

# HUMAN CITIES

## Civil Society Reclaims Public Space

Cross  
Perspectives  
Based on  
Research

**Edited by** Rafaella Houlstan-Hasaerts, Biba Tominc, Matej Nikšič and Barbara Goličnik Marušič



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**HUMAN CITIES**  
**Civil Society Reclaims Public Space**  
**Cross Perspectives Based on Research**

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## Civil Society Reclaims Public Space

### Cross Perspectives Based On Research

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Editors  
**PREFACE**

During the past few years, Human Cities as a project and as a network, has aspired to come to terms with the gap between the practice and the theory of urban issues. This online publication is no exception; it is rooted in actions initiated by the civil society to reclaim public space. It continues its way along academic and professional thoughts about this phenomenon and we hope it will enlighten and empower all kinds of people working with public spaces. It is an attempt to describe, analyse, evaluate and disseminate initiatives started by citizens, in order to foster imagination, creativity, collective experiments and criticism in contemporary cities. Indeed, as the pragmatist philosopher John Dewey put it, we strongly believe that researchers *“must accept reality as they found it and try to shape it toward positive social goals, not stand aside in self-righteous isolation.”*

This publication shows many aspects and viewpoints of public spaces. It allows different profiles to meet in the same book and by this expands the field of discussion, as well as refines the attitudes towards the subject. The editors would like to thank the authors and all those who contributed to this publication.

# ABOUT

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### Abstract

- *Izmir is a modern and neoliberal Turkish metropolis that stands out against the political and civil conservatism of Istanbul. In its districts, during the last decade, many urban areas have become the scene for the face-off of the Turkish historical laicism and the Islamic renaissance. The aim of this paper is to show the influence of this face-off on the organization of public space around an urban campus. The object of this study is a non-institutionalized re-adaptation of a kiosk located in front of the campus gate, whose windows have been obscured. The purpose of the kiosk is to help all the Muslim women to remove and don their headscarf in front of a mirror, unobserved by the general public. In 2009 the headscarf was forbidden in every school and state building in Turkey, while allowed in private and public places. The use of the kiosk reveals two realities, one secular and one religious, that here as elsewhere still have not reached a conclusive synthesis. But in this specific case women have found a way out by re-adapting the public space around the campus. The paper presents the kiosk as a physical and semantic frontier between two social areas ruled by different habits and laws. It then focuses on the perception and the usage of this public space by different, potentially antagonist, groups. Finally it highlights how re-appropriation of the public space for religious practice revolutionizes the form and the function, as well as the significance of the area.*

### Keywords

- *Public space, Islam, headscarf, kiosk, Turkey*

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### 1. "I'M FROM IZMIR!" (AND I'M PROUD OF IT)

When a Turkish citizen declares that he is from Izmir, probably he is expressing not so much his belonging to a territory, but his political and cultural pride. Overlooking the Aegean Sea, the city of Izmir is universally considered to be the Western outpost of Turkey. Izmir was a key point for National independence and for the consolidation of an ethnic identity in the 18th century European style. Izmir has since become a modern, secular, democratic metropolis founded on capitalist business and today offers numerous public and private universities. It has Euro-centric buildings and skyscrapers, chain stores and international restaurants. Urban planning was often entrusted to European architects (Can, 2010: 183) and today's metropolis is criss-crossed by wide streets and fast transport systems. Its demographic and economic influence is largely due to the presence of important commercial and industrial activities as well as the presence of a substantial part of the better off classes in Turkey. For these reasons Izmir has emerged over the last thirty years on the social front and more recently, also on the political one. Izmir is the stronghold of Turkish secularism. It embraces the legacy of the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Here the secular party CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People's Party), founded by the same Mustafa Kemal, has its headquarters and its largest electoral constituency. Nowadays, following a ten years period of government by the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - Justice and Development Party), a conservative, liberal and Islamic party, the importance of Izmir and its province are more significant than ever. It could be argued that if the CHP lost its electoral majority in Izmir, Turkish secularism would suffer a real identity crisis that would extend far beyond its political confines.

But the notoriety of the *gâvur İzmir* - the "giaour", the infidel Izmir - does not derive from its secularism but goes further back in time, before the dawn of modern Turkey. Until the beginning of the 20th century, in the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna, Ottoman Muslims coexisted with Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Jews and various European communities, not only among the élite but

also among the common people (Goffman, 2002: 205). The expression *gâvur*, meaning infidel or non-Muslim, is still in use today, although through time it has taken on various shades of meaning (Neyzi, 2008: 110). One of the tales people told about the *gâvur İzmir* is the legend of the little mosque near the sea-port, which the Pasha Mehmet had built for his daughter Ayşe Hanım in 1754. When the Pasha was asked why he was building such a small mosque in the important Mediterranean port of İzmir, the Pasha replied: “for *gâvur* Smyrna, it is not so small”.

However, at the end of the 19th century, the renowned cosmopolitan past of the city was undermined by the spread of ethnic nationalism all over Europe. On the birth of the Turkish nation the long period of constructive co-existence in the city was fiercely wiped out. During the years of struggle for independence, İzmir experienced the Greco-Turkish War more like a civil war than an international conflict. In September 1922, at the end of that war, a large part of the city had been burned to the ground. After the pyrrhic victory of the Turkish army in western Anatolia, the city’s buildings and life had to be completely rebuilt (Zürcher, 2004: 201). But İzmir’s aura of exceptionalism withstood the difficult birth of modern Turkey, transforming its infidel nature into a secular identity.

The characteristic secularism of İzmir, the legacy from the cosmopolitan Smyrna, and the persistence through time of its tendency to look towards western culture, should not nowadays be taken for an absence of religiosity or even for the return of the coexistence of creeds. Nowadays the main religion among the inhabitants of İzmir is Islam, as in the rest of Turkey where it is embraced by more than 96% of the population (Internet 1). For almost all the Turks, to be Turk means to be Muslim and speaking about religion means speaking about Islam (as the parameters of a recent survey can prove, cfr. Konda, 2007). However, even if religious affiliation to Islam is widely shared all over İzmir metropolitan area, social attitudes and religious intensity vary from the historical centre to the residential areas and the outlying municipal districts such as Buca.

## 2. İZMİR AS A BUILT-UP AREA OF PLACES AND IDENTITIES: THE BUCA DISTRICT

Buca is an oriental district of the metropolis of İzmir with around 400,000 inhabitants. The present day Buca began to take shape after the settlement of the Levantines (Western Christians of the Ottoman Empire) in the 17th century (Goffman, 1999: 89), becoming firmly established between the 19th and 20th centuries when İzmir became the capital of Levantine

trade (Goffman, 2002: 205). For these reasons Buca, here intended as a district of İzmir, does not correspond to the accepted image of a metropolitan suburb. The streets and the urban layout call to mind a village engulfed by metropolitan expansion which, as far as İzmir is concerned, began to run out of control in the second half of the 20th century (Can, 2010: 185).

As from the second half of the 19th century, the urban expansion which overran İzmir was a common phenomenon in many other European cities. That which sets Buca apart from other parts of İzmir is its specific cultural identity as expressed through its architectural heritage. As in the case of Gràcia, the renowned district of Barcelona (Mendizábal, 2010: 101), the cultural integrity of Buca has survived despite the invasive urban planning of İzmir. As in Gràcia, Buca shows and feels its own history. The testimony of Buca’s historical-cultural identity is evident in its monuments, toponyms and architecture.

The cultural panorama of Buca is stratified and often contrasts with the national-laicism that distinguishes İzmir in the country. One of the controversial elements on the landscape is the statue of Mevlana (Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi) mystic Sufi and celebrated founder of the Whirling Dervishes, an order suppressed by Mustafa Kemal in 1925, at the dawn of the republic. The 23 meter high statue dominates the landscape from the summit of a steep hill which rises within the town itself. Another example of Buca’s historical-cultural profile is the main road that connects Buca to the other districts of İzmir. The road, which traverses the district of Buca, is named after Adnan Menderez, the first politician not belonging to the CHP to win the political elections and defeat the party of Atatürk and İnönü. Finally, the historical-cultural identity of Buca is evident in the presence of a city centre with old two storey houses and Levantine villas, where the recent İzmir town planning authorities have imposed architectural restrictions for the restoration and conservation of the buildings (cfr. Can, 2010: 187). Several residences in the characteristic Levantine style, surrounded by ample parklands which have largely been converted into public gardens, populate this area. An example is the Rees Mansion, now the Faculty of Educational Science of the Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, a Turkish university located in Buca (Inal, 2006: 61).

The Rees Mansion is used by the Dean of the Faculty of Educational Science. The Rees family, originally from Wales, had the mansion built at the end of the 19th century. The building remained in the property of the family until the compulsory sale imposed by the Turkish government in 1959 (Inal, 2006: 62). The villa is located in the centre of a walled parkland. Within the walls, new university buildings have been constructed,

including numerous classrooms, two bar-canteens and several dormitories. The area has one main entrance and two secondary entrances. Although the Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi (literally the “University of September 9th” - the day in 1922 which marks the end of the Greco-Turkish War) is to all effects a public university, and consequently the area where it stands is public; a law introduced in 1982 regulates the dress code and the exposure of political and religious symbols. Even the open air spaces around the university buildings, such as the Rees Mansion gardens, are subject to this law and are therefore differentiated from communal public areas where there is no dress code. Within these provisions governing the religious dress code and political symbols of the university, the most controversial has been over the last decade, the question of wearing the headscarf (Zarcone, 2004: 152, 243).

The attempts of the Erdoğan government (AKP) to allow the use of the headscarf inside the university by way of a constitutional reform introduced after the military coup of 1982 has contributed to the tensions surrounding the question, even abroad. The ethnographic fieldwork I did in Buca was carried out in 2009, after a first attempt by the Erdoğan government to re-introduce the use of the headscarf had failed after provoking dissidence between the political factions. Therefore the analysis of the question of the use and the perception of the public space presented here is relevant to 2009. It has to be pointed out that the issue came to the forefront again in September 2010 and on this occasion the Erdoğan majority managed to modify the existing regulation governing the wearing of the headscarf in the university. In consequence, in 2011 the kiosk at the centre of this case was removed. However, the practical application of the revised rule has not been simple. A group of unveiled students from Dokuz Eylül have recently appealed to Erdoğan to guarantee the right of their veiled companion to attend lessons at the university (Internet 2). Other contrasting points of view have been recorded (Internet 3; Internet 4). In any case, since the Erdoğan government’s first attempt to change the rules in 2007, the headscarf issue has been catapulted out of the domestic walls and into the public arena (Saktanber & Çorbacıoğlu, 2008: 521).

## 3. THE KIOSK AND THE HEADSCARF

Before embarking on any discourse concerning the university set-up in Turkey, particularly in this case, it is necessary to point out that enrolment (and by this it is meant the physical admission of students into the university space) is not open to all. If we look at it from the point of view of students’ rights

to education, the results of the school leaving examinations and the national entrance exam should determine both the choice of university and university admittance. On the other hand, physical access to the faculties (and consequently access to all university activities including lessons and exams) is reserved to students, professors, university staff and other authorized persons and, depending on the stance of the single athenaeums or faculties, or on political or territorial developments, different forms of control are applied regarding enrolment or entrance requirements. In the case of the Faculty of Educational Science (Eğitim Fakültesi) at the Dokuz Eylül University of Buca the credits required for enrollment in the faculty are not particularly high. On the other hand, even today the access to the university area and the entrance into the Rees Mansion Park are strictly controlled.



Figure 1: Faculty gate (photo: Resul Dündar)

The entrance comprises of a large gate under an archway bearing the name of the faculty. This gate, which is wide enough to allow automobile access, is closed and unused. To the left and right of the gate are found, respectively, the entrance and the exit, accessible to pedestrians. The entrance is alongside the surveillance booth. Both the entrance and the exit are equipped with turnstiles and metal detectors. Although these are occasionally deactivated, the level of surveillance is omnipresent and vigilant.

There is a short street leading up to the entrance, flanked by a small public garden. On this side of the street there are stalls with text books and exam papers. An apparently abandoned kiosk, similar to those where you can buy newspapers and bus

tickets, stands in the garden among some trees and benches. On the other side, where the street meets the main road, there is a bus stop. On observing the girls who get off the bus at this stop and begin to walk towards the faculty entrance, it can be seen that most of them are wearing the headscarf. However none of them is still wearing the head cover in accordance with the state law when entering into the faculty.



Figure 2: The public garden and the main road (photo: Utku Ören)

Most of these female students simply remove the headscarf while walking towards the Rees Mansion gates. Others, in a small sign of rebellion, wait until they reach the gate before uncovering their heads. In these cases, the guard on duty will lean forward, or stand up, but does not intervene as long as the girl removes her headscarf and puts it into her bag before she passes through the turnstile. In all my time at Buca, never once did a girl attempt to enter with her head covered and the guards never had to intervene for any reason.

On leaving the university, the girls who intend to cover their heads need to find a system which permits them to put on the headscarf, a process which requires several minutes and two free hands. Furthermore, as the process is part of a private ritual of a religious nature, the girls prefer to perform this action unobserved by the general public. The white kiosk I mentioned before offers the girls the privacy they seek.

On the outside, the kiosk, vandalized by spray can writings and plastered with leaflets, has a rather squalid aspect. There is no written indication referring to the function of the kiosk and there are no political symbols. Inside, the gaps and opening are papered over with posters and pages of newspapers. A door

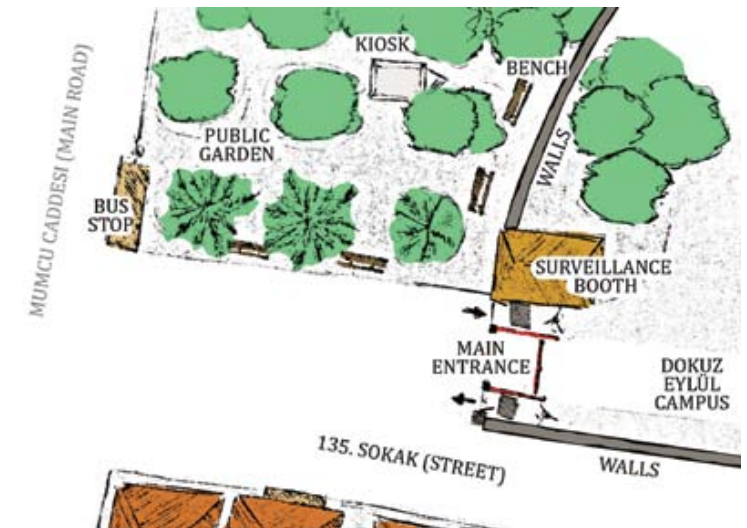


Figure3: Sketch map of the area in front of the faculty gate in 2009 (author's illustration)

without a lock opens into the interior where there is a battered mirror hung with a piece of wire and a narrow shelf, just wide enough to rest a bag on. There is nothing else. There is nothing written. There are no symbols. However, the dirty interior suggests a complete absence of any kind of maintenance.

When I arrived to Buca in March of 2009, the headscarf kiosk was already there, and in the conditions I have described. From the comments gathered from the students, I got the impression that the kiosk had not been there for a very long time, although none of them actually remembered the time when it was not there. They informed me that kiosks of this type are fairly common around Turkish universities. Some said that they had been installed by an NGO following the first great political debate instigated by Erdoğan in 2007, in which he tried to allow the use of the headscarf inside of universities, while the CHP and the Constitutional Court were firmly opposed and effectively annulled the measure. I was also shown a mirror which had been hung on the courtyard wall of the faculty, where there was a secondary exit. However I never saw anyone use it in place of the kiosk (which was, in any case, only about a three minute walk away). Other students told me how the use of a wig to cover the hair had been proposed and introduced by an important religious group to overcome the situation, allowing the conciliation of personal creed and state education (cf. Özdalga, 2003: 86).

Now I would like to attempt to analyze the cultural dimension of the interior and exterior settings of the kiosk. In other words, a *thick description* will be proposed (Geertz, 1973), describing the kiosk as a public place amidst other public places (the garden, the street and the campus), of features and its function. And a second description of the effect that the insertion of the kiosk and its function has on the area that surround it.

#### 4. THE INTERIOR OF THE KIOSK

In the course of the academic day, many girls go into the kiosk to put on the head covering. The process takes from three to five minutes. Often other students, girls and boys, stand outside the kiosk, holding the bags of the girls who have gone inside and checking that the door remains closed. At other times the students wait on the bench a couple of meters away from the kiosk, smoking and chatting while they wait for their companions. Sometimes the girls go inside two at a time, but in all cases, when the girls come out of the kiosk they are wearing the head covering. So access to the kiosk would seem to be reserved for the women who want to put on the headscarf. However, the internal space of the kiosk is not governed by norms which regulate access. There are no written signs, stickers, plaques or incisions which claim the kiosk as belonging to anyone. There are no party slogans, nothing that recalls a political group or even a lone political act of resistance to the 1982 norms.

The use made of the structure and its very aspect demonstrates the otherness of the kiosk with respect to the time and space around it – with respect to the rules governing the university areas as well as the public spaces. Regarding the function of the kiosk, as already mentioned, the use and the access are, in effect, limited to women who wish to put on the headscarf, although there is absolutely no official control over this. Regarding its physical appearance, there are two different aspects: on one hand the newspaper that covers the windows and the closed door isolate the internal from the external space; on the other hand the absence of any writing or drawings on the inside, compared to the degradation of the external walls, once again underlines that the kiosk belongs to a reality that is totally detached from the public area that surrounds it.

But the kiosk responds above all to a transversal issue in the society. The relationship of the kiosk with activities connected with Islam, but more in general its relationship with religious activities, cannot but influence the attitude towards the kiosk of all people, men and women alike.

In fact, from this point of view, the interior (in particular compared to the conditions of the exterior) seems to represent the inviolability of a place reserved for religious practices. The kiosk is used as part of the public space dedicated to God and not to man, not to the individual. This special bond places it out from the ordinary space and time (Özdemir & Frank, 2000: 191), without posing any challenge or breaking the laws of the lay state.

In several respects, the kiosk distinguishes itself from the public space and from the area of the university. While not outlawing itself from the State, the kiosk is, nevertheless, a *frontier post*, a solution to the need to connect two different realities which, for a religious subject, are regulated in a conflictual way. If we consider that many Muslim women feel and uphold the moral obligation to wear the headscarf in public (Zarcone, 2004: 242), the kiosk is the only place that offers security (or at least reduces the risk) in the passage between two territories with opposing regulations. In other words, the kiosk is the only place that allows compliance with rules that coexist, but are, in fact, incompatible.

In this framework the entire headscarf question, and with that the question of the Muslim religion in a lay state, is once again removed from the domestic scene (personal, religious) and becomes a public issue (social, regulated). As well as schools and the workplace, “spaces such as beaches, opera and concert halls, coffeeshouses, fashion shows, public gardens, and public transportation all became sites for modern self-presentation” (Göle, 2002: 185). The problem of conciliating university life with personal choice (which has repercussions in public life) becomes evident in the space in front of the faculty entrance.

The practical solution to this problem is resolved by the kiosk. Once integrated into the public space and having assumed its function, the kiosk becomes a diaphragm which embodies all the characteristics of a place which, if not sacred, is however religious. Thanks to this characteristic which conserves its inviolability the kiosk allows women to use the headscarf according to their beliefs, whether these have been induced by individual faith, family tradition or the norms of their community.

Seen from the inside, the headscarf kiosk allows the women to free themselves, their own bodies, their own beliefs, from a contradiction which lies within the system. A contradiction which consents the wearing of the headscarf in a public place (the street) while banning its use in another public place (the university).

#### 5. OUTSIDE THE KIOSK

Until now, only the interior features and the function of the kiosk have been considered. The kiosk internally is a place that is completely distinct both from the area that surrounds it and from the normal passage of time. The function that these features allow the kiosk to develop and maintain is the liberation of the individual from the contradictions of the system. Now, in order to complete this excursus, we should consider the kiosk in relation to its surrounding environment and try to evaluate the effects that its insertion and presence have caused in the organization of public space.

In fact, the insertion of the kiosk in front of the faculty redesigns and redefines the public space beyond its walls. As an example, we can take into consideration the modification of the use, and therefore of the significance, of the bench opposite the kiosk, which was part of the pre-existing urban landscape. As already said, the function of the bench is closely linked to that of the kiosk. The bench, which faces the entrance to the kiosk, is now used only by the people who are waiting for the young women to complete the donning of the headscarf inside. But the bench, so closely linked spatially and functionally to the kiosk, as well as losing its objective neutrality, also highlights a more subtle social division, which brings to the forefront the image of Islam promoted by secular Turkey.

The division is evident in the fact that students seated on the bench, waiting for the girls to come out of the kiosk, are girls with their heads uncovered; a fact that does not mean that they are non-Muslim. The bench, open and visible on all sides, contrasts with the covered windows and closed door of the kiosk. The Islam that waits outside on the bench is an Islam that not only accepts the secular rules, but also promotes them outside of the university area within which they must be observed. In this case, the form and the use of the bench construct a social significance in direct contrast with the kiosk and stress the same social division reiterated in the use of the headscarf.

In this dichotomy, Islam is not diminished, but rather its practical forms are multiplied beyond its doctrinal unity, just as the public spaces reserved for these practices are multiplied under the State. It is worth noting that in Buca the two ways of belonging to Islam, as represented by the un-headscarved girls waiting for their friends to don the headscarf; as represented by the “secular” bench and the kiosk, are not perceived as being reciprocally conflictual or exclusionary despite often needing different spaces.



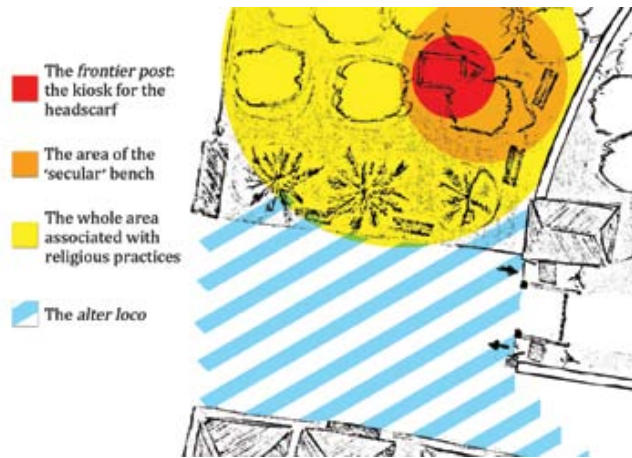


Figure 4: Sketch map of uses and perceptions of the area (author's illustration)

Another example shows how the action of modification and re-appropriation of space initiated by the placing of a kiosk in the garden does not begin and end inside the garden. The link between place and function, between form and usage, creates new confines at the limits of the garden. The most evident of these boundaries is a paved street running alongside the garden between the faculty gates and the bus stop. The insertion of the kiosk has modified the perception of the entire garden. The kiosk and the bench have become places associated with religious practices and, as we have seen, their usage and their physical aspect are closely linked to their new significance and to religious norms. The presence of the kiosk in the garden causes the street to emerge, symbolically as an *alter loco*, a symbol of the nationalist Kemalist modernity.

In the chain reaction of this revolution of meanings, sparked off by the insertion of the kiosk as a place used for religious practices, the street bordering the garden represents a way to maintain the distance from the "kiosk" way of being Muslim. The bench turned to face the kiosk demonstrates an acceptance of and an opening towards public manifestations of Islam, while the street itself may represent a more rigid laicism that wants to exclude religion from public space and public life. The placement of the kiosk traces a new and final boundary in public space in front of the faculty, marking the line that divides the street from the garden. The street and the garden involuntarily re-propose the fascinating opposition between Kemalist 20<sup>th</sup> century modernity (the public roads, the cement paving, the straight line of progress) and the imperial Ottoman

heritage (the gardens, the courtyard of the mosques as waiting areas and meeting points) implicitly drawing us back to the history of Izmir and Buca, the starting point of this discourse.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS: HOW RELIGION CHANGES PUBLIC SPACE

It was not the aim of this analysis to establish if it were the insertion of the kiosk and the reshaping of the garden to reorganize the social significance of the public space and to promote specific identities and "self-presentation" (Göle, 2002: 185); or if, vice-versa, the frequentation, the practices and the use of the kiosk, the garden and the road, redefined the organization and the significance of the public space through "a movement *in* (not *on*) a landscape" (Ingold, 2000: 54). However, perhaps the study of this particular case more than any other highlights how, in order to understand the change or the re-appropriation of a public space, it is necessary to take into account both the form and the use of such space, so as to fully comprehend the re-building of meaning and social identities which are promoted in that place in that moment.

In this analytical framework, change is not limited to its practical aspects but involves, either directly or through a chain reaction, every level of society: its historical heritage, its political present, its day to day existence, and its influence for the future. Through the case of the headscarf kiosk, a contrast between the respect for religious laws and for those of the lay state can be found in building work and urban planning in Izmir and Buca, as well as in the relationship of the metropolis with its past and its history.

The case of the kiosk shows how religion changes public space by appropriating it. It is a phenomenon that responds to a conflict between the State and religion that is not limited to States founded on rigid laicism, but is certainly more evident there. Beginning with the foundation of the Turkish republic, whose relationship with religion was inspired by the assertive political philosophy of laicism rather than that of a more passive secularism (Kuru, 2007: 571), an inherited incompatibility between the Islamic image of community life and the national-Kemalist image spread throughout the country. Only from the 1950s onwards, when the fabric of a real civil society began to emerge, did the renewed Muslim identity once more become an actor on the social scene, further consolidated in the 1980's (Göle, 1996: 132). Very quickly this new religious identity began to confront and oppose national-Kemalism. In the same way, when Muslim women found themselves up against the barriers that divided their religiosity between

private and public life, as in the case of the headscarf, the State, and above all the new Turkish Islam, felt the need to redefine and recreate the confines of public life, in particular "the borders of the interior, intimate, illicit gendered space" (Göle, 2002: 188). In this contrast between the state law and the divine law, the perception of the headscarf became detached from its religious roots: from the simple respect of God's will, the headscarf has become a choice and an almost aggressive manifestation of the identity of the individual (Bowen, 2008: 187). And even if for many, the wearing of the headscarf reclaims a cultural rather than a political assertion, in the space of half a century the headscarf has definitely become that religious symbol, the tip of the iceberg of the conflict between religious life and public space, well beyond the Turkish borders.

In the broadest sense and in the present context, the study of the dynamics regarding public space involves the attempt to "uncover a much broader social and political arena in which the past is made and unmade by numerous social agents, including politicians, architects, interest groups [...]" (Knauer & Walkowitz, 2004: 4). Buca and the faculty of Dokuz Eylül exemplify only one of the confrontations between a lay State and the Muslim renaissance that, in reality, stretch beyond urban geography and generate a kind of power which is felt at all levels, from the great mechanisms of the Establishment to the individual body (Foucault, 2005: 30).

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