitics to account for" different operations of power, as well as the diverse consequences of these operations, led Aradau and Tazzioli (2020, 816) to propose the term "biopolitics multiple," to enable paying attention to the diversity and coexistence of a wide range of technologies and governmental rationalities, to the different entanglements of these technologies, and to the production of heterogeneous effects which cannot be simply dealt with under the theoretical binary categories. The main binary "sovereign power/biopower" was established in the definition of biopower by Foucault and is defined by further binaries, such as making live/letting die. Agamben's biopolitics may not recognize this binary production of biopolitics, but it is based on another binary: exclusion/inclusion, which is for Foucault a sovereign technology. The nation-state and citizenship notions may simply give us the formula to look at the practices of inclusion and exclusion; the socio-material world, however, provides "a wide range of intermediate experiences" (K. Mitchell and Sparke 2020) by different bodies in different settings.

It seems to be complicated to explain with the tools that Agamben and Foucault provide us, the reason for which lies in the abstraction generated from particularities: Both Agamben and Foucault have been criticized for their "narcissistic provinciality" (Povinelli 2016, 3). Post- and decolonial scholars today "read [biopolitics] from a different global history" (ibid.), identifying the transfer of technologies between colonies and Europe, the wide range of complicities between biopower and sovereign power, killing and fostering life, violence and care, inclusion and exclusion, the same techniques applied to different aims in different geographies generating profits in one place and catastrophes in the other, and helping us to see that "[b]io-power and necro-politics are two sides of the same coin" (Braidotti 2007, cited in Povinelli 2016, 4).

Thinking with the scholars who engage with the coloniality of biopolitics helps us to break the limitations of the abstract categories of citizenship with inviolable rights or of governmental care for a homogeneous population to include the multiple factors of risk and value that are organized around private property, class, ethnicity, gender, temporality and

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affective alignments and alienations.[332] Colonial experience, which is not a finished epoch but contemporary experience (Stoler 2016),[333] shows that it is not just exception as necropolitics (Mbembe 2003), but also inclusion as development, improvement, and humanitarian practices, that have been producing negative biopolitical consequences and generating vulnerabilities for populations.[334] How can we account for this entanglement of care and violence beyond the binary boundaries of biopolitical concepts? As I will show later, it is hardly possible in our case to decide with a simple formula what creates abandonment or care. What matters is to conceive care and abandonment not in generalizing terms, but as asking "for whom," since both the inclusion into and exclusion from the risk reduction process may lead to vulnerability.

Property

Is it just life that matters? Is life as such more central than private property? One of the main points in the critique is that the law, with exceptional articles referring to states of emergency, suspends and violates the right to property: Urgent expropriation is to be deployed against property owners who do not cooperate in the risk zones. During the realization of a project, the Ministry, TOKI, or the authorities that apply the urban transformation project may stop all zoning and construction temporarily in the zones of risk, risky buildings, and reserve building areas.[335] For the case of renewal of the risky buildings,

[332] See Bhandar (2018) on private property and race, and Stoler (2008, 2013) on governing through affective judgment on the aligned or alien sentiments of colonized subjects, what she calls affective state.
[333] Yael Berda (2020) traces the counter-terrorism laws in India and Israel to the mechanisms of the British colonial government and contests the idea that the roots of contemporary exceptionalism are rooted in the post 9/11 global "war on terror." Compare with Ann Stoler's "colonial aphasia" (2016) and how colonial and imperial mechanisms and techniques are, in a recursive mode, with us today (2018a).
[334] Spatial improvement projects and colonial security strategies were, in colonial and postcolonial governances, converged and dependent upon each other. See Prasad (2017) on British developmental projects for the resettlement of Chinese migrants during the Malaysian state of emergency, Crane (2017) on French urban planning and housing production and military strategies against anticolonial urban struggles in Algiers, Tarlo (2003) on the spatial improvement, forced sterilization and displacement during the Indian Emergency. These works reveal the instrumental tie between improvement and security. However, some scholars (M. N. Barnett 2011; Lambert and Lester 2004; Reid-Henry 2014) also conceive humanitarianism as an aspect of imperialism. See also Li (2007). Esmeir's (2012) work *Juridical Humanity* shows how colonialism worked not only through exclusion but also inclusion – like reforms regarding women and animals, producing what she calls "juridical humanity," working against "unnecessary" pain and suffering which in turn justifies "necessary" violence. This is linked to another problem of binary construction: affirmative biopolitics/negative biopolitics. Since there is no simple way to say which one leads to what lived effects or potential effects in the future, for reasons I will discuss later, it is not so simple to say risk reduction is affirmative or negative biopolitics.
[335] Law 6306, Article 4/1.

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agreement of two-thirds of the property owners is enough, while the properties whose owners do not agree are to be sold to the other property owners.

Contrary to the claims of the initiators and policymakers as well as those of actors of contestation, *biocare* does not, however, suspend or ignore property.[336] My point is that the right to life does not contravene the right to property, as it is called in the quotation above. One's vulnerability is recognized as long as it is attached to a property. Property is the organizing principle and the rationalizing mechanism of *biocare*. It is not merely an ideology of the liberal state, nor a naturally given basis of the law as the Lockean view of natural rights espouses, but a technique of government.[337] Property is made, unmade, and remade by different techniques and tools at different times while generating and maintaining inequalities alongside its production. Because of the dependence of the procedures' organization on property relations, *biocare* is not distributed evenly.[338]

One could argue that since the main reason vulnerability arises from the material engineering qualities of buildings, the most logical mechanism by which risk reduction is organized is not the body inhabiting the building but the building itself. One may also accordingly suggest that I should have used the term "architectural care" instead of *biocare;* since care depends on the vulnerability of buildings, the solution is demolition and renewal. What I have often encountered is exemplified by statements of governmental actors such as "We are delighted by each demolition of a risky building." In an informal meeting, one explained to me that they see these buildings as potential "graveyards." By demolition, the main threat is, according to this view, removed.[339] Taking property ownership as an organizing principle, however, breaks the relationship between material vulnerability and inhabitation. The term *biocare* signals life/death as its focus and works contra to this simple explanation of securing life through subtraction/construction by bringing the question of inequality into the discussion – to which I will turn below. Whose life is then secured? The non-owner occupiers and tenants who are vulnerable through their

[336] In liberal capitalist law, the public interest is the principle delineating the limits of private property. It assumes a certain balance between the exceptional rights of ownership by subjects of the law and the collective right to limit private property.
[337] See Shilliam (2016) and Bhandar (2018) scrutinizing Lockean law as a racializing technique of colonialism.
[338] See Weheliye (2014) for property as a racializing technique in a deeper way, beyond the question of home and land ownership: ownership of one's own body, slavery, and law.
[339] Cutting public services to buildings that are not vacated is a strategy for speeding up the process. The Ministry responded to critiques arguing this amounts to a violation of human rights with the argument that they were ensuring that the risky buildings were not inhabited further. Indeed, vacated buildings sometimes serve people who cannot afford housing in the housing market.

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relation of inhabitation to the risky building are excluded from the care through this mechanism that recognizes only the status of ownership. The logic deployed here, as simply formulated by Pérouse (2013b, 51), is right=property. Thus, the legal subjects of urban transformation do not overlap with the lives to be secured.

According to the laws regarding urban transformation, the addressee of the urban transformation is the property owner. It designates the ownership right for future projects on the grounds of property ownership within the transformation area. According to the Urban Transformation Law, property owners are eligible for exemptions of taxes and fees, rent aid,[340] or credit subsidies. Even though the policy articulates a possibility of rent aid to tenants, they are eligible for aid equivalent only to two months of rent. The tenants are eligible for credit subsidies in the case of buying a flat provided elsewhere by the state – since nobody is excluded from the promise of homeownership. These flats were, however, mostly constructed on the periphery of the city. Renting a flat in the new buildings in the risk zones or in renewed buildings is nearly impossible given the fact that rents substantially increase after the renewal, and additional fees are often levied (e.g., maintenance, security, groundskeeping, etc.). In either case, this situation means for tenants displacement from their former neighborhoods. They may move into a flat nearby, but this mostly means a continuation of their seismic vulnerability as well as the emergence of new social risks as a result of their solidarity networks also being destroyed. Vulnerability of life in this case of course depends on the building, specifically the seismic resistance of the building, even though life might be vulnerable due to factors beyond the seismicity, for which I use the notion of precarity. Life is precarious in a web of social and political factors. The point is the translation of the relationship between the security of lives and buildings into one of a relationship of property. Therefore, a social alternative to risk reduction must center the tenants in its focus,[341] yet not through inclusion into the promise of property, but by employing alternative ways of thinking about the relationship between inhabitation and security.

Neither property nor life is, however, a stable category, but is contingent upon the relations that maintain them. A helpful approach is Keenan's (2010, 423) relational concept of property as "a relationship of belonging that is held up by the surrounding space – a relationship that is not fixed or essential but temporally and spatially contingent." According to Locke, empty

[340] In its initial form max. eighteen months, now max. thirty-six months.
[341] Balamir (2005a) proposed that the production of excess housing units should be collectively owned and used to house current tenants at former rental values for a minimum of five years.

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land belongs to the self-owning proper subject when he mixes his labor with it, though property does not "happen" automatically through this relationship between the subject and object of property: it needs to be "held up by the surrounding space" (Keenan 2010, 423). A network of relations has to recognize it as such. The modern legal notion of property has, according to Brenna Bhandar (2018, 3), emerged through the "colonial modes of appropriation." Colonialism was the space, the network of relations in which private property happened and was sustained. Property law and race were constitutive of each other, both of which were historically generated by the logic of abstraction and the ideology of improvement (ibid., 8). This formation of the legal form of property is historically contingent upon this space, colonialism, enabled and maintained by them. The relations and mechanisms enabling sustaining property are not fixed but require renewal.

The ideology of improvement is also evident in the history of the legalization of *gecekondus*: they had to be legalized and replanned in order to improve *gecekondu* environments as well as the lives of their inhabitants. The legalization process, through the methods of abstraction (like registration, measuring, the title deed) to integrate informally occupied land and occupier owners into the market, is based on a similar capitalist ideology of improvement and the modernist idea of improvement of life (as well as bodies). These are still evoked, especially in the renewal projects in the *gecekondu* areas. Yet, we are witnessing a new set of relationships in which property is remade: risk and vulnerable life. The logic of abstraction,[342] underlying the tools such as title deeds and practices like property measuring and registration (Bhandar 2018), is still in use as we will see below. However, we have new practices and tools like risk identification and registration that can also be identified under the logic of abstraction. Note that the vulnerable life, as well as the right to life, underlie a similar logic of abstraction that can only be recognized through private property and risk identification, not through the relationship of inhabitation.

If we follow the approach proposed by Keenan (2010, 23) that property is "a relationship of belonging that is held up by the surrounding space", we can also recognize the space in which property happens, is maintained, and is remade. Since property is temporally and spatially contingent, this approach also allows us to see the shifts in how property happens, is sustained, remade, or unmade. In the details below, I will take up the question of how the legal notion of property, coupled with the governance of informality, governs risk and

[342] The logic of abstraction is also the mechanism underlying racism, the emergence of which has a reciprocal relationship with the emergence of property law (Bhandar 2018).

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vulnerability as a technique of power that is based on relations of inequalities and is also productive of them.

Unequal Distribution

Being subjected by the Urban Transformation Law to the sovereign suspension and violations of personal rights, including the right to property, presupposes inclusion into a distinct form of care through property ownership. Even though exclusion from the care by means of the mechanism of property might be categorized as a clear example of abandonment, the inclusion into care via property ownership does not necessarily lead to the elimination of risks and vulnerabilities. Since property relations are far from being a simple domain and constitutive of existing inequalities, inclusion into care via property generates a wide range of different consequences for the subjects included. As Duman (2015, 418) concludes, "[t]herefore, the process produces winners and losers." The governance of the informality is co-constitutive of vulnerability and risk, not just as a diagnostic tool for the identification of the places and methods of interventions, as already mentioned in chapter 4, but also because it is the ground out of which the unstable and unsecured property relations arise. Private property entangled with informality becomes here a technology of inequality as well as vulnerability which secures life or creates avenues for profit for some while producing vulnerabilities ("letting die") for others. It is damaging sometimes, in that it creates new social risks by causing loss of livelihood and indebtedness. Furthermore, it might even produce seismic vulnerabilities through indirect displacement. The mechanisms and tools that are encoded as care[343] might lead to damage to the social and material conditions that sustain and secure life.

As mentioned in chapter 4, contrary to the marginalization theories, many so-called poor inhabitants of the *gecekondus* are not necessarily more vulnerable to the seismic threat: low density, fewer stories, etc. In the case of *gecekondu,* the notion of vulnerability must be replaced with social precarity. All precarious lives are not necessarily more vulnerable to the anticipated earthquake than other lives, for it is not vulnerability but social precarity that put them at the risk of urban transformation. Urban transformation, encoded as a

[343] This has also been observed in the post-disaster reconstruction: see especially Barrios (2017a) on how the experts' and planners' view of care does not always overlap with the disaster victims' in the reconstruction phase.

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mechanism of care, becomes a technology of the production and distribution of vulnerability for these populations. As a result of indirect displacement in the process of urban transformation, their precarity might turn into seismic vulnerability.

Even if an urban renewal project is planned *in situ*, which is the case for property owners, the financial matrix of the project can initiate displacement/dispossession. This is especially the case for *gecekondu* owners, who mostly lack title deeds. *Gecekondu* owners get different financial options according to the status of their property, e.g., they hold a title deed, a pre-title deed, or neither. If they don't have any title deed they get only a sum – called *enkaz bedeli* – amounting to ten percent of the market value of the house, seen as equal to the costs of the building materials. Thus, they get a new dwelling only through long-term indebtedness.[344] Property owners who lack any documentation are relatively few, but pre-title deed owners are, however, not rare cases. Even if a neighborhood has undergone a legalization process, various factors can hinder the provision of title deeds. According to the Amnesty Law 2981 enacted in 1984, *gecekondu* owners get a pre-title deed, a temporary document recognizing the right of occupation and quasi-ownership, until they get a title deed after the municipality prepares an improvement plan. The urban transformation process in Sarıgöl Neigborhood[345] provides a suitable example here. Half of the property owners have either pre-title deeds or title deeds only for land (Hardal and Kılıç 2019, 350); only twenty-six percent of the respondents of Hardal and Kılıç (2019), in that neighborhood have title deeds for both the land as well as the dwelling.[346] Property owners with only pre-title deeds are compensated for their property at well under market rates (ibid.), leading to indebtedness or displacement.

[344] Law 5582, enacted in 2007 and widely called the "Mortgage" Law, should also be treated as part of *the legal complex of emergency.*

[345] Sarıgöl Neighborhood was declared in 2005 to be an Urban Transformation and Development Area according to Article 73 of the Municipality Law. The project could only begin once the neighborhood was declared a zone of risk in 2013. Sarıgöl is the first neighborhood of the Gaziosmanpaşa district that now contains thirty-six percent of all areas declared as zones of risk in Istanbul (Yazar et al. 2020, 643). The district has a prominent location, in terms of accessibility and centrality, while accommodating working-class people with low income. The first phase of the renewal of the area was completed in 2016 and comprises 725 dwelling units in a gated estate with high-rise buildings of fifteen to twenty floors (Hardal and Kılıç 2019).

[346] See also Kılıç and Hardal (2014). Another part of the problem regarding rightsholdership is land with multiple owners.

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Figure 38. Looking at the constructed urban transformation project from the declared zone of risk in Sarıgöl.

Getting a new dwelling does not necessarily mean the elimination of the threat of displacement. Even if the recognized rightsholders, the owners of properties with a title deed, get a new dwelling without being indebted, which is rarely the case, monthly payments for operation costs like security, elevators, and landscape maintenance might easily exceed their financial capacity, exacerbated by increases in other expenses due to how large-scale urban transformation displaces small-scale retail shops and destroys domestic food production possibilities as well as solidarity networks. Additionally, financial difficulties, new conduct codes, and disciplining rules may also affect inhabitants' well-being in the new environment. This new environment becomes fully saturated with emergent social risks. These new social risks disguise mostly indirect mechanisms of displacement as voluntary (Duman 2015, 417). The findings of Kilic and Hardal's study provide some indication of this. Even though seventy-three percent of their respondents are amenable to the renewal project, most of them do not think that they will inhabit the new dwellings, believing that they will not be able to conform to life in a gated estate and that it will bring them a financial burden (Kılıç and Hardal 2014, 5).

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Indirect mechanisms of displacement through the production of new social risks could lead to damage to livelihoods as well as to the generation of seismic vulnerability. This brings us to the question of the convergence of violence and care. Gupta (2012) contests the one-way relationship in Agamben's biopolitics, "that exclusion is the basis for violence in states of exception." Those who were sent to extermination were first denationalized, excluded from the protection of the law, and only then could be exposed to death. Gupta's focus on poverty shows "the paradox of the violence of poverty in India is that the poor are killed despite their inclusion in projects of national sovereignty and despite their centrality to democratic politics and state legitimacy" (ibid., 7). In our case, I would say, not despite the inclusion but because of the inclusion into *biocare*, *gecekondu* owners are exposed to the violence of a process which ends up becoming dispossession, displacement, and, lastly, potentially seismic vulnerability. As Wisner et al. (1994, 238-9) put it, "[p]eople are not only at risk from earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; they are also at risk from the action, or inaction, of politicians." We are witnessing various examples of this claim in the process of urban transformation.[347]

The notion of *biocare* tries to regard care and violence relationally in their convergence, which are considered mostly in a binary mode. The rationale of the government conceives the violence of the law as a necessary constitutive part of the rationalization of *biocare*. Seeing *biocare* as a pure will-to-care that necessarily targets every vulnerable life, or conceiving the uneven distribution of care and violence as sovereign arbitrariness, misses the point of how the techno-politics of risk, from assessment to risk reduction, coupled with the market logic of cost-benefit analysis, creates a calculative environment[348] in which *biocare* has inequality as its basis as well as its consequence. It is mostly a matter of calculation that goes beyond the material vulnerability of the buildings as I partly touched on in chapter 4. The lines on the map of the at-risk populations have been drawn not only by the earthquake threat, micro-zonation maps, risk assessment methods, and devices, but also cost-benefit analysis, investment logic, and a depoliticized mode of governing ignoring the inequalities. Which intervention is preferred for which kind of settlements is decided through a cost-benefit analysis in the wider political economy. By means of risk, life "is subsumed to a bio-economic rationality" (Aradau and Tazzioli 2020).

[347] See chapter 1 for my contestation of Ophir's (2010) view that earthquake risk reduction is a simple example of a decatastrophizing relationship of mitigation between discursive and objective catastrophization.
[348] See Petryna (2004, 253) for a similar point on post-Chernobyl compensation: "Norms of worker exposures are in fact being decided locally and within the constraints of a national economy."

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Various studies on the risk reduction that I discussed in chapter 4 do, in fact, recognize the uneven distribution of resources among the different forms of settlements[349] along the lines of differentiated vulnerabilities and risks, and point out different mechanisms of risk reduction. The *gecekondu* neighborhoods are recognized as places where the low density and attractive location might bear opportunities for self-financing models (IMM 2003). The calculative environment of the risk ecologies turns the *gecekondus* into a resource for risk reduction. That is in part why zones of risk declared up through today involve mostly this type of settlement.

Also related is the question of who will live in the new dwellings if they are not affordable to the *gecekondu* owners? Whose life is secured? Who is cared for? The question of who will be in the end provided safer housing seems not to be in the purview of this logic, which is concerned primarily with replacing the environment and accommodating it with safe buildings, eliminating the informality. Who will live in these new dwellings and to whom they provide architectural care is not a direct concern. Housing production in the declared zones of risk does not only target the populations living there. Each new building is conceived as a further step toward a safer city. Risk becomes a technology for extracting value from informality by turning informal low-density *gecekondu* neighborhoods into a resource for general risk reduction through housing production for those who can afford it, as well as valuation of the locations of these settlements.[350] It is not simply that *gecekondu* owners are excluded from the process; rather, they become what finances risk reduction by virtue of their inclusion into *biocare.*

Similarly, low-income property owners and small flat owners (e.g., Tozkoparan),[351] even if they have ownership of the property, are confronted with the negative consequences of the urban transformation process. In the urban transformation process, the new dwelling that such an owner gets is usually smaller than the one owned, since the difference must pay the cost of the construction. In other cases, the newly built dwelling units exceed the size of the former dwellings, and the difference must be paid by the right holders. If a family has a fifty

[349] E.g., *gecekondu* neighborhoods, informally emerged and later legalized densely built neighborhoods, formal neighborhoods inhabited by the middle class or formal neighborhoods in the historical center inhabited by the urban poor, social housing with low density, dense housing complexes built by the cooperatives. See chapter 4.
[350] Municipalities occasionally promote urban transformation projects in their districts as opportunities to attract middle classes to the district.
[351] Inhabitants of Tozkoparan are not facing displacement risk for the first time. Large groups of the property owners have been resettled from different central neighborhoods of Istanbul to Tozkoparan since the 1950s. See Ünsal and Türkün (2014).

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or seventy square meter flat, it must inevitably choose to take on debt. The small flat owners like the ones in Tozkopran, and the other old social housing stock with very low density which are also the most targeted zones of risk after the *gecekondus*, are mostly working-class people with low income. For them, indebtedness is a substantial threat to their livelihoods. Even if the urban transformation eliminates the seismic vulnerability, it might produce new social risks for these populations in such cases.

Figure 39. Tozkoparan, Güngören. Left: low density housing included in the zone of risk; Right: high density housing estate located also in Tozkoparan but excluded from the zone of risk.

The calculative environment of risk engenders also abandonment, withdrawal of care from parts of populations. The informally emerged later legalized high-density neighborhoods are considered to comprise one of the most difficult categories for risk reduction due to their high density; thus the existence of too many rights holders on smaller lots, as also proved by the urban transformation experience in the Sümer Neighborhood. These settlements, even though they occupy a prominent place in the discourse, are abandoned, since only a few of the zones of risk declared fall into this category. The renewal of the individual buildings – especially renewal on the level of city block – is encouraged in the fully legalized informally emerged neighborhoods with registered properties, due to the assumption that the formalized private property is the basis for the connection of the property owner to the financial market as well as the provision of credit subsidies by the Law. Several aspects are ignored here, such as the limited financial possibilities of working class property owners to take on debt and the market's low interest, since the land's value is decisive in the terms of a renewal contract with the developers.[352] Fassin (2009, 53) emphasizes that a politics of life is always a politics of death since it "supposes implicit or sometimes explicit choices over who

[352] See D. C. Harvey (2017) for a critique of disaster capitalism, who argues that the violence of disaster capitalism is not actualized just through the colonization of the spaces of the poor by capital but also through the abandonment facilitated by policy and capital.

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shall live what sort of life and for how long," and the politics of death is in its ordinary way a social matter. To choose where the *biocare* applied is also to choose where people are abandoned, deprived of care (Fassin 2009, Reid-Henry 2014).

As biopower does not always lead to the care and safety of individuals, the sovereign power is not always only actualized to produce bare life, and the exception does not only work to deprive of rights, as Ann Stoler, Katharyne Mitchell, Aiwa Ong, and Mona Fawaz have already pointed out. Mona Fawaz's study on the exception in the urban development and planning in Beirut shows that exceptional policy departures govern populations by working through different temporal frames and "granting incentives and additional privileges rather than deprivation" (2017, 1944). As in the colony, the exception is not just a means of necropolitics (Mbembe 2003) but also a practice producing privileged populations. Ann Stoler's (2006, 2016) notions of "degrees of sovereignty" and "graduations of rights," explain precisely this differentiating and flexible imperial power of legalities:

> Imperial formations are not now and rarely have been clearly bordered and bounded polities. We can think of them better as scaled genres of rule that produce and count on different degrees of sovereignty and gradations of rights. They thrive on turbid taxonomies that produce shadow populations and ever-improved coercive measures to protect the common good against those deemed threats to it. Finally, imperial formations give rise both to new zones of exclusion and new sites of — and social groups with — privileged exemption (Stoler 2006, 128).

Keller Easterling (2005), Katharyne Mitchell (2006), and Aiwa Ong (2006) account for how neoliberalism and exceptionalism work through and sustain each other when exception generates complex ways of organizing space and population. They challenge the Agambenian reading of the exception as having the sole function of producing bare life. Instead, the exception is characterized through a "double tracking" as Katharyne Mitchell (2006, 98) put it: While it works to deprive racialized and gendered bodies like migrant workers of their rights, it also makes white male bodies non-embodied ("stripped down") and non-embedded ("placeless and free-floating") subjects (like global businessmen). Attention to the difference and place boundedness of exception is especially important for us here, even though in our case it is not necessarily that some privileged people are exempted from the law. The law and its exceptions are indifferent to the inequalities. The problem again comes down to inequality. The ecologies of risk and inequality are decisive in the way risk becomes either a resource or a threat.

The Law enables self-initiative of the property owners for the renewal of their property identified as risky, who may also enjoy advantages of the exceptional regulations in this law: credit subsidies for property owners as well as for developers, and exemptions from

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bureaucratic obligations as well as various taxes and fees which might make up 10% of the construction cost, and in some cases even exceptional development rights. The same law might introduce exception as a threat while it becomes for others a means and enabler of generating economic value. The more well-off formal neighborhoods with higher market value were already in the Earthquake Master Plan (IMM 2003), designated as places where the renewal of individual buildings might be realized by means of market mechanisms. Since the costs of rebuilding are more or less the same in different neighborhoods with different land values, the profit gained by the developers differs enormously. Furthermore, the Urban Transformation Law applies equally in these different locations with different economic value and financial resources, providing the same exceptional subsidies and exemptions from obligations. Even though risk qualifies property owners for resource distribution equally, it becomes in one case a seismic as well as a social threat; in the other, it turns into a resource generating more value. Thus, various well-off neighborhoods alongside Bağdad Avenue, for example, like Caddebostan, Suadiye, and Göztepe, where the property values are triple the average for the city (Özler, Tayfun, and Salihoğlu 2015), have been experiencing a very fast transformation through building renewals, changing their character from upper middle-class neighborhoods with detached houses to gated housing estates.

Figure 40. Renewed high-rise buildings in Caddebostan, Kadıköy.

An example to the process mentioned above is building renewal in Caddebostan, one of the neighborhoods in Kadıköy district.[353] The process of the renewal of a risky building in these neighborhoods proceeds similarly to others in the city – risk assessment, declaration as risky building, two-thirds agreement among the property owners, contracting a developer, provision of subsidies like rental aid, etc. However, these neighborhoods experience some

[353] Özler, Tayfun, and Salihoğlu (2015); see also Berkmen and Turgut (2019).

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extra advantages: Bayurgil (2019) reports that due to intensive competition between them, developers may also provide extra subventions to the property owners. Here the property owners replace their dwellings with safer ones, increasing the value of their properties without paying anything. They also get thirty percent development rights (ibid.) or actualize an existing development rights gap (Özler, Tayfun, and Salihoğlu 2015), which is not always possible for all neighborhoods. An example would be the Avcılar district which bears higher seismic risks than Kadiköy due to geophysical conditions such as the proximity to the fault lines and the problematic ground structure (see chapter 4). A property owner from the district whom I met in the field, for example, was not as enthusiastic as the ones in Caddebostan, since she had to pay 300,000 TL for the renewed dwelling replacing her risky property, entailing long-term indebtedness despite receiving credit subsidies. She explained to me her way of reasoning: If she would sell her property she would get 300,000 TL, insufficient to buy another apartment in the district, and thus she had to move into a risky building in another district with lower land value. Furthermore, she also took into account that the new dwelling would then have nearly 1 million TL value. Property prices in the renewed buildings increase throughout the whole city, possibly leading to intensive renewal in districts like Kadiköy which bear lower seismic risks, while the heavy cost-benefit calculations do not necessarily end with the decision of renewal in every middle-class high-risk neighborhood like Avcılar or even Bakırköy. The risk of indebtedness could be taken because she and her husband work in middle-income jobs.

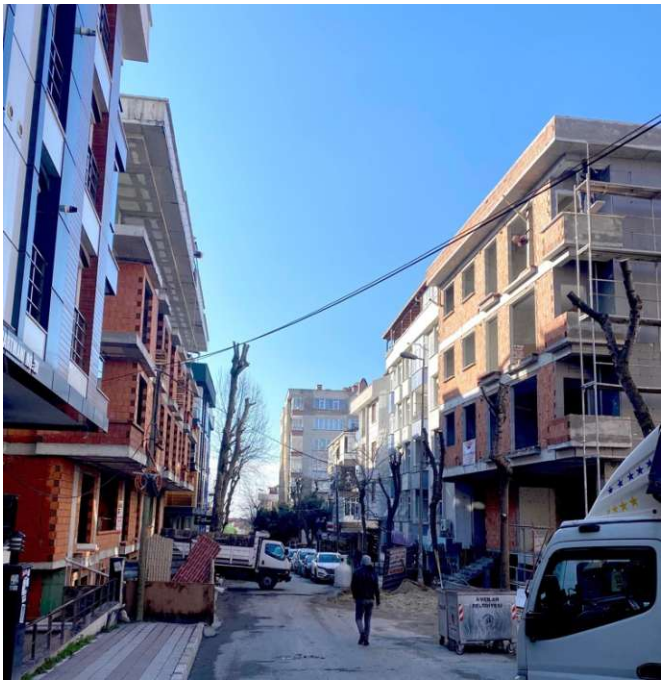

Figure 41. Reconstruction of risky buildings in Avcılar.

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As the examples in this section have shown, not all can count on the protection of *biocare* to the same degree; the Urban Transformation Law does not mean for all the deprivation of rights and the exposure to sovereign violence. Whether the risk reduction based on property ownership leads to care or abandonment, profit or vulnerability is contingent upon the existing inequalities. Policies for urban renewal and building renewal as risk reduction mechanisms, indifferent to these inequalities, applying homogenously in an environment driven with market logic, mean that the same provisions produce unequal distribution of care and vulnerabilities.

Subjectivities in *Emergencyscape*

As I touched on above, the vulnerable life is the emergent truth of life. However, life is not only characterized by vulnerability, but also its capacity to be affected and to affect – to act – as discussed in chapter 3. Affects and sentiments concerning the vulnerability and security of life are already incorporated into politics through the process of rationalization. The techno-politics of anticipation of the earthquake threat generates not only fear but attempts to regulate it through the production of the distinct temporality of emergency, interval (chapter 3), and the possibilities of response to meet the exceptional event (risk reduction practices in chapter 4), which requires a certain degree of hopefulness.

Emergencyscape entails the threat of disaster coupled with the promise of security. The practices of risk awareness and risk reduction assume a proper attitude that is well balanced between fear and hope and willing to engage in taking measures against the earthquake, as discussed in chapter 3. It is a new active subjectivity, at odds with the picture of the "victim" of post-disaster governance, who is "in need of succor and, by the same token, elevates external agents to the role of saviors" (de Waal 2008, x). The emergency subjectivity is responsiblized to let her property evaluate, demolish, retrofit or rebuild, giving security priority before the other interests. Since urban transformation produces new risks for precarious lives, *especially* in the declared zones of risk, and turns these precarious lives into vulnerable lives, as I elaborated above, the affects are not necessarily distributed in the expected fashion. People who became "affect aliens," in the words of Sara Ahmed (2010), who do not align with the hegemonic relations between affects and their "proper" objects, who do not have expected orientations towards the "proper" objects of fear and hope, are defined as fatalists, mostly conceived as a pre-modern attitude indifferent to the future and

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human agency.[354] The discourse on fatalism is a discourse of failure and pathology delegitimizing other orientations – other concerns, beliefs, practices, and contestations – toward disasters and the future. It is also a politics that displaces responsibility (Little and Vaughan-Williams 2016) from the social to the individual in a twofold way: displacement of responsibility, on the one hand, for potential future loss and injuries, and, on the other hand, for the unequal consequences of urban transformation and building renewal. Thus, *emergencyscape* has a depoliticizing effect.[355] The abstract vulnerability of life and assumption of the uniform distribution of affects, along with the displacement of responsibility, function only indifferently to inequalities in the shadow of the equal application of the law based on property ownership. This depoliticizing capacity of emergency must be countered with a politics attuned to inequality since "[t]he answer to the question of what, or who is to blame [...] depends on what is considered a social vector, as opposed to an individual choice" (Povinelli 2011, 157).

It is not always so simple to distinguish the objects of hope from objects of fear. Urban transformation, presented as a source of possible hopes and measures against possible threats, can seem to become the source of new threats, thus the object of new fears. The promise of inclusion into *biocare* is seen for precarious lives as a threat due to emergent social risks that are more recognizable than the threat of a future earthquake. If one is under the risk of losing her home due to urban transformation or building renewal, seismic risks say little about the near future. Thus, urban transformation turns out to be a threat instead of a promise. A risky home might become an acceptable option, as a recent survey has made apparent. According to this survey, "Earthquake in Istanbul: Perception and Attitude Survey" (IMM 2020), conducted in November 2020 by the IMM Statistics Office, 38.5% of the respondents stated that they would continue to dwell in their homes even if they were to be assessed as risky, with eighty percent of these identifying lack of financial resources as the reason.

Alongside the anticipatory politics of disaster risks, there are other kinds of anticipatory practices[356] in which inhabitants of the city must engage. Duman's (2015) study on the perceptions and attitudes of the inhabitants of different districts with a wide range of socio-

[354] This is the classical definition of modern approaches to disasters. The notion of risk is mostly connected to this future-orientedness. See chapters 3 and 4.
[355] In the words of Miriam Ticktin (2011, 31) "simultaneously a politics and an *antipolitics*."
[356] See, for example, Simone (2010, 2019) and Choi (2015).

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economic status clearly shows that the socio-economic status and nature of property are decisive in whether a property owner sees urban transformation or building renewal as a good transaction or not. Especially low-income property owners, pre-title deed owners, and small flat owners see themselves as being on the losing end of this transaction, while for the property owners with higher economic status in the neighborhoods with the higher land value it is an easy way to increase value. Yet for the majority of people, it is "a troubling cost-benefit assessment," in which they must engage, possibly to end in taking on a debt burden or proceeding to dwell in a risky home.[357]

What affects people's decisions is neither a rational calculation free of the context of hegemonic relations,[358] nor an affective state that emerged as a result of manipulation at some preconscious level.[359] It is not simply indifference to "preventive care" (Simone 2019, 124): seismic risks may become preferable to other forms of risks like risks to livelihoods, the risk of homelessness or indebtedness, but also to other factors like disciplining rules and practices to which one will potentially be subjected in the new housing estates.[360] These decisions depend on the possibilities and risks that are contingent upon existing inequalities and renewal procedures. Thus, there is a need to ethnographically explore the particularities of how these practices have been experienced on the ground, as well as how the inhabitants engage in this process beyond some moral or scientific assumptions, since

> [e]thnographic methods are critical for elucidating such interrelated processes at local levels. This is particularly true with regard to assessing the decisions people make based on limited choices available to them and the informal aspects of power that inform those decisions (Petryna 2004, 261).

The ecologies of risk and inequality are decisive in the ways risk becomes either resource or threat and the ways people try to manage, to negotiate, to move from threat to resource.

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[357] Like the workers in Petryna's (2004) study on post-Chernobyl Ukraine, who were sent to clean up the radiation. "[T]hey are still driven to work by a situation in which economic forces are overwhelming" (253). Their lives thus become "undervalued" (254).

[358] See T. Mitchell (1990, 555) on how resistance and agency is conceptualized through this reduction: "[...] the strange process that capitalist societies call rational decision-making, with its constructions of alternative artificial futures, its reduction of life's complexities to a series of isolated variables, and its ideology of the sovereign individual, the rationale is never something calculated in a manner that is context-free. The calculation will always depend on estimations and suppositions that are the effect of a set of hegemonic relations." The problem of agency is critiqued especially within the discussions of post-humanism. However, trying to overcome the limits and problems of agency and of human as Man, one does not have to expect some new Deleuzzian actualization, but only turn to practices and lives that were excluded from the theory making but which could lead the way toward understanding resistance and agency beyond the forms of disfiguration that are not in advance decided (Weheliye 2014, 2).

[359] See chapter 3 footnote 147. See also Barrios (2017a) on affects role in people's decisions contesting modernist calculative practices of the planners and experts in the post-disaster reconstruction.

[360] See Kolluoğlu and Bartu-Candan (2008), Baysal (2013), and Soytemel (2017).

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Conclusion

Emergencyscape and *emergency as effect* do not only concern potential future disasters, but also the practices to meet them. It is never a sole survival project exhausted in the threat/response nexus but is bound up with affects and values, inequalities, market logic, expert reasonings, and political rationale in a socio-material environment of a yet-to-come disaster. What I call *emergencyscape* is this wider relational space of discursive, material, spatial and corporeal relations. Emergency itself is the *effect* of the practices which set up and operate these relations. It does not refer to some mythical sovereign decision, nor it is just interested in the future, since "[s]ocial, economic, and political processes that precede the disaster event might be understood as disastrous in and of themselves" (Wiebe and Lawrence 2017, 5). The term *emergencyscape,* emergency as the effect of it, indicates also the potential catastrophizing effects of the process of urban transformation.

In the parliamentary commission report on the Urban Transformation Law Draft (TBMM 2012, 14), an oppositional note points out that "the possibility of reducing the disaster risks by this law is low, while that of increasing the social and cultural risks is high." There were also claims that urban transformation itself is a disaster. One could say that it will become a *virtual disaster* if the process continues, since it lacks the spectacle of a disaster event. Something virtual has the virtues of its referent. In its everyday usage, the virtual is "as if" or "almost," thus "it is what is so in essence but not in form" (Shields 2003, 22). It is becoming almost a disaster except for its different temporality. While a disaster is an event splitting time into before and after (Fassin and Vasquez 2005; Ophir 2010), the virtual disaster is a process: it is what Ophir (2010) calls "catastrophization." The violence of the virtual disaster is not perceived, unlike the spectacular violence of a disaster. The violence of the virtual disaster is disguised in the "quasi-events" that "rarely appear to be catastrophic" (Povinelli 2011, 131) but "can spiral into" catastrophic effects for some (Gupta 2012, 25). In the words of Li (2010, 1):

> Letting die is not an apocalypse. It is not a media event, like a massacre, an earthquake, or a famine that kills large numbers in a compressed period of time. [...] It is a stealthy violence that consigns large numbers of people to lead short and limited lives.

One person's tragedy of losing her home is not perceived as being worthy of collective attention. Increased social risks and precarity due to the loss of homes, livelihoods, and solidarity networks resemble what Nixon (2011) calls "slow violence," since its effects could lead to untimely death, always a social matter but mostly remaining invisible to the collective

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attention and not producing immediate affects (Gupta 2012, 5). It is not perceived as such "as a result of not measuring the effects of these policies" (Fassin 2009, 54) and also because we do not formulate it as a catastrophization.[361] After all, we operate with an Agambenian – to which I would add Foucauldian (See Foucault 2003) – "wish fantasy" of a "clean division between life and death" (Povinelli 2011, 204), because

> the uneven speed with which people die, the distribution of violence attached to these deaths, or the slowness of their decay, all present different temporalities for how power is invested through local biospaces (ibid.).

This makes ethical and political claims difficult. The potential violence of an anticipated disaster overshadows the violence of *emergency as the effect*. The anticipated disaster naturalizes as well as facilitates the uneven distribution of care and hope, risk, and fear. Even in cases in which the indirect displacements are acknowledged, they are seen as inevitable collateral effects – rather than as violence or letting die – in a risk-benefit calculation conforming to market reasoning. Thus, *emergencyscape*, the contingent relationship between the state and disaster, shifts into a biopolitical relationship between a yet-to-come disaster and a virtual disaster. The anticipated disaster, in the risk reduction practices, naturalizes as well as facilitates the uneven distribution of care and hope, risk, and fear, enabling risk reduction practices simultaneous claims of vulnerability of life and production of vulnerabilities for lives.

Life is, however, never bare,[362] nor abstract; nor is death for that matter. The notion of the vulnerable life does not suspend categories like class, race, gender, ethnicity, and religion, making life embedded and embodied and differentially subject to governmental mechanisms as well as "constitut[ing] human subjectivities and the spaces and times of social struggle and solidarity" (Huysmans 2008, 175). Some scholars like Butler (2006, 2009) take this socio-ontological vulnerability of life as the basis for an affirmative politics of recognition, while recognizing the social and political mediation and differential distribution of the precariousness of life. Still, we have no clues, even after events like Hurricane Katrina, how this recognition of vulnerability and precariousness by the wider public could turn into a politics that produces what Giroux (2006) calls politics of disposability.

[361] I am cautious with the articulations like "slow emergency" (Anderson et al. 2019), because an emergency is an effect of governmental practices, not just a tool of description, nor a claim. Emergency must be first produced through the governmental practices of anticipation, assessment, and response.
[362] See Eaglestone (2002), Fitzpatrick (2001a), Weber (2012), and Weheliye (2014).

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It is surely important to track the mechanisms that mediate and produce life in historically different forms, for there remains the potential problem of being indifferent to the uneven distribution of vulnerabilities and values. If the "vulnerable life" colonizes our reflections on the disasters without any reference to social precarity and the work of racializing assemblages,[363] we may not be able to imagine a just alternative to the whole process. The points made here can only attract attention to the urgent task of making the uneven distribution of care, abandonment, and violence visible as well as questionable. This is possible by being attuned to an analysis "from the perspective of all those who do not count for biopower" as Gržinič and Tatlič (2014, 27) have put it, or of those who do not appear to be great representatives of the Agambenian bare life.

I have indicated two interrelated mechanisms that help *biocare* to reproduce the existing relations of inequality: informality and private property. The uneven distribution of bio-care and implicit death or emergent risks are growing from a more complicated ground of differences, combining class, gender, race, and religion and making up the distribution of inequality in society in general. Standing on that ground, *biocare* in fact does not introduce a clear "break" into society[364] but converges with multiple breaks under its compassionate abstract egalitarianism. I do not ignore the ground of sentiments and affects regarding the vulnerability that has grown out of the process. I am only suspicious about the abstractness of life in the phrases "right to life" and "bare life," or in Foucault's scrutiny of population or bodies that are meant to be normalized, which excludes differences and inequality from the discussion. As Fassin (2009) put it, biopolitics is not just a politics of life in the normalizing process producing population, but a politics of the production of inequalities. *Biocare*, the convergence of such sentiments with capitalist-political rationale, distributes fears and hopes unevenly alongside existing lines of inequality having longer histories than urban renewal – and that have longer histories of risk reduction than of seismic risk reduction. My research has provided me enough to implicate a very complicated interaction of differences of class, race, gender, and religion, paving ways for inequalities in the long histories that most probably determine what becomes care, and what abandonment. To be able to speak more definitively on that point, one cannot simply content oneself with analyses of policies, plans, protocols, and so on, since these pay attention to the ways that *emergencyscape* emerged and that different practices in this assemblage have been unfolding into a specific capitalist

[363] Disaster may also turn into a part and tool of racializing assemblages: see Gordon and Gordon (2009).
[364] "Break" refers here to Foucault's (2003) definition of racism introducing a break into society through the entanglement of biopower and sovereignty. Care and violence are contingent upon multiple breaks existing in the society. See Weheliye (2014) for a critique to his deployment of the notion of race.

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political rationality with the effect of emergency. This study, therefore, cannot do justice to the question of how the racial, classed and gendered histories of inequality specifically prepared the way for the productions of vulnerabilities in this process and how they function as a racializing assemblage (Weheliye 2014) of practices. It can only indicate the need for research that should explore them through ethnographic methodologies, backed with archival research on the longer histories of differences (possibly to be the focus of an architectural study to follow this research) from the perspective of racializing assemblages, life and care beyond bare life (Weheliye 2014; Sharpe 2016; Simone 2019), in times of *biocare*, which is neither capable of providing care nor of fully capturing life.

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Organization of the symposium **"Architecture as Politics of Future,"**
6 November 2019, Vienna. Participants: Ebru Kayaalp Jurich, Murat Cemal Yalçıntan, Eray Çaylı
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