

GRASSROOTS RESISTANCE AGAINST URBAN RENEWAL:
THE CASE OF GÜZELTEPE, ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study is to contribute to the urban social movement literature of Turkey which is lacking particularly for “gecekondu resistance” and to reveal and study the gecekondu resistance as a grassroots movement against the demolition of gecekondu, in the name of urban renewal projects in Istanbul, especially since 2004. It also investigates the “urban social movement” concept whose meaning is under discussion in the literature due to its usage in different aspects of resistance in the urban area. The literature review focuses mainly on the production of space, focusing particularly on urban renewal, urban resistance and social movements especially reflecting on the theoretical perspectives of prominent scholars like Lefebvre and Castells. The research focuses on neighborhood resistance in gecekondu areas; however in an attempt to make a categorization of ways of urban resistance in Istanbul. This thesis is based upon the field study pursued in the period between January and October 2006, in Güzeltepe neighborhood, in Eyüp, being a remarkable example of resistance for various reasons which will be elaborated in the thesis. Güzeltepe which is a part of the urban renewal project in Istanbul is investigated with participant observation and in-depth interviews comprising people both participating directly in the resistance and “ordinary” dwellers, who do not have political affiliations. The study is supported by a systematic analysis of

representations of gecekondu resistance and its demolition in the Turkish press, from July 2005 until August 2006.

Keywords: urban/grassroots resistance, urban social movement, urban renewal/regeneration, representation of gecekondu in the press, Güzeltepe.

ÖZ

KENTSEL YENİLEMEYE KARŞI TABAN (HALK) DİRENİŞİ: İSTANBUL, GÜZELTEPE ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı; Türkiye’de özellikle gecekondü direniş konusunda eksiklik duyulan kentsel sosyal hareket literatürüne katkıda bulunmak ve İstanbul’da 2004’ten bu yana kentsel yenileme projeleri adı altında sergilenen gecekondü yıkımlarına karşı ortaya çıkan gecekondü direnişini bir taban (halk) hareketi olarak incelemek ve açıklamaktır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda kentsel direnişin farklı boyutlarını açıklamak için kullanılan ve de bu sebeple literatürde anlamı sıkça tartışılan “kentsel sosyal hareket” kavramını da araştırmaktadır. Literatür taraması temel olarak kentsel yenileme odaklı mekanın üretimi, kentsel direniş ve de Lefebvre ve Castells gibi düşünürlerin teorik açılımlarından yansımalar sunan sosyal hareketler kavramlarını içermektedir. Araştırma İstanbul’da yaşanan farklı kentsel direniş biçimlerini kategorize etme çabası dahilinde gecekondü alanlarındaki mahalle direnişine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu tez, Ocak-Ekim 2006 tarihleri arasında, çalışmada detaylandırılacak çeşitli sebeplerden dolayı direnişin önemli bir örneğini sunan, Eyüp, Güzeltepe mahallesini alan çalışması olarak temellendirmektedir. İstanbul kentsel dönüşüm projesinin kapsamında bulunan Güzeltepe; katılımcı gözlem ve gerek direnişe doğrudan katılanlar gerekse de siyasi bağlantıları olmayan “sıradan” gecekondü sakinleri ile yapılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, gecekondü direnişinin ve de yıkımının Temmuz 2005-

Ağustos 2006 tarihleri arasında Türk basınında yankı bulan temsillerinin sistemik bir analizi ile desteklenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel/tabana (halk) direniş, kentsel sosyal hareket, kentsel yenileme/dönüşüm, basında gecekondula temsil, Güzeltepe.

To my parents Saliha Nurhan Ergin and Rařit Ergin, to my esteemed professor Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç and to my beloved friend Gülriz řen,

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CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction of the research

Congress reports, newspapers, books, articles and alike already possess the knowledge that would render all the proofs yet, this is not our task; neither is it same sort of “moral masturbation” that will provide a masochistic relief and consolation out of yearning together with the compilation of tremendous cases of daily injustices faced by the ghetto dweller, before we seek rest in our far-way insulated refuge. This is also an anti-revolution since that would only be a pain at heart, avoiding a direct confrontation within the basic problems; leave aside taking action against them. The solution is neither to merge into a sensation of providing relief to the poor by living with and working for them for a “certain period of time” with the hope of alleviating their predicament. This is also anti-revolution. What could be the use of helping a district gain a park, if we see its school falling down in the fall? These indeed are the paths that we shall not pursue. The task that shall immediately be realized is to construct a new paradigm. We are indeed academics that are working with the instruments of academic profession: With such a status; our mission is to utilize our thinking capability for making up concepts, categories, theories and premises. These concepts are categories cannot be attained by abstractions. Empirical evidences previously prepared cases and experiences gained within the communities can be utilized here, it indeed shall be done so. Yet, unless all these experience and knowledge are unified within broader thinking there would be no meaning at all. Yet, our thoughts shall not be limited as merely depending on the contemporary reality. It shall also creatively compromise the alternatives. We can't engage planning for the future on the basis of positive theory; this would only contribute to the strengthening of the status quo (Harvey, 2003: 136).

This study mainly concentrates on the relationship between the space and the social, in the framework of the spatial decisions, urban renewal in the study and the reactions of the dwellers. The main aim of the thesis is to elaborate the gecekondul

resistance in Turkey against demolition in the name of urban renewal projects, contributing to urban social movement literature by introducing Güzeltepe resistance whose salience is mainly because it entails various tensions which are not visible in the urban protests, various dimensions of activism and different groups, “aspects in so-called “one” resistance”. The reason why this subject is preferred for elaboration lies behind the will to discuss whether we can talk about the presence of a gecekondü resistance, to what extent and what kind of characteristic such a resistance possesses.

In the framework of relationship between dwellers and urban planning, urban renewal/regeneration project in Istanbul which intervenes and affects the lives of city dwellers. These projects are, in general, proposed within a discourse posing them as “remedy for social problems”, carrying and legitimizing themselves with “hygienic and aesthetic characteristic”. Another critical point is that urban social movements, especially for “Western” cases, have an emphasis on “advanced capitalist society” characteristics. Gecekondü resistance is mainly elaborated in the literature as “urban violence” or “revolutionary heroes”.

The main reason of the emphasis on gecekondü dimension relies upon the idea that gecekondü resistance is underrated, especially in the urban and social movement literature. In the thesis, it is addressed mainly to the meaning, the representations and the interpretations of gecekondü reaction to urban renewal (regeneration in its present usage) projects, which it is preferred to; use “resistance” in the framework of urban social movement literature.

A particular interest focus was vested on “ordinary grassroots” involved in the resistance, to avoid any negligence and underestimation; as they are not politically affiliated and usually did not have the possibility to express themselves in municipalities and in other institutions. There are many ways for the examination in the field; however, Güzeltepe is chosen as a study area due to its various characteristics. The resistance and its changing characteristics are diverse rather than paving a homogenous picture. Even within one part which constitutes the “left”, there are camps and inner struggles.

A categorization of protests in terms of urban issues, between that of middle classes and gecekondu dwellers is also attempted to be scrutinized. In general, urban social movements were mainly elaborated as “civil resistance” of middle or upper classes for their quarter or for the city. Gecekondu resistance is not even considered as “resistance” or taken as “violence”, “urban unrest”. Zero tolerance and revanchist approach are analyzed in this term, to underline that to account for a possible tension between these two classes in the city is important. This elaboration firstly gives the picture of urban policing, of the protests, of the tension “within citizens”. Secondly, it has a position which reveals the two camps (but sometimes overlapping) in the urban protests which will be dealt via an attempt of categorization as “civil society” including “intellectuals”, “academicians” and gecekondu resistance.

Each resistance has its own peculiarity and heterogeneity under one apparent massive face. Güzeltepe is particular in the sense that it shows not a resistance during the demolition, but within the periods before and after the demolition. The various dimensions, mainly tensions reflect its heterogeneous characteristic. The field study is an accurate example for gecekondu resistance, opening new hidden aspects in theoretical and practical dimensions. It is critical and difficult to avoid both two extremes resulting in mistakes and misunderstandings to grasp the meaning of the resistance, which are romanticizing and despising the resistance or the potential. However, this requires an experience and a more debt field study which never finishes and showing everyday its hidden aspects. The modest attempts of the field study underline particularly importance of gecekondu resistance in Turkish context and their potential in the framework of contemporary spatial decisions labeled as urban renewal/regeneration.

1. 2. Methodology

The process of conducting the research is constituted in three parts. Firstly, a detailed literature research is done in terms of urban renewal and urban social movements both from Western and Turkish studies and examples. Throughout this review, one

of the major aims was also to contribute to the Turkish literature on urban social movements which carries mainly a “Western” heritage. It was also a part for self-learning will for an accurate understanding and analysis of the study field. Consequently, the analysis is built upon wide-range conceptualizations of eminent scholars and also of forgotten or non-emphasized studies in terms of definitions, meanings both in general and particular framework, by elaborating, questioning and classifying them.

The aim is to introduce gecekondu resistance and Güzeltepe in the sociological literature, which remain merely in the newspapers with representations of “violence” or “revolutionary Heroes”. The methodology of the field study relies upon the idea to reveal various aspects of gecekondu resistance which is underrated, considered as “violence” or “madness” or romanticized. The general framework of my study is focused on “after demolition period”, aiming to reveal and understand ignored or underrated aspects. The field study pursued in Güzeltepe neighborhood of Eyüp district is a critical example of gecekondu resistance due to its periods of resistance before-during and after demolition.

The field research is executed during the period between January 2006 and until October 2006. In-depth interviews based on snowball method were the way pursued in this ethnographic and participant observation research. The interviews are critical for grasping the real aspects of the resistance which is a sensible issue for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Consequently, there wasn't a questionnaire for the field study. As a guideline for the framework of the interviews, it could be underlined that the main concern and question were about their explanations, interpretations, and perceptions about gecekondu demolition and about the resistance in their neighborhood. During the field study, due to the new perceived aspects and increasing trust, the questions gain a more personal aspect both for resistance and for the history of the neighborhood –in an oral history form-.

Because of the “sensibility” of the field related to the demolition experience and political heritage of the neighborhood, the interviews are not recorded; however,

they are written immediately after the field study. Photography of the people is intentionally avoided due to the personal approach, apart from raised sensitiveness of the neighborhood after the demolitions. However, for creating an image of the neighborhood, the public spaces, demolition areas and slogans on the walls are photographed.

The study mainly and particularly included the analysis of “ordinary” grassroots involved in the resistance which are not politically allied and could not have the possibility to speak besides spokesmen popular in the press and the meetings. It aims also to convey the resistance experience of *gecekondu*, generally considered as violence or madness. The field study mainly highlights that every resistance has its peculiar characteristics hence avoiding post-demolition generalizations. The general framework of the field study focused on “after demolition period” since the fieldwork was pursued on the ashes of the demolished *gecekondu* situated in an appeased picture.

It is tried to investigate the inhabitants of the neighborhood both tenants and *gecekondu* owners, both affected by demolition or not, and involved in the resistance and not, for grasping the real situation. In total, thirty people were investigated from every aspects of the resistance, from political people both outside and from the neighborhood, both *gecekondu* owners and tenants. In-depth interviews include also three members of *hemşehri* (people from the same city of origin before migration) associations, of political groups which were active in the resistance like HKM, Centers of Public Culture (*Halk Kültür Merkezleri*)(*three people*), ESP which is “The Socialist Platform of the Oppressed” (*Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu*) (*two people*) and TAYAD (*three people*).

Second part of the study consists of interviews which are conducted with official institutions of headman’s office (*Muhtarlık*)-with *headman*-, Municipality of Eyüp (*Eyüp Belediyesi*)-with the director of the planning office- and Directorate of *Gecekondu* and Dwelling (*Gecekondu ve Mesken Müdürlüğü*) of Istanbul

Metropolitan Municipality-with the director of the office of “Plan, Proje, Etüd” of the Directorate of Gecekondu and Dwelling- .

The press (printed media) analysis scrutinized various representations of gecekondu demolition and resistance against in the framework of urban projects in Istanbul and Güzeltepe neighborhood both in mainstream and “alternative” press. As an analysis, examination tool, the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis of Van Dijk (2006) is used to grasp the constructions of Other/Us binary in the press underlining the manipulation of public opinion with the distinction between Our Good/Their Bad Things in the discourses. The Us/ Them polarization is significant apart from being a tool in the analyses; it gives the opportunity to seize differences and inconsistencies in the press. This examination is made in a wide range spectrum of newspapers including alternative printed press or in the internet, for grasping different approaches in an objective way and analyzing different aspect of representation for an exact comprehension of interpretation of these movements, especially at the level of “discourse”. The examination of archives of the newspapers that are Sabah, Evrensel, Zaman, Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Akşam, Vatan, Milliyet, Radikal, Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman are made especially after the period of the demolition in Güzeltepe, July 2005 until September 2006. Because of the absence of concerning issue in this period, the examination is extended to the archive, beginning by the year 2004. Determining political orientation of some newspaper and classifying them can be problematic and difficult, especially while considering their approach and interpretations. Even though after the examination, the picture has changed -because of their interpretations for this concerning issue-, the main aim was to examine objectively newspapers from different political orientations. Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman and Zaman are examples having rightist approaches. Evrensel, Birgün, Cumhuriyet are chosen for their leftist orientations. Radikal and Milliyet could be into leftist categorization and also be held with their intermediary positions, near to the left. Sabah, Hürriyet, Akşam and Vatan are analyzed for their popular characteristics. The part namely the ‘Reflections from “Alternative Media” in the net’ elaborates the radical leftist

groups' press, for not ignoring the approaches and interpretations of the groups who are involved and even organized the resistance against gecekondü demolition.

Various representations of gecekondü demolition and resistance in the framework of urban projects in Istanbul and in Güzeltepe which was a "popular" and an "interesting" example for its "mediatic images" of *durakkondü* (people previously living in demolished gecekondü, staying in bus stations), both in mainstream and "alternative" press are analyzed, especially with the method of Critical Discourse. In this elaboration and analyses of representations in the media, various interpretations and perceptions give clue to understand hidden aspects in the urban social movements and another history, which is "discursive", but shaping the attitudes towards gecekondü.

1.3. Introduction of basic concepts

In this part, it will be attempted to develop the basis of the study, the definition of space through its production formulated mainly by Lefebvre and Castells who are main figures representing theoretical inspirations of this study.

The production of space in Lefebvre's term should be a first step for entering to the study. Capitalism involves the fragmentation and homogenization of space, which points out the "reproduction" of social relations of production, constituting the central and hidden and inherently spatial process of capitalist society. This means that the (re)production is not merely limited to the "factory" but in a space as a whole.

Space, is the space where the final episodes of the capitalist drama are being played out, being occupied by neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity, and fragmented, and become the seat of power (Lefebvre, 1991, Smith, 1991). The production of space means that humans create the space in which they make their living. It is a project shaped by interests of classes, experts, the grassroots, and other forces. Space is produced and reproduced through human intentions, even if there are unanticipated consequences, constraints and influences of space (Molotch, 1993).

Moreover, the city's critical role coming from its investing position in the second circuit of capital, real estate (Lefebvre, urban revolution, Gottdiener, 1994) becomes clearer in these renewal projects.

The space in a triple understanding should be analyzed according to its manifestations as perceived, conceived and lived. It is a spatial practice which is an externalized, material environment, a representation of space which is a conceptual model used to direct space and a space of representation which is the lived social relation of users to the environment. The distinction between abstract and social spaces is also important for further analyses, especially related to planning activities and forms of resistance.

Abstract space is constituted by the intersection of knowledge and power and is a hierarchical space pertinent to political rulers, economic interests and planners who control social organization. Abstract space, created by state actors and capitalists, is the space of instrumental rationality, homogenization, fragmentation and commodification. This space is also the space of planning. For the domination of abstract space, Lefebvre emphasize the roles of powerful groups or actors' (capitalists and state actors) socio-spatial strategies in "The Survival of Capitalism" (1976). The occupation and production of space is necessary for the survival of capitalism. *Social space* emerges from practice, everyday life experience externalized by members of society. There is a tense relationship for power and control between these spaces (Lefebvre, 2000, Gottdiener, 1993). *Social space* is the space of every day lived experience.

These concepts of Lefebvre namely abstract space and social space are very crucial, especially while examining urban renewal processes. What is crucial is the control of the state and other groupings over spatial organization and authority over the use of space, and so the reproduction of social power relations. In this control, people who have the professional and intellectual skills, specialized knowledge shaping space and converting this into financial benefit are the most critical actors (Harvey, 1989). Lefebvre points out the conflict between these spaces, planning activity is

contradictory to existing social space, more exactly, because of demolition of this social space. Moreover, it gives an exchange value with privatization. This conflict involves spatial practices (spatial patterns of everyday life), representations of space (conceptual models used to direct social practice and land-use planning), and spaces of representation (the lived social relation of users to built environment).

According to the thesis underlined in the study, the conflict between social and abstract spaces is important to understand the resistance of the residents for the displacement, demolition, privatization of the social space. It is necessary to underline economic and political interests which control the urban development agenda, in this framework. The space at the center of politics and a revolutionary action, stemming from difference between the use value and the exchange value with abstraction of the space by planning and urban design activities could be operationalized. As stated by Lefebvre, applying the concepts of Marx such as exchange value and, use value to space, he mentions a right to the city. This right is not merely economic but an expression of lived experience, with everyday life's crucial role (Lefebvre, 2000). In this framework, the resistance in different ways and dimensions are part of this revolutionary praxis.

The urban social space is transformed increasingly by using various concepts, with disparate meanings, however, all leading to drastic changes. In this change, what is critical is the social dislocation, displacement and the production of space far from the features of the "original" dwellers. The concepts are used interchangeably in urban policies, if they become "dirty", as pointed out by Neil Smith (1996, p.34) for different usages of urban renaissance, gentrification. The aim for physical change is transformed into an ambition for "social" change, "rehabilitation", "hygienization", by accusing and criminalizing people who live in illegal "legal" areas or who "deteriorate" their urban space. In other words, the urban projects have social aims, rather than being spatial. The new cleared areas are reserved to be "prestigious housing" areas. Istanbul becomes more and more a collection of "prestigious" worlds who offer to their dwellers "safe" and "sanitary" lives.

The social production of space is the point of departure of this study, underlining the dialectical relationship¹, which is that space is both an outcome of social relations and simultaneously, a characteristic which generates these social relationships, in other words, both the product and the producer. The space is a medium of social relations and a material product which affects social relations, *dialectically* (Gottdiener, 1988, 1993). This socio-dialectical approach is a heritage of Henri Lefebvre. Space is explored as a physical location, a piece of real estate, an existential freedom and a mental expression. It could be considered also as the geographical site of action and the social possibility for engaging in action and a means of production and part of the social forces of production as space. Role of the state has a great significance on the control, hierarchical restriction, homogenization and segregation (Gottdiener, 1988). The sociospatial praxis leads to the revolutionary transformation of society requiring the appropriation of space, the right to space in Lefebvre's approach.

Spatial and social relations are dialectically related. If the needs of capital are manifested in space and spatial changes are manifested in the needs of capital. (Gottdiener, 1988) The understanding of dialectic of space which is 'not' fixed, dead, immobile would open new horizons. The sociospatial approach/perspective (SSP) related with praxis and everyday life is evaluated by Gottdiener and is based on integration of economic, political, and cultural approaches with real estate investment and government intervention (1994, 1988).

Another way of production of space, urban planning could be interpreted as the intervention of the political in the specific articulation of the different instances of a social formation within a collective state of reproduction of labour power. For assuring its extended reproduction, it regulates the non-antagonistic contradictions and repressing the antagonistic ones (Castells, 1977). What is critical is the attempt to assure the interests of dominant social class in the social formation and the

¹ For additional studies, see Soja's; *The Socio-Spatial Dialectic and the Spatiality of Social Life* (1980). Spatiality represents a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production, relations which are simultaneously social and spatial.

organization of the urban system, mainly in order to ensure the structural reproduction of the dominant mode of production (Castells, 1977). For Lefebvre, in the “Survival of Capitalism” (Lefebvre, 1976), urban planning has a strategic instrumental role in the hands of state in the production of abstract space, the manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space. Its total rejection serves to rescue everyday life from domination by the abstract space of capital (Gottdiener, 1988). Lefebvre’s conceptualization of the political character of space, its production like other commodities in the market defined with technocratic domination over instrumental space, and the fragmentation of space according to the exigencies of the mode of production. In other words, the reproduction of relations of production gives the basis of the relationship between space, urban renewal and urban resistance, which constitutes the main structure of the thesis.

The general theoretical base is supplied by studies which have inspired and enlightened the main approach of the thesis. The statements of early Castells especially in the “Urban Question”, which is that the crisis has been masked by other urgent problems, by housing question, could be proposed as accurate explanations for the Turkish situation. It is significant to elaborate these dimensions; however, it is more important to reveal the core of the situation, behind these various aspects. The urban struggle plays a determining role in social contradictions, even in the working class struggle, as Lefebvre states. It is critical also to see the repressive and regulatory intervention of the state apparatus, which leads to the dependence on the forms and rhythms of class relations, on the political struggle. The clues of Lefebvre, Gottdiener, and Soja are crucial for social and spatial relationships. Lefebvre’s production of space, Soja’s dialectical relationship and Gottdiener’s social production of space -with real estate markets- conceptualizations are significant. The movements examined are “dialectical transformation” of dwellers, actors, agents, with consciousness, as real acts of change, against a spatial regulation. The consciousness -its requirement means- is another problematic, besides the organizations, alliances leading to action. Used concepts like revitalization, gentrification, and renewal are in general controversial in practice to the peoples’

role in shaping and living the space. The conceptualization of John Davis (in de Filippis and North, 2004) for the conceptualization of place and territory for the basis for collective action passing from the stages namely collective consciousness (recognition of shared interests and property relations), conflict consciousness (the recognition of the reasons of interest difference and other property interests) and radical consciousness (realization that the current structures and relationships governing property are inherently unjust) give ways for further discussions about for instance this progressive understanding. Situationist International with a leading figure Guy Debord was a critique for capitalistic urbanism and their interventionist strategy, a social reproduction of space, with new types of games for emancipation, “dérive”. The walk, even the graffiti could threat the city’s rational plan, for de Certeau (1988).

In order to analyze the resistance process, it is crucial to underline that every resistance has its own peculiarity and heterogeneity under one apparent massive face. If we define the city in this era, as the capitalist city, it could be said that it is a spatial organization of the ensemble of the contradictions and the tensions of the capitalist mode of production. (Keskinok, 1997) However, it is critical to consider the state’s role, which is underlined also by Lefebvre. For this point, it is more exact to see the state with its role in the reproduction of capitalist relations of production. The state should be held in the framework of class struggle, capital accumulation, uneven development, reproduction, ideology based on the land. (Keskinok, 1997) As stated before, real estate is not a mere realization but also a source of surplus value creation. It is elaborated in the “Social Production of Space” by Gottdiener; the real estate is another aspect which should be emphasized. The zoning changes, highway construction and public policy subsidies are the ways of its articulation. (Gottdiener, 1988, Keskinok, 1997) This is related also to the fact that if the needs of capital are realized in the space, the spatial changes are realized in the needs of capital. (Gottdiener, 1988) The elaboration of the urban renewal is significant since “the urban has no worse enemy than urban planning and “urbanism” which is capitalism’s and state’s strategic instrument for the manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space” (Lefebvre, 1976) .

ⁱ Reasons for the choice of gecekondü in the Turkish Experience of Planning

It is generally underlined that even though cities are shaped increasing by similar forces throughout the world, urban practices could be different due to historical periods, political, social and economic reasons. In the study, it is intentionally chosen to use gecekondü, instead of other usages in English. This part could also be exposed as a brief summary of history of Turkish urban renewal/spatial transformation by urban projects, to seize and understand the changing meaning of gecekondü and roles of planning. In the beginning, planning was an important tool, becoming visible especially with Ankara's planning process as a spatial and ideological center (realization of a utopia), at the beginning foundation of the Turkish Republic, in the modernity project of Turkey, especially in terms of social transformation (social engineering) in the whole modernity project (Tekeli, 2001). The spatial regulation and strategies had a crucial role in this project of the formation of a nation state. Planning was an important "rational" tool for shaping individuals, "a public healthy Turkish man" and secondly their "healthy" residential areas (Sargin, 2002). In time, from the 1950s to the 1980s, the transformation in the political system to a multi-party system and the rapid urbanization lead to some changes in the modernity project of Turkey. Mixed economic structure with import substitution, "halkçılık" (English translation differently from populism in a pejorative sense is indefinite) giving its place to populism marked this period. What is important is that in this period, legal gecekondü emerged because of the lack in supplying housing infrastructure to this fast urbanization.

The meaning of gecekondü in Turkish context could be explained by incoming unskilled, inexperienced labour force presence in the margins of the labour market (Şenyapılı, 2004). In fact, in the very first emergence of this accommodation in 1930s, it was a kind of temporary housing supplying dwelling need of new comers in the city, which could not be afforded by state. It was having a controversial situation being demolished or ignored, accepted even it is "illegal" due to this helping position in the housing conditions. However, first gecekondüs dates back to 1945 and they were considered as temporary. Kıray (1998) mentions the period when gecekondü was in its early times of emergence. "İslah" was a term which was used to construct buildings and to displace gecekondü dwellers and consequently to intervene into these areas. As Kıray stated, these buildings remained insufficient for the gecekondü population and they became middle classes' housing. The economic reason is behind this kind of accommodation. Its solution could not be a "physical" one. Gecekondü was a good solution with its construction by economizing in labour force, in material and in urban area's expropriation. This little house was a "picturesque" in the city with its garden (Pérouse, 2004). The work in the city was enabling merely this kind of housing (Kıray, 1998). This type of shelter was reflecting the mobility and flexibility in the labour market. It is also important to remember that even in this period, there were people who were constructing gecekondü, as a profession. However, it was still easily acquired due to the aid of the "hemşehri" (people from the same city of origin before coming to the cities) relations (Duben, 2006). These relations could be examined with the mass migration to the cities, and consequent emergence of new forms of organization, more exactly, solidarity networks generally defined as community ("cemaat"). In time, because of changing meaning and characteristics of gecekondü, these relations also have changed into a political (Günlü, 2002) and even a beneficial area.

Gecekondü is legalized and supported by the laws of amnesty (with the Laws 5218 and 5228), becoming a permanent kind of housing a way of spatial or more exactly of an economic speculation (Kıray, 1998). According to some points of view, gecekondü was seen as also a step to the realization of the urbanization in the modernity project, apart form its characteristic as being new problems in the city, which lead to the future "apartment houses (*apartman in Turkish*)"- In "apartman" -in Turkish sense-, the "hemşehri" relations and solidarity could not be observable. With raising income, the preference shifts to the "apartman", in other words to another life without this supporting relations, but with individuality and freedom (Ayata, 1989). "Apartman" and social houses were an attracting housing choice, especially for middle classes (İnsel, 1999) and for dwellers in the gecekondü. (Erman, 2001, 1998) This study should be reevaluated with displacements to the social housings conducted by urban renewal programs and housing preference with the threat of earthquake. "Apartman" was a kind of housing of middle class, with structural transformations in 1950s in Turkey. According to Kıray,

with professional transformations of gecekondu dwellers-like being employee or worker for Kıray-, gecekondu areas were to be “apartman” quarters (Kıray, 1998). -, with “yap-satçılık”- A system based on the personal negotiations of contractors and gecekondu owners, for construction of building in gecekondu areas. The period is that of contractors, figures who negotiate, construct and sell. In other words, it was “urbanization” in terms of building construction of gecekondu areas. -. This could be explained that in time, these areas’ opening to “urban areas” necessity emerged and another branch sui generis to these conditions, in other words, a new type of construction of contractors, “*müteahhit*” in Turkish came out. This was dependant on personal agreements between gecekondu owners and these “contractors” (*Müteahhit*).

Between the years 1957-1960, Adnan Menderes, the prime minister in the period between the years 1950 and 1960, applied destructive modernist urban projects. What is critical is that these projects are supported by milieus against modernism. These years are marked by the failure of the modernization project in the achievement of equal distribution of benefits of development, resulting in unemployment problems because of slow industrialization (Şenyapılı, 2004). In 1960s, urban planning became a discipline different from architecture, with a positivist and comprehensive rationalist understanding. By collecting necessary information, this approach has an idea that planning could give right decisions for the cities. In this period, the critics nourished by ideas on urban rents and private ownership about the reasons why the plans are not applicable (Tekeli, 2001). In 1966, gecekondu Law No. 775 is issued by the government for the spatial organization of gecekondu (Şenyapılı, 2004). In this period, peculiar strategies were developed for socio-economic adaptation (Kıray, 1999). Even though the work and housing are integrated into the city, inhabitants prefer to solve their problems with their relatives, in the framework of their patronage relations (Kıray, 1999, referring to Alan Duben). Even in some quarters, ethnic origin results in segregation in one quarter and sometimes cleared the class conflicts between workers and the boss, from the same origin, especially in small factories. (It is recommended to examine the study of Duben in Çağlayan (Duben, 2006)). These community relations affected the destiny of labour movement in Turkey (Duben, 2006). This period is marked also by the funds of the World Bank, in various fields concerning gecekondu. In this period, the studies are determined by the concepts of integration, problematic non-integration of the dwellers into the city life.

The new privatization-based, export-oriented economic model and forced migration from the east and south-east of Turkey have marked this period and the cities (Şenyapılı, 2004). After 1980s, the competition and attempts to be integrated to the West became determinant in the policy of economy. The municipalities became the actors in giving decisions, or more in making interventions in a private sector atmosphere which has started large-scale, luxurious houses (Şenyapılı, 2004). This period is marked also by the social housing proposed as a new way of housing.

The mayor becomes the determinant actor in giving decisions influenced by the rationality of capital and the proposition of Istanbul as a world city (Tekeli, 2001). The gecekondu amnesty legislation was for the whole city (Tekeli, 2001), which gave economic characteristic (commercializing) to gecekondu (Şenyapılı, 2004). In 1984, title deed allotment document (*tapu tahsis belgesi*) with a meaning of document of legal acceptance by authorities, is given to the gecekondu (Günlü, 2002). Especially, after 1980s, it could be mentioned a changing meaning of city, by giving new meanings by capital, to social justice and public benefit concepts (Ocak, 1996). The shelters and inhabitants have gone through radical transformations and the shelters’ meaning have changed with the inhabitants’ role, position and function in the labour market. The subsidies to the rural sector, reduction of social aid, freezing of wages especially affecting the east and southeast of Turkey, lead to an ethnic migration (Şenyapılı, 2004) and inequality. Consequently, this period is also marked by an ethnopolitics (Günlü, 2002) and political parties with contradictory tendencies, addressing to radical identities (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002).

It is critical to review the changing meanings of some assumptions. By the 1980s, with the globalization, apart from changes in various dimensions, the decrease in social expenditure marked this period which has lead to a decrease in life quality. Neo-liberalism, the changing character and reasons of migration, the decrease in the wages in metropolises and lost of socio-economic position of

old middle-class, unemployment due to mechanization and the flexibility in the industrial production and the increase in the child and woman labour are determinant characteristics of this period. (Kalaycıođlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002) The cities gain a role in the reproduction of the capital. The study *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk* (Işık & Pınarcıođlu, 2001) (Cycles of poverty with translation of Şenyapılı (2004) and conceptualized and translated as poverty-in –turn by Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç for the grasp of the exact meaning which does not imply a circle.) gives clues for the changing meaning of gecekondular and the changing characteristics of gecekondular dwellers. Especially, after 1990s, the chance in finding job and land and gecekondular decreased, leading to a new form of urban inequality, “*nöbetleşe yoksulluk*”. The formal system being collapsed, “*nöbetleşe yoksulluk*” means that there is no more chance for new comers in this system without chance for upward mobility, creating its “*tutunamayan*” (Işık & Pınarcıođlu, 2001) (It could be defined as “who could not hold on”, in terms of survival in the city. This study and conceptualization could be examined in the framework of renters affected mostly by the urban renewal projects in the gecekondular areas.), with an erosion of hope. There were complex relations of informality insinuated in local and central authorities (Uysal, 1994). This period of urban regeneration executed by these authorities could be defined as the “formalization” of the informality; however by criminalizing.

Even though there are many studies which underline the being from the same city of origin, “*hemşehrilik*” relations in these quarters, this statement is not valid for all of the cases and particularly for this period of self-interest and profit. The income became determinant, forming enclaves with people having similar revenue (Işık & Güvenç, 1996), homogenous quarters for middle classes (Keyder, 2000). In other words, old segregation between legal quarters and gecekondular gave its place to new and straight segregations because of inequality in income sharing and consumption patterns. (Keyder, 2000) Ayşe and Sencer Ayata’s study supports this change from ethnic segregation to income determinacy (Ayata & Ayata, 2000).

Moreover, urban space became the most important source of accumulation, a new way of being “richer” and a reason behind misusing authority and scandals. The informality is not a peculiarity of gecekondular quarters any longer, but a characteristic which is wide-spread and valid for all groups. (Erder, 2000, Keyder, 2000) It is also underlined that the gecekondular quarters are not a homogenous unity, especially for the various characteristics of ethnic relations constructed in the city (Işık & Güvenç, 1996, Erder, 2000*). These relations are not merely relations of confidence and support, but relations of hierarchy and power, with the changing meaning of gecekondular (Erder, 2000*).

To summarize, the squatter housing problem with the conceptualization of Şenyapılı (2004), has been reflected to the outside world through four main channels, namely government policies, the media, certain branches of art, especially literature and music and academic studies –for instance, “arabesk”- on the identification and evaluation of the issue. For the transformation of the status of the squatter work force, it could be drawn a line from marginal to informal and then to peripheral labour status. This erosion of hope is proposed for the political radicalism of the 1970’s. Şenyapılı underlines also that the culture of gecekondular dwellers was not acceptable within the context of urban lifestyle and even they were thought to be cultural pollutants- However, Şenyapılı relates this situation to the “culture of poverty” of Lewis, which must be open to discussion.- , supported by the representation in the media. The categorization for public approach to gecekondular is interesting, especially for a summary for these periodization. For the period of 1950-1960, gecekondular- In this thesis, it is chosen to use original term, gecekondular instead of “squattening housing”. In the original text of Şenyapılı, the term squattening is preferred to be used.- is an illegal housing problem which is temporary. In the period between the years 1960 and 1970, the housing sector is unproductive. Gecekondular is a housing problem, intervened through the law 775, legalizing and classifying existing gecekondular and prohibiting the new ones. The period between the years 1970-1980 is marked by the politization of gecekondular areas between nationalist and radical left groups. Gecekondular, in this period, is determined by the poverty, changing its housing connotation for Şenyapılı (2004). The post period after 1980, the problem is poverty for Şenyapılı. The law 2981 determined the rent allocation. This period is also determined by the commercialization of gecekondular areas and their transformation. Like it would be examined in the urban transformation history of Turkey, the first steps of renewal are made in these years.

Turkish cities have a history of gecekondu support; however, blamed and displayed actually as the most crucial illness, especially in this urban renewal context. Gecekondu aid the state which was unable to supply necessary social housing for the increasing rate of urbanization, by 1950. Gecekondu was institutionalized and legalized by the years 1965. Especially, the year of 1966 is a critical date with the law of gecekondu (775), recognizing different types of housing. In these years, the social housing was seen as a solution, with the attempts of its institutionalization. By the year 1984, with laws of amnesty and plans of “*İmar Islah*” (Public improvements), a new parceling system is form to give the right of possession. The law 2981 was aiming a transformation of gecekondu, differently from the other laws and it lead to great changes, from the end of the 80s, to the beginning of the 90s.

Another study pursuing steps of the periodization of gecekondu, from print media is the thesis of Kalaylıođlu (2006) - Another periodization could be pursued in the studies of Tahire Erman according to the attitudes and interpretations of gecekondu and gecekondu.-. The period of “politization” (political polarization) of gecekondu gives a new definition, namely liberated zone, a state within state. Gecekondu is seen as a threat or a danger, anarchy, with an absence of state apparatus, security force or police. Especially, the communist groups, in May Day demonstrations are stigmatized. According to Kalaylıođlu quotations, it is understood that the names of the groups or their approach to communism are mentioned, for the period of 70s. However, in this study, it is realized that these groups and their different approaches are not mentioned. The years 1990s, with the massive loss of innocence as an instrument of speculation and rent, it is seen as a source of undeserved earning. Different from Şenyapılı’s (2004) approach, in Kalaylıođlu’s study (2006), it is noticed that there is an image of gecekondu dweller as a person who has an increased earning, having furniture in his/her housing. In the 1990s, the definition as “varoş” comes back after the years 1970s. However, it is crucial to distinguish the two “varoş”, since the former points out a political characteristic; the latter has a cultural connotation. Kalaylıođlu distinguished these two kinds merely for its Islamic character, quoting an Islamic intellectual who states that Islamic movement is a *varoş* movement due to the alienation of Muslims to their own identity. This period is marked by criminalization of gecekondu dwellers with their “anger”, “violence” and their “acculturate” culture like varoş culture, disability to integrate within the city. Kalaylıođlu points out the constructed duality determined by stigmatization like varoş culture/peasant culture, varoş identity/urban identity, peasant mentality/ urban consciousness, in the discourses. However, the events of Gazi neighborhood and May the first demonstration in 1996 are a turning point, changing new characteristic of varoş, to the militant, anarchist and terrorist stigmatizations. In other words, the meaning of gecekondu has changed with government models, its economic policies, with World Bank policies. The type of urban planning and dominant urban land supply model are not independent from the state and the economic transformations, which construct directly public approach to gecekondu. However, with the urban renewal activities, a new era in the gecekondu area, different from the analyses namely post 1980 has started, which should be studied for catching the end of the story. If it is commented on the actual practices of urban planning, it could be seized that it gains a mere role as urban renewal/regeneration practice.

CHAPTER II

2. URBAN RENEWAL

2.1. Introduction: Why choosing urban renewal?

“Urban renewal” was preferred to be used as the framework of this study, for different conceptual and secondly for practical reasons. One of the conceptual reasons is that urban renewal is in general used as an umbrella term for spatial regeneration and planning activities. It is also used synonymously with urban regeneration for specific projects and was, in general, the term used in the beginning of the projects. In the historical process also, for early practices of urban decisions aiming at the transformation of urban areas, urban renewal came before the more comprehensive practice, namely urban regeneration.

The other conceptual reason is related to its terminological relationship with urban social movements; that is, the first study which used the urban social movement was an urban renewal project study of an American political scientist Walton, in the early 1960s, examining this relationship (Bennett, 1997). This study was highlighting the relationship between urban renewal project and urban social movements, focusing mainly on its implications.

Urban renewal is also the most used term in the studies, like that of Marx, Engels and Castells. Consequently, urban renewal facilitates to study on their studies which focus on the real aspects of the spatial decisions and on the resistance. Urban renewal creates also an active area to study, to put forward critical ideas and to expose resistance. Whatever the name of the concept, it is decisive to put forward critical ideas, and to underline resistance.

Apart from these linkages with the study subject and with facilitative motives, urban renewal, apart from being a periodic definition, it is proposed to be a process of changes affecting the physical structure and fabric of urban areas (Couch, 1990: 1).

In other words, it is a particularly physical change, as the inevitable “outcome” of the action of economic and social forces upon urban areas, especially as a powerful force for urban change and predominantly a market-led process (Couch, 1990: 1-2). This physical change dimension leads to the clear distinction between urban renewal and wider process of “urban regeneration”, in economic, social and environmental terms (Ibid: 2).

For practical reasons in Istanbul, it could be stated that urban renewal was the first used term for the early projects. The term has changed in time, giving its place to regeneration. However, it still keeps its usage and it is an umbrella term for the spatial regulations as a whole.

In time, definitions and names of urban projects have changed or are used interchangeably with others, in different times and projects. The concepts are the keys for analyzing and understanding. The consequences are important and the results of these projects whatever their names and revelation of both hidden aspects of these concepts in the lived space. It is preferred to use the most appropriate term for the relation between spatial projects and urban resistance, in order to pave the way for fruitful future analyses in terms of urban social movements.

However, it is accurate to admit that if the general usage is concentrated on urban regeneration, consequently, it is crucial to analyze diverse definitions proposed for regeneration. Urban regeneration is a concept underlining various aspects, namely economic and social, apart from merely physical renewal in the early periods. Especially after 1990s, economic development, social regeneration and good governance have emerged as new aspects (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 1999), as a comprehensive vision and action shaped by participation but more exactly governance for economic, spatial, social and environmental problems. The urban regeneration/transformation is proposed to change its name due to changing action ways and degrees, and time period like it is asserted for urban renewal.

Another critical point is that urban regeneration is proposed to be the general definition and the final point of the evolution of spatial projects: The 1950s, as reconstruction, the 1960s, as revitalization, the 1970s, as urban renewal, the 1980s, as redevelopment and finally 1990s as regeneration (Roberts, in Roberts and Sykes ed., 2000, p. 14). This periodic elaboration could be urban renewal which is proposed to be the most radical and old intervention method necessitating a demolition and consequently, a reconstruction, its similar, urban reconstruction, urban improvement and rehabilitation with economic and social concerns, urban redevelopment based on private sector after 1980s, urban revitalization and conservation underlining cultural, historical aspects, and finally gentrification, according to some approaches (Yıldırım, 2006).

In the framework of this elaboration, urban renewal's major strategy is asserted to be focusing on *in-situ* (in its original place) renewal and neighborhood schemes with growing role of private sector and its investment and decentralization in local government. Another critical point in this evolution scheme is the social content of urban renewal as community based action and empowerment and the environmental improvement which are not mentioned in other studies. For the urban regeneration from the 1990s, it is maintained that the comprehensive form of policy and practice, with a more integrated treatments and partnership of private and public sectors proposes a strategic perspective emphasizing the role of community, with an introduction of the environmental "sustainability" (Roberts, in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000).

Economic changes, the impact of restructuring upon spatial arrangements, the role of the internationalization, economic, social and environmental challenges, government, private sector and communities involved the competition in the uneven development could be the keys for explanation of urban regeneration's atmosphere. Apart from economic competitiveness, social cohesion is another strategic topic for the reconciliation of growth and equity in the urban regeneration strategies (Parkinson, 1999). Urban regeneration could be defined as a policy response to the social, economic, environmental and spatial problems, for the creation of vacant

land, buildings to beneficial use, new forms of employment, improving urban environment (Couch, Fraser and Percy, 2003).

The main difference could be exposed in terms of the social emphasis in the projects. The understanding of the urban regeneration comprises economic issues (job prospects, employments for social deprivation), physical improvements², environmental aspects, social issues (neighborhood strategies, community issues, education and training), after economic, social and environmental analysis. The relationship between physical conditions and social aspect, integration of socio-economic and physical renewal (Jeffrey and Pounder, in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000) is critical in urban regeneration definition, differently from urban renewal definition of Couch (1990) as a process of essentially “sustainable” physical change (Roberts and Sykes, Roberts, in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000).

Urban regeneration also requires a “strategically” designed, locally based approach in its literature definition, as a bridge between top-down and bottom-up approaches. Multi-sector, multi-agency wide-ranging “partnership” role for the promotion of opportunity and mobility aiming at integration at various levels, engagement of key actors, creation of support and confidence in local communities in networks (Carter, in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000) are the keys for the relationship between economic and social aspects. Local people play crucial role in the framework of special needs for community groups, by promoting improvement both of economic and social conditions in terms of community capacity building, empowerment (Jacobs and Dutton in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000). Organization and management of the regeneration in terms of involvement of many participants for sharing knowledge, different actors experiencing existing conditions and benefiting from proposed changes in an integrated strategy, after definition of the problems (Lichfield in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000) are some descriptions of the social atmosphere.

² According to Edgar and Taylor (in Roberts and Sykes ed., 2000), the introduction of middle- and upper-income housing into the poor housing areas is beneficial for the regeneration and also for political awareness and good networks and private sector in partnership with local authorities and housing associations which could be open to discussion.

Economic development in areas with social problems (job training, business support facilities, involvement of beneficiary groups in project design and implementation), environmental awareness action linked to economic goals, revitalization of historic centers, exploitation of technological assets of cities, could be deduced as conclusions from experiences (Drewe in Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000). The identification of problems, constraints, opportunities, resource requirements, overall strategy with a detailed schedule of implementation and action in the framework of partnership, sustainability are prerequisites as components of urban regeneration. The weaknesses could be enumerated as absence of an adequate definition of problems, lack of clear position of the role, structure, and operation of regeneration, unrealistic planning against the potential development of an area, lack of coordination in the design and discharge of policy and implementation, overemphasis of a single activity, unnecessary exclusion of a key group, problem of bureaucratization, lack of strategy in long-term, of an open, transparent and accurate means for recording and evaluating the outcomes, operation of schemes in isolation from other aspects (Roberts and Sykes * in; Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000).

Even though the current projects are defined as “urban regeneration”, their ignorance for present social structure and future social “sensitivity”, this concept loses its applicability in Turkish experiences. In this term, mainly and merely spatial decisions and practices lead to conceptualization as urban renewal project, which gives opportunity to underline negative implications in Istanbul.

2.2. An attempt for the definition of urban renewal

Urban renewal carries diverse definitions from different point of views creating crucial dilemmas. Its controversial characteristic (Wilson, 1970) and multidimensional practices require a reexamination of the principles of the purpose of city planning, and sacrifices for the “common good” which is frozen by generalized ideas but still keeping its fluidity. Apart from Couch (1990) and Roberts (in: Roberts and Sykes ed. 2000) elaborations proposed as introductory definitions, it could be explained as rehabilitation, redevelopment of impoverished urban

neighborhoods by large-scale renovation or reconstruction of housing and public works. Its process could be categorized namely as revival, revitalization which is defined as elimination of the social-cultural, economic and physical dimensions and revitalization, renewal, renovation as the renewal of the urban area, including the demolition and reconstruction, regeneration as the creation of the urban tissue for the city, gentrification with emphasis on “social improvement” and rehabilitation underlining a return to the former situation (Narlı, 2006, Yılmaz, 2005). These definitions are sometimes used interchangeably or synonymously, in general for spatial clearance in gecekondu areas. Urban renewal is critical with its contradictory aims, namely the preservation of present function and a total change in existing structure. However, there is a problem of conceptualization, of attribution of these categories and of definition. Apart from its definition related to the physical regeneration, the social connotation in terms of its aims, however different from what is implied by urban regeneration as empowerment, has very strong significance.

The core meaning could be defined as the demolition of badly built districts, the removal of undesirables into worse and more crowded corners in order to promote the creation of capital, by the elite, as defined by Marx (1967, 2000), in *Capital*. In Volume I, Chapter 25, Marx stated that improvements of towns, accompanying the increase of wealth, like demolition of badly built districts, the erection of places to house banks, warehouses, the widening of streets for business traffic, for luxury carriages, for the introduction of tramways drive the poor away into even worse and more crowded corners. For Marx, the antagonistic character of capitalist accumulation and capitalist property relations becomes evident in this respect the evil’s progress is alongside the improvement of towns, beside the development of industry and the accumulation of capital (1967, 2000: 626-628).

Evaluation of these transformations in terms of their aims is significant and the use of concepts with changing conditions in relation with time and it is also necessary to be critical in aims and differentiation of the concepts. For the categorization of urban “renewal” as an umbrella conceptualization, it incorporates other urban projects. For

instance, urban reconstruction in terms of intervention and effects could be defined with its preservation of present features, functions and activities. Urban revitalization leads to a total change in existing structure. Urban renewal aims at the preservation of present function and activities with a total change in existing structure. Urban redevelopment is like a synonym of urban revitalization with change in existing structure. Urban regeneration aims the same targets with urban reconstruction and another concept, improvement and restoration, which are on the level of building. The clearance means a total change in existing structure like the other two concepts; however in a more explicit fashion. The so-called urban rehabilitation project aims merely the preservation of present physical features, like conservation, for houses (Özkan cited in: Uzun, 2005).

The urban renewal experimentation could be analyzed in a temporal categorization, for instance as three overlapping generations in different countries like the study of Carmon (1999). The generations have unique policy components, major actors, methods of action and outcomes related to social, economic and political characteristics of its historical period. This historical approach underlines the importance of deducing typical results and main lessons, especially concerning social outcomes. The better results could be achieved in both social and spatial terms. The physical determinism, emphasis on built environment, in the framework of “bulldozer” practices and slum clearances could be witnessed especially in United States and United Kingdom urban renewal experiences. The second generation underlines the “rediscovery of poverty”, aiming to improve existing social housing and environment, instead of demolition, simultaneously, treating the social problems, with the support provided by social services and bettering their quality. However, this study underlines the most ignored aspect, namely the consequences of “positive discrimination” in the program of community development. Moreover, for instance, in Britain, physical and social programs were separately held both at organization and practices levels. Third generation is defined with inner-city revitalization projects, gentrification emphasizing economic development with different partnerships, leading to the contribution to widening the gap between the “haves” and the “have-nots”, “cities of conflict”, and “island of renewal”.

In a retrospective analysis, it is revealed that urban renewal has different meanings and practices in different periods in history. Between the years 1910-1940, practiced as a “modernist” approach for the creation of “ideal cities”, with its “City Beautiful” and Bauhaus movement, demolition and reconstructions, in the 1920s, with urban “reconstruction” predominant because of the demolition of the World war, especially in European cities has changed its definitions due to changing aims, methods and practices in time. The concepts of transformation have changed through time due to its various usages and consequently, due to the necessity of change with the dirtiness of the definition. Until the 1950s, it was defined by renewal and redevelopment, determined by the displacement of the old dwellers and the demolition (Eke & Uğurlar, 2004). In 1960s, after the suburbanization of the 1950s, the aim was to revitalize the centers. For Eke and Uğurlar (2004), there was a predominant approach against the demolition and the displacement of dwellers. In the period between the years 1960 and 1970, the urban renewal was described by concepts like renovation, rehabilitation and the upgrading.

The renewal projects were in 1950s and 1960s practiced as total demolitions in city centers. In 1970s, with growing new sub-centers resulting in deterioration in old urban areas, the operations were urban renewal in large scope, with social and physical rehabilitation in housing areas. By the late 1970s and the 1980s, the critical political-economy or socio-spatial approach underlined the importance of class and racial domination, the strong role of powerful economic actors in real estate, of growth-assisted government actors in city development, the importance of symbols, meanings and culture to shape the city in the global context or urban redevelopment. (Gotham, 2001a) In 1980s, the urban redevelopment was the main tool for the urban center’s new role in service sector with its rediscovery (Uzun, 2005). From the 1980s onwards the concepts of regeneration and gentrification are the most used ones (Eke & Uğurlar, 2004). The regeneration has a target of making a revaluation of an urban space, mainly based on the land value, which lead to prestigious housing areas with private sector projects. The physical and social objectives are not the main motivations. Especially, by the 1990s, urban regeneration proposes itself with its

ambition for economic, social, physical and environmental improvement with a large scope (Uzun, 2005).

The elaboration of urban renewal from several understandings, as an aspiration, an organization and as a given result is essential, with an understanding of slums as problems and housing as social deterioration leading to increase in discrimination and inequality with spatial deprivations and segregation (Greer, 1965). In other words, the obscure face of urban regeneration which corresponds to fear from slums, their diseases, protests, “revolution” with obsession of hygiene and attempts of social discipline by means of spatial discipline, ignoring the reality of the residents with their so-called rationalism (Schubert, 1996). Consideration of the residential areas merely as “a space based house problem” is not the accurate approach; this view results in projects ignoring social aspects or emphasizing economic benefit from urban areas.

2.3. Critiques: Out of the façade of urban renewal

The urban renewal raised questions in the literature due to its socially disadvantageous consequences and created serious implications and dilemmas. It could be appropriate to begin with Engels’ statements for this operation since the concept proposed by him, the blockbusting was explaining significantly the core of the land acquisition processes. The blockbusting means to create fear and to force the inhabitants to sell their rights. The urban renewal is the transportation of the poverty to the peripheral areas. For Engels (1992), Haussmann symbolizes the concerns for “public sanity” and “beautification” and the creation of gaps in the working class quarters. The removal of narrow and “dirty” streets leads to creation of new ones in somewhere else. In other words, it was a simple sliding. This *hygienopolis* proposed as a solution for “preventing social tensions”, dating back to the wiping out intervention in the working class quarters from the city center, leads to the future fortified enclaves, the gated communities formation (Caldeira, 1999).

To seize these mentioned implications, it is appropriate to expose various critics. For instance, defined as “the federal bulldozer” by Martin Anderson (1970) for the American case, the renewal process contains different steps like land acquisition, displacement and relocation, site clearance, site improvements and supporting facilities, disposition of improved land and new construction. Apart from the seductive picture before (defined by adjectives like dirty, dark, ugly slums) and after (defined by adjectives like safe, sanitary, clean, bright beautiful buildings), the realities of the costs and consequences are different. Improving living conditions for who is another important question, while in general low-rent homes are being destroyed (Anderson, 1967).

Another important critic is that of Jane Jacobs’ and Herbert Gans’ analyses on the impacts of urban renewal are also crucial which will be elaborated in the part of urban renewal. In 1961, Jane Jacobs published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, one of the first and strongest critiques of contemporary large-scale urban renewal. Her popular architectural and social study for private clearance with high-rise projects in Greenwich Village underlined the failure of the method with the destruction of neighborhoods and consequently communities.³ The “disordered” city even provides the streets’ security.

The city was thought to be “saved” for people like tourists (what is interesting who are intellectuals and artists) enjoying the diversity, antique charm for visual adventure and aesthetic pleasure and making the land available for private builders (Gans, 1970). The clearance of slums for luxury-housing in general for middle-class creates new slums and other overcrowded and deteriorated lands. In America, this is generally correlated with a period “racist” clearance of “negroes” (Gans, 1970). The study of Herbert Gans in Boston’s West end, he emphasized the destructive

³ Organized movements began to oppose urban renewal in America from the 1970s. Many cities, in Atlanta, in New South, were undergone into sweeping urban renewal projects and consequently, in Boston, community activists resisted to proposed Southwest Expressway after a great clearance. In San Fransisco, Joseph Alioto the mayor changed the policy of urban renewal with community groups, ending the construction of highways.

dimension of urban renewal on neighborhoods, doing more harm than good. The other important point is that the urban renewal is a slow process. For Gans, the few areas were quickly rebuilt in his study area, whereas less desirable cleared land remain vacant since developers are unwilling to risk the high and middle-class housing. The urban renewal has to build as many dwellings as it has demolished. Moreover, for the relocation of the low-income people in their areas, land value is the most determinant factor (Gans, 1967). For the American example, the refuse of the move of non-whites into the neighborhoods of the middle and upper-classes' quarters is another aspect (Gans, 1967*). With a "natural succession", even the project has given a part for them, with the rising land-values and changing characteristics of quarter, the low-classes decide to remove into other areas. Even in the ancient study of Herbert Gans, what is emphasized are the employment and economic problems behind the visible "problems" and proposed urban "solutions" (Gans, 1967, 1970).

The urban projects whatever their definitions are mainly related with social conditions, even though it has great aims for the improvement, empowerment of the social aspect. "Three generations" study of Carmon (1999) deduces also mainly social lessons from the practices with economic and spatial emphasis, in that massive demolition lead to massive displacement or benefiting seldom from projects with economic priority. The over social emphasis could be beneficial; however, producing "positive externalities".

2.4. The result: Erosion of the social

The critiques part rendered a theoretical account of the "social" implications; now, the focus will be extended to analyze the practical picture. It is proposed to bring economic and cultural development to many cities, but often at a great cost to low-income and minority communities living in this social milieu. Urban renewal continues to evolve whether it is a success or not with new models developed and implemented. If it is elaborated in a simple way, it could be mainly asserted that the land improvement with designs and pursued aims incompatible with dwellers leads

to increase in house prices. Another aspect, the relocation, is problematic in terms of inappropriate standards, with large population characteristic of families and change in the dwelling quarter. The “publicly” masked private sector’s role in this relocation, and consequently the destruction of living neighborhoods are some of the consequences of the renewal projects. Moreover, the relocation has contradictory characteristic in itself. The social housing means a new way of life, but not a desired and voluntarily chosen one. The relocation necessitates, in general, a lifelong indebted position. Even when the relocation is assured; the social housing conditions (especially for extended families) and dwellers’ situation unable to get accustomed to the new conditions, sometimes in a new neighborhood remain as the most important implications⁴. Moreover, new housing conditions lead to more expenses like that of transportation which could not be afforded easily in this new life. The physical methods are not sufficient for eliminating the “poverty” or for “improving social and economic conditions”⁵.

The urban renewal projects can be inappropriate to dwellers, ignoring their lives and problems, and furthermore, creating new problems, increasing the present ones, related to space fetishism and its selling process. Urban renewal accompanied by the social housing subvention which lead to destruction of community relations, new unexpected costs of new housing and transportation and moreover, in the future which could lead to the feeling of exclusion in the reserved areas and the devastation of their environment. The renewal could gain other meanings like socialism for the rich and a “pogrom”⁶ (holocaust of the Jews in the era of czarism Russia) for the poor.

⁴ For this point, Turner (Aslan, 2004) criticizes the social housing as “traditional policy” of the central-from top decisions. The real solutions are hindered by planned categorized programmes and schemas, in other words boundaries for dwellers, especially with low income.

⁵ This idea is one of the core statements of the study which will be elaborated throughout the thesis.

⁶ Related to this statement, Ahmet Turhan Altuner, the journalist in Milliyet and architect defined this process and projects as pogrom and defoliation, which could be mentioned in the part of representations in the media (23 April 2006, Milliyet Pazar, p. 14)

The redevelopment of community is generally proposed reason for the justification urban renewal. With the new practices as “community development” attempts, the rehabilitation of the district, with *mottos of neighborhood regeneration* immediately raise questions about increasing social aims, explicitly in accordance with the social, however has an aim for its transformation. It is clear that the social aspect is the most important one and redevelopment of community includes in itself an accurate attempt. However, its practice and its manipulation result in unsuccessful conditions. The most popular examples of these attempts different from bulldozer movements are HOPE VI of United States and programmes pursued by France, inspired by American examples. These projects aim to create in the framework of social concerns, economical and so social opportunities. Another critical aspect that slum clearance programmes should be demolition of social houses, which show a controversial situation of Turkish experience which is the construction and relocation in social houses. Ethically, it is necessary to pursue the benefit of the community, not that of the developer (Gans, 1968)⁷ if what is aimed is the real improvement of dwellers’ conditions. However, there is always a risk to slip into the illusion of self-help as conceptualized by Davis (2006).

2.5. Conceptual Summary

The urban renewal is a quite complex process and decisions making requires diversity and affinity as stated by Couch (1990). The core meaning could be defined as the demolition of badly built districts, the removal of undesirables into worse and more crowded corners, in order to promote the creation of capital, by the elite, as defined by Marx (1967, 2000), in *Capital*. The first study which uses the urban social movement was about an urban renewal project and was examining their relations, by the American political scientist Walton, in the early 1960s⁸ (Bennett, 1997). This study was examining the relationship between urban renewal project and urban

⁷ Gans (1968) discussed this with slum proposed definition, underlining not only physical, but also social “harmful, infectious” characteristics, reasons. In the redevelopment process, Gans considers the tenants as eventual and at the side of the redevelopers.

social movements, focusing mainly on implications. For the categorization of urban “renewal” as an umbrella conceptualization, it incorporates in itself other urban projects. Even though in time, with rising in social awareness, it remains merely a spatial project, which supports the idea of urban renewal usage instead of regeneration. However, it is accurate to admit that if the general usage is concentrated on urban regeneration, consequently, it is crucial to elaborate various definitions proposed for regeneration. It is a concept pointing out other aspects, namely economic and social, apart from merely physical renewal in the early periods. Especially after 1990s, economic development, social regeneration and good governance have emerged as new aspects (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 1999). Urban regeneration could be defined as policy response to the social, economic, environmental and spatial problems, for the creation of vacant land, buildings to beneficial use, new forms of employment, improving urban environment (Couch, Fraser and Percy, 2003).

The urban renewal in its practice means in general the displacement of people, mainly low-income residents from homes and neighborhoods, far from the social and physical milieu where there is an attachment and the relocation is poorly realized. The demolition is proposed for a physical but also, and more significantly as a remedy for “social decay”. The problem of relocation with rising cost of housing – the “quality of life”- as a result of rebuilding higher-priced housing are the most important points. The formation of new gecekondü areas for this affected people became impossible in Turkey. Even the new housing for low-income people are built, these people go in debt for paying or pay for a lifetime in these low-rent public housing projects. Relocation is problematic in terms of inappropriate standards, with large population characteristic of families, their values, living patterns and change in the dwelling quarter. The social housing means a new way of life, but not a desired and voluntarily chosen one; however, creating “overcrowded” and “undesirably heterogeneous”. Inappropriate spatial decisions –fallacy of physical determinism as conceptualized by Gans (1968) - affecting people’s lives in terms of their social relations-friendship and neighborhood relations- harden their living conditions. Solving spatial urban problems in a different way could be a first step in the more

structural path of change. Even though social programming is supplied, without a change in structural conditions and in stigmatization, there will no real success. The redevelopment plans and relocation process planning are in general based on some physical and social standards. Urban renewal projects could be necessary for desirable life conditions; however, what is desirable for a dweller could not be similar to that of the decision makers.

Ultimately, the grand conception of urban transformation was whittled away and domesticated to meet the immediate interests of the propertied classes. Instead of unfolding as idealistic projects of social regeneration, the town planning schemes evolved as avenues to further the interests and aspirations of the propertied and the instrument of the growing marginalization of the poor. The war against slums came dangerously close to being a battle to control the settlement and habitation of the poor, and indeed an offensive against the poor themselves.(Gooptu in Davis, 2006: 69)

CHAPTER III

3. RESISTANCE OF THE URBAN AGAINST URBAN MASKS: URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS VERSUS URBAN PROJECTS

3.1. Introduction

Different definitions for social movements are proposed from various points of view. From a general point of view, social movements are one of the principal forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, like protesting dramatizing grievances and concerns in a more institutionalized way in democratic societies. A social movement could be defined also as a collective, organized, and sustained and non-institutionalized challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). The dimension of institutionalization, organization, their change-oriented (and in what terms and extend) characteristics are generally discussed aspects.

The social movements are analyzed sometimes with questions of “why” people react or not. However, this “why” is not the “why” in terms of why people are recruited or what conditions lead to the social movements. Sometimes, they are categorized as mobilization, protest, collective action and finally social movement (Lafargue, 1998). For some approaches, it is even false to use the concept “social movement”. It is just the point to mention the difference between the US and European debates. While the US approach was focusing on “how” questions, European approach is more near to the new social movements and to “why” question. In social movements’ literature, with a rough approach ignoring the overlapping cases, it could be stated roughly four approaches for categorization namely collective behaviour, resource mobilization, political processes and new social movements. The first three conceptualizations could be categorized as American perspective, in other words the “how” of the collective action (Della Porta and Diani, 1999,

referring to Melucci). The new social movements from Europe are concerned with the “why” of action (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, referring to Melucci). However, framing processes, network organization, and different categorizations for new social movements are also other titles for the analyses.

In the general framework of urban social movement literature, the emphasis on advanced capitalist society characteristic is proposed as a prerequisite factor before the examination. Usually mentioned and explicated as urban unrests, riots or crimes of youth mobilization, urban social movements have a problematic position of definition and of categorization. However, in some studies, for instance of Gans (1968), even though it is proposed as “ghetto rebellions” of “Negroes”, the economic ground –unemployment, underemployment, poverty- behind the “grievance” are proposed as real reasons.

They are heterogeneous and politically disorganized, and consequently, difficult to evaluate. In general, in “Western” literature, “urban” social movements are categorized and elaborated in the framework of NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard as a movement generally of middle classes) movements refusing a road or a nuclear center intending to transform some aspects of city life, ecological movements, squatters occupying apartment buildings, local youth mobilizing for a free “cultural space”, marches of “homeless” are generally mentioned examples for urban social movements (Neveu, 1996; Snow, Soule, Kriesi, Hanspeter, 2004). They are studied in a global context, especially in the framework of “new urban citizenship”, related to the Civil Act Rights in 1964, for racial restrictions and segregations on housing. In this term, this does not mean an operation on a “global” level but emphasize the relationship of the local with the global. It is critical to question the social movements in terms of the people’s will for “changing”-it is realized of not- their lives, beside of the others who decide for themselves.

It is critical to examine the reactions of the social for looking beyond two main approaches, the former supporting the idea that these reactions are illegal or a sign of

madness⁹, and the latter looking down on, by ignoring their importance and force of resistance. It is exact to admit that urban could not merely the reason for a structural change, but it could be a triggering reason for the gathering of dwellers who gain consciousness or vice versa. To categorize a movement or resistance as urban, what are the necessary characteristics? This question is problematic in terms of academic classification and examination. However the classification is compulsory and attempts for it improve its theory, apart from the classification, what is important is the analysis of the movement itself.

The term urban social movement was introduced to the literature by Castells in the early 1970s (Pickvance, 2003). However, as stated before, according to some resources, it is Wilson who used the term, in 1960s, in the urban renewal context. In his study, the collaboration of people when each of them feels a danger for him or his family with the proposed change was examined with an emphasis on the individual in the collective resistance (Bennett, 1997). Lefebvre's radical critics for traditional liberal-technical urbanism with the expertise of urbanist or planner, the spatial praxis, the spatial component of the "revolution", the seizure and the control of space are necessary since the radical transformation of society can take place in space, for the interests of class struggle. This was a "revolution" in the elaboration of these movements since the working-class became the starting point, not as a threat to social order, but in the framework of structuralism of Althusser and theory of social action of Touraine (Pickvance, 2003).

Urban social movements are proposed as a system of practices resulted from the articulation of the particular conjuncture, evolving towards structural transformation of the urban system or a substantial modification of the power relations in the class struggle, in the state power. In some explications, non-institutionalization is the main underlined characteristic, and for others, bringing or resisting a social change dimension, sometimes with social movement organizations. However, it is general that the urban social movements are held as urban unrests, violence, related with so-

⁹ *Cinnet* in Turkish

called gang activities, as community neighborhood based groupings or as “poor movements” (as deprivation and household strategies), “homeless movements”, “racial movements”, civil rights movements, they have great importance in the literature, even in diverse points of view, approaches. In the appendix of *The Urban Question* (Castells, 1977), urban social contradictions are defined by their “pluri-class nature”, which means that there are not merely structural opposition between two fundamental classes, but distributing the classes and fractions according to the opposing terms of the conjuncture. For Lefebvre, the space’s intervention in space can and must be turned back against it, by “grass-roots opposition”, in the form of counter-plans and counter-projects designed to thwart strategies, plans and programmes imposed from above (1991). For other points of view, a “conscious production of space” is necessary for revolutionary programmes (Molotch, 1993).

In *City of Quartz* of Mike Davis (2000), the signs of a conflict based on space, defined as “new class war at the level of built environment” could be pursued. Davis relates this situation to the spatial segregation, the middle-classes residential colonization and spatial apartheid. Mike Davis’ *Planet of Slums* (2006), recognizing the mystification of the slum dwellers (as “informal urban proletariat”) concerning Marxist hope for historical agency, underlines a global refusal, a global class war emerging from a refusal of variety of norms, thoughts of Western version of modernity, but more exactly neo-liberal imperialism and he writes:

This refusal may take atavistic as well as avant-garde forms: the repeal of modernity as well as attempts to recover its repressed promises. It should not be surprising that some poor youth on the outskirts of Istanbul, Cairo, Casablanca, or Paris embraces the religious nihilism of al Salafia Jihadia and rejoice in the destruction of an alien modernity's most overweening symbols. Or that millions of others turn to the urban subsistence economies operated by street gangs, *narcotraficantes*, militias, and sectarian political organizations. The demonizing rhetoric of the various international 'wars' on terrorism, drugs, and crime are so much semantic apartheid: they construct epistemological walls around *gecekondus*, *favelas*, and *chawls* that disable any honest debate about the daily violence of economic exclusion. (Davis, 2006: 202)

For pursuing the lines of urban social movements, the methodology could be to draw general lines of connection between capital accumulation and reproduction processes, emphasizing territorial issues (Mingione, 1981). Moreover, the recognition of the countries' peculiarities should be underlined. The most important contradiction valuable for the most part is the tendency to underproduce dwellings for low income groups and overproduce houses for the middle and high income groups (Mingione, 1981).

Urban conflicts to get a better housing or transport could be held as a part of the most comprehensive conflictual movement, namely class conflict to establish an alternative social system, within a dialectical process, from a Marxist approach. The unification of classes may seem to be complicated and controversial and the objectives of different conflictual situations incompatible. Even though in general, social movements are evaluated as results of spatial regulations; however, the economic aspect behind the space with precarious conditions of life (job loss, proletarianisation) lead to so-called "urban problems". It is critical to emphasize that the "spatial" aspects of problems overlap with the real "problem" behind so-called urban problems. These movements could modify the power relationships between social classes, started with small groups of neighborhoods claiming better conditions in their urban environment and collective consumption, succeeding not only in urban change, but also in becoming a powerful pressure force against the state (Finkelievich, 1981). Excluded from direct participation and urban decision making processes, squatters and slum dwellers have to organize for achieving some bargaining power, with stable, durable and effective local associations, without defining themselves as anti-systemic movements.

3.2. Social Movements' theories in the urban social movements' literature¹⁰

It is significant to detail and expose three approaches of the main social movement theories since these ones are proposed to be key explications of urban social movements, especially in actual studies, supported by different examples. Apart from political opportunity and resource mobilization approach, the theoretical relationship between urban social movements and new social movements have the most critical position in expressing the class' role in the urban social movements, exposing various explanations as a response to class emphasis in new social movement theories and existing urban social movement approaches, maintaining "new middle classes" as motor force behind. This elaboration is significant since urban social movement usage remind mainly these definitions or relations with these theories. This current usage and emphasis on "how" rather than "why" lead to mistakes and gaps in the analyses of urban social movements. Both for these reasons and for a short elaboration of the main theses in the social movement literature, these relationships are examined.

3.2.1. Political opportunity approach and urban social movements

Political process approach -or political opportunity structure- puts emphasis on rise and weakening of opportunity for social movements in the framework of relations between political processes and institutions, providing opportunity, tolerance against protest. The political opportunities may be a necessary precondition for the emergence and timing of the movement or facilitative factor, a basis of possibilities for social movements. *Tarrow's* cyclical characteristic of movements with a periodical recurring¹¹, *Mc Adam* with his idea about timing of action, spin-off movement, different from emerging characteristics, *Donatella Della Porta* with her

¹⁰ This information of this part mainly comes from "Social Movements", "Social Movements and Civil Action" of the year 2004 of Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, Department of Sociology, METU.

¹¹ Influenced by this approach, Koopmans (2005) proposed protest wave or wave of contention; social movements can not be understood in isolation, but in relation to other contenders of power and to other types of political action, with a consideration of time and space.

point of study in terms of different protest policing in different countries could be mentioned in this category. It is crucial that the social movement also can create an opportunity for the emergence of another movement, i.e., political opportunity structure can be held as a dependent variable. This tendency is criticized for being a kind of political reductionism (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, referring to Melucci).

Like in other social movements, the political context –with theories of political opportunity structure and resource mobilization school- could become a key for urban social movement analyses. This issue could be elaborated with an idea which supports that the urban movements are not spontaneous responses to inequalities and deprivations (Pickvance, 2003). Consequently, with the close relationships with political structure, this approach is used in the framework of urban social movements. According to Pickvance (2003), the belief in potential for radical change of non-institutionalized urban political action is important. However, the interest in interaction between protest and political system is not significant and central in the urban social movement literature. Political opportunity structure is crucial due to the fact that urban movements are not spontaneous responses to inequalities and deprivations. States' approaches towards urban social movements also are critical and determinant.

Not only on the economic level, but also, the movements question the political system. Especially on the basis of urban policy, the state intervenes with repression, integration or regulation, according to circumstances. They are concerned with the system of social practices between the political and economic levels, capable of producing transforming effects on social relationship between the classes, in the present social system between social classes and the ideological relationship between the classes (Finkelievich, 1981). In the political opportunity structure approach, there is also an idea that “democratization” leads to the decline of urban social movements. In Madrid and Chili examples, working-class barrios' movements fighting for solutions –especially around issues related to housing, public services and employment- in dangerous circumstances become demobilized with democratic transitions contrary to the general belief that the urban social movements would

deepen the democratization process for more profound political, economic, and social reforms¹² (Hipsler, 1996). The concept used “reform” is also an important clue for the analysis of these studies.

3.2.2. Resource mobilization and urban social movements

For the elaboration of collective behaviour approach, it is crucial to begin with the strain theory¹³, related to social interactionism¹⁴, which has its roots in structural functionalism’s deviant and irrational behavior understanding and Chicago School’s collective behavior understanding¹⁵. The interactionist type of collective behaviour theory puts emphasis on the symbolic production processes and the construction of identity (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). *Gusfield*¹⁶ defines social movements in 1970, as a collective effort using either institutionalized or uninstitutionalized ways to create or resist change, in established social patterns in society. What is important to remember is that it is very difficult to establish a general theory valid for every case and everywhere for social movements. According to *Smelser* (1998) from structural functionalist school, the factors which are general structural conduciveness,

¹² In this study, political opportunity understanding is not a “structural” one; however, political opportunities are “fluid” and variable over the time. Social protest is not constant. It ebbs and flows, depending on the opportunities available to movement actors. Referring to Tarrow, the “ebb” and the “flows” as cycles of protest, it is emphasized that with changing political conditions, the movements also change with configurations of power, resources.

¹³ This theory’s roots could back to the social order and integrationist understanding of Durkheim (Buechler, 2005).

¹⁴ The symbolic interactionism considers social movements as meaningful rational action for an aim, interests, not an outraged revolt. This understanding gives way to resource mobilization approach with the cost-benefit analysis in terms of ration in the action.

¹⁵ Chicago School is crucial in terms of its approach considering action as something “normal”, in other words not deviant, anomalous and a part of the system and more critically, as the seedbed of “new” institutions as Gusfield stated (1994). The social movements are both integral part of normal functioning of society and process of transformation (Della Porta and Diani, 1999).

¹⁶ For further information, please examine Gusfield (1994). He puts emphasis on the analysis of the content, “meaning” (from the roots of Blumer) given or perceived, rather than form. Gusfield recognizes also multiple affiliations, in other words, fluidity of social movements compared to “theater”. In this article, the reference of Melucci is critical. Melucci considered collective behaviour as actors without action and resource mobilization theories as actions without actors.

structural strain, generalized beliefs, precipitating factors, mobilizing collective force and authority's reaction lead to the emergence of a social movement.

If social movements are considered as deviant, anomic (with) frustration, irrational behaviors causing problems, for urban social movements as a reaction to a spatial intervention, regulation as a precipitating factor, geographical closeness, structural strain as a conflict between different interest groups (for example, housing market), with a feeling of doing something as a mobilization of collective force could be explicative with an authority which takes side and wants to control and prevent. The social cohesion, the crisis situation, the shared beliefs are tool concepts of analysis. The collective action is considered as crisis behaviour with feelings of deprivation¹⁷. For *Blumer*, who makes it as a recognizable field, collective behaviour is spontaneous, unregulated¹⁸ (Buechler, 2005). The question becomes how, differently from why in the collective behaviour approach, with theoreticians *Oberschall* (with various material or non-material resources), *Tilly* (repertoires of collective action¹⁹, importance of solidarity, webs of sociability and the strategy for the organization for aims) with their introduction of political dimension, political system and model of mobilization in resource mobilization approach, *Gamson* (especially in solidarity with Fireman), *McCarthy*²⁰ and *Zald* (a formulation of theory economic of the firm, industry and the market for Social Movements Organizations) influenced by *Olson*, with his study about the logic of the collective action.

¹⁷ This understanding was valid in the analyses of French banlieues.

¹⁸ McAdam's critique is crucial to seize the differences between these two approaches in that this behaviour should be perceived as a political action, rather than as deviant behaviour.

¹⁹ This is related with the patterns of contention which are generally mentioned in the social movement literature. These repertoires could be innovated leading to novelty in the interactions with the regime that they oppose and new recombination of identities, inspiring other movements. (Koopmans, 2005)

²⁰ In his article, collaborated with Edwards (2005) he underlines different types of resources other than material ones, namely, moral (Snow), cultural (with "habitus" concept of Bourdieu), social-organizational (Coleman).

Walton (1998), referring to mobilizing efforts and collective action, searches for an explanation of urban conflict. Referring to collective consumption, he correlates mobilization by consumers of urban services, action focused on the availability of collective or public goods. –land, housing, transportation, education, health and urban services, water, streets, electrification- He also underlines the changing urban economy's, rise and fall of the developmental state's role, in movements. Neighborhoods and communities are the common locus of mobilized action and urban services and consequently, the manifestations of political action make significant lower-class settlements. Struggle for land is the most important political action of the urban masses with street demonstrations, riots. The study of Snow, Soule and Cress (2005) is critical with its mixed approach of strain theory, resource mobilization theory and political opportunity structure, in other words, three types of American elaboration.

3.2.3. Urban Social Movements in the New Social Movements Context: Does “class” matter

Urban social movements are elaborated in the current literature in the framework of new social movements, as a form of new social movement or merely a new social movement based on urban issues. These movements' actors are proposed to be from “middle”, particularly “new middle-classes”.

Urban social movements with cultural and ideological emphasis to new urban social movements are interpreted as a struggle for alternative spaces of youth and women (Thomsen, 1992) with rising global –or more exactly glocal- economic forces shaping the city. The new social movement conceptualization (especially with a heritage of European point of view), comes from doubts about homogeneity of existing working classes and movements. Being a critique of Marxist models of analyses (Della Porta and Diani, 1999), the gender, race and ethnicity, “minorities” playing visible roles and giving name and identity to movements and considering “social movement conflict” instead of “class conflict” (in programmed society of Touraine) give other aspects to understand social movements. Movements, not

having homogenous character especially after 80's (starting at the ends of 1960s), in the literature, with the emergence of "new social classes", especially "new middle" classes, gave way to a new conceptualization, new social movements. On the other side, new social movements lead and necessitate a revision of "old" "classical" concepts, defining themselves with a rupture from old movements, symbolized by syndicalism and working class movement, sometimes as a response for the inadequacies of classical Marxism (accused for class "reductionism") for the analysis of collective action (Buechler, 1995).

Four major theorists namely Castells with his urban social movement conceptualization and his new studies, Touraine, Habermas and Melucci could be cited for their significant contributions (Ibid; 1995). The nuances in the theories must be understood while some theorists seek to update and revise Marxist assumptions, the others seek to displace and transcend them. For this reason, it is more accurate to mention "new social movement theories", instead of "theory" (Ibid; 1995). Castells, especially for his arguments about urban issues has central role especially for the collective consumption issue and state intervention and political forces seeking for the reorganization of urban social life. His positioning is critical in that rather than a comparison between "old" class-based movements and "new" sometimes considered as "non-class" based movements, he recognizes importance and roles, underlining the dialectical mixture of political and cultural orientations (Ibid. , 1995). *Habermas'* colonization of lifeworlds ²¹, *Melucci's* ²² emphasis on agency, "identity" collective

²¹ While the system has an instrumental logic, the lifeworld follows a communicative rationality. The system intervenes in the lifeworld in the form of colonization, not only in economic and political transactions, but also in identity formation, and other forms of symbolic reproduction for the lifeworld. New social movements for quality of life, self-realization, participation and identity formation are defensive for the lifeworld colonization in the communicative rationality, contributing more on cultural reproduction rather than material one, by market economy and state system.

²² Contemporary societies are highly differentiated systems for Melucci, where the creation of individual autonomous centers of action is the most important point. However, this society requires closer integration, extending control over the motives for human action. New social movements, in this situation reclaim the individual's identity and the right to determine his or her private life, in order to oppose the intrusion of the state (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). New social movements are new sites of conflict in everyday life, involving symbolic codes, personal or identity claims.

with personal autonomy, not only political actors since this is a reduction-information resources, self-reflective form of action, global dimension, public space's", pointing out not only economic conflict, *Touraine's* "new conflicting groups" idea ²³, *Offe's* radical democracy ²⁴, *Eder's* "new middle class"²⁵ conceptualization from "middle-class radicalism" of Parkin with "new" antagonisms are critical for understanding and elaborating further ideas of this "new" class in new social movements. For the characteristics of these movements, decentralization, interpersonal solidarity against bureaucracy, reclamation for autonomous space, "issue" movements-for instance, environmental-, diverse social conflicts, identity projects, new dominating classes, heterogeneous character of social composition of supporters, social opportunity structure and networks' importance for recruitment could be mentioned.

²³ For Touraine, social movements are conflicts in the control the production of society or more exactly action of classes for shaping "historicity"-in the direction of historicity- in the "programmed society" (Touraine, 1981). In this society, new social classes replace capitalists and the working class is the central actor of the conflict. The control of historicity became the object of the struggle continuing between classes defined by relations of domination. The classes became social movements as they enter into this struggle whose principle field is the culture. Touraine puts emphasis on "actor claiming certain identities", in this period of cultural rights (Touraine, in Akaş, 2002). For Touraine, new social movements are in a system to maximize production, money, power, and information and a system to expand and defend their individuality.

²⁴ In his text "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics" (1985), Offe mentions a class, a new middle class, class-aware but not class-conscious, referring to Giddens. The demands of this class are class-unspecific, dispersed, "universalistic" and concentrated on particular groups. Their politics are that of a class, but not on behalf of a class. Apart from "middle class radicals" in new social movements; he asserts the presence of "other groups". His conceptualization for the groups participating in social movements is "decommodified", "peripheral" social groups which are constituted of middle class housewives, high school and university students, retired people, unemployed or marginally employed youth. He proposes three types of alliances between the new social movements and allied political parties (elements of new middle class, peripheral groups, elements of old middle class), the left (unionized working class, elements of new middle class) and the right (elements of old and new middle class, non-unionized workers). (Offe, 1985) New social movements are open, fluid organizations with an inclusive and non-ideological participation, with emphasis on social, rather than economic transformations. (Della Porta and Diani, 1999)

²⁵ The new social movements are proposed to represent new and deep social cleavages replacing old, class-based ones and identity projects in the framework of middle class radicalism which is a tendency to avoid being identified with lower class and failure to be dominant class. New "fluid" social antagonisms (in everyday life) are "issue movements". The class is "social class" having role in rise and fall of new social movements, with new forms of class conflict, which is produced in social practices. Middle class has an active position, with its social and cultural power, in his theory. For further information, please examine Eder (1995) and (1993).

It could be asserted that the new social movements are not “new” and “old” classical ones also are relatively new. The class base assessment also could be differentiated according to the countries (Fuentes and Frank, 1988). The emerging social movements in Europe carry some characteristics of workers’ movements, with emphasis on ideology (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). Even though the theories reject the idea of “class”, they situate themselves according to class, they propose new class conceptualizations. It is also what remains from the classical understanding of class, however, it is emphasized that the working class is not homogenous. Racist, anti-racist, environmental, feminist, anti-globalization and anti-corporatist movements with transnationalization and emphasis on identity construction are proposed as different types of new social movements. Especially for these stated aspects, urban social movements are interpreted as new social movements. Moreover, even though they theorize new social movements, most of them do not reject “traditional” conflicts.

All these examined and emphasized points focus generally on the forms or recruitment characteristics and consequently “how” question for their study. They are significant for the analysis, understanding and categorization; however, it must be elaborated on the reasons in a macro perspective of the movements, to understand real life conditions. What is “new” for new social movements? Should a social movement lead to a change, even a revolutionary change-not a mere reform or transformation-; are they reactive or progressive, political or cultural? What is their class base? A social movement should be defined as a form or component of political participation? (Touraine, 1981, Neveu, 1996) Is it necessarily political from its nature? How it could be defined if it is institutionalized? In what extent the social movements could be organized? Are they ought to create change? The new alliances are real, the “culture” and identity construction could play a role in social movements and there is not a necessity that every social movement must be leftist. However, it is also critical to seize new aspects of capitalism.

As for urban issues, with relative importance of gender, ethnicity and race in politics, everyday life and right claim struggles and change of mainly economic system, an idea which promotes “going beyond class” became determinant. It is thought to be beyond class divisions to other social divisions. Pickvance (2003), mentioning writing about urban social movements, he states that separate development of writing on social movement (“separate” means that urban social movement writing is separated from political process) was partly influenced by the increased interest in new social movements. For some scholars, the urban social movements are new social movements, because of their allegedly material character of their demand, (Fainstein and Hirst, 1995, Pickvance, 2003) apart from the categorization as old movement like labour movement, because of “material character of demands”. With the conceptualization of Fainstein and Hirst (1995), the “old” social movements stem from the class structure of industrial capitalism aiming at the material inequality produced by the mode of production giving their place to the new ones, cutting across classes with non-material considerations.

With its multidimensional characteristic, urban social movement could include different issues and urban stakeholder groups. From the “minor” discussions about the dimension of neighborhood in urban social movements, in the 1980’s, the definition is situated around “new social movements” opposed to the “old workers movements”, including women’s, environmental, anti-nuclear and youth movements, with a “global” outlook (Pickvance, K., 2000). In general, in addition or instead of class, identity is the key for the new social movement analyses. However, apart from the “class”, there is a statement which is that “identity”-based movements have their roots in the nineteenth century, in other words, the ‘new’ features like women’s issues, lifestyle are in fact ‘old’ (Pickvance, 2003 referring to Calhoun). The rise of interest in new social movements, with increasing protest towards multi or transnational firms, for global issues at local level, ecological, housing, ethnic minority, and women’s issues and concerns lead also to the categorization into this title. Woman and the city relationship based approaches could be considered in terms of gender roles in urban social movements in the framework of “new” social movements. Even in Castells’ “The City and the Grassroots” (1983), women, gays

are examined in terms of urban social movements, in terms of identity creation. Castells points out that the movements are not an expression of working class discontent but rather drew together people from variety of social classes around issues not directly to class power. In the “cross-cultural theory of urban change, the movements political expression was through grassroots democracy, rather state institutions, movements are urban-oriented, territorial in their base and specific characteristic of their aims. In his new conceptualization, he rejects that the city is reduced to the logic of capital.

Class connotation is the key concept to analyze the relationship between urban social movements and social movements. The city is not only transformed by continuous global processes, but also the mode of production, in the relations of class and property (Lefebvre, 2000). Apart from early Castells who underlines a class conflict in terms of urban space and who will constitute the theoretical basis of this study. Urban protest’s potentiality to link different social classes, inter-class alliances with pluri-class nature, new forms of social, consumption cleavages, especially a wide range from middle to working classes with cross-cutting character of urban issues (homogeneity of living conditions and commonality of urban problems), consumption problems, and new sources of contradiction is a critical aspect for new social movements and urban social movements relationship. All grass-roots movements are somehow part of a single worldwide class struggle. However, in the study of Castells, what is crucial is that the (“multi”-) dimension of culture, gender and human complexity supplant the economic struggle, in the urban protest movements. There are diverse movements of gay and Hispanic community in San Francisco and squatters in Latin America. The *grands ensembles* (which could be defined as socialized housing production under state initiative and large, very dense, high-rise housing estate on cheap land) of Paris were an example of the right to the city, in the framework of housing policy. Especially, Sarcelles example, the study emphasizes the residents’ association, and the urban trade unionism, with the history of this cité²⁶ (Castells, 1983: 78-85)

²⁶ In the study, the social limits of the urban design, in Val d’Yerres constitute another critical part.

The most important example, Citizens' Movement in Madrid, includes a "plurality of different groups" with different social bases, but "united" with urban "issues" such as housing, planning, and environment. This movement defines the grassroots urban movement with demands for better urban services (collective consumption), and a search for a cultural identity, a local political autonomy (Castells, 1983: 213-288). Another critical aspect emphasized by Lowe (1986), in this Madrid example, is that Castells does not describe a multi-class movement, but a plurality of separate organizations (homogenous groups in terms of class mobilizing separately). In his later study about movements, he moved beyond class struggle as primary determinant of social change. (The role of the new petit bourgeoisie in ecology movements, struggles) For Madrid example, shanty town mobilizations, demanding basic facilities, public housing estate mobilizations aiming quality of construction, protest over the urban facilities in privately developed large housing estates, revolt of the middle and upper- class residential neighborhoods and groups aiming preservation and revitalization of central Madrid form this plurality. Another crucial point in Castells' study is political and socio-economic processes in terms of cross-cultural theory. Even in the beginning of his study, with a historical background, he mentions multi-class and citizen based characteristics. He also mentions gay communities in San Francisco. Castells' later theory about autonomous and conscious citizen's capability with transnational character, with local initiatives also attracts attention.

The dwellers of one quarter could not be always from a distinct class. In the City and the Grassroots, there is another emphasis on different factors, and social classes' emphasis. In other words, by mentioning cross-class alliances, multi-class actor, preserving history as the struggle for urban rehabilitation in the old neighborhoods of the center of Madrid, the preservation of urban environment issues with "middle class values emphasis" are examples of other aspects of urban struggle (Castells, 1983). Middle-class emphasis is important in this framework, with connotation of "new middle class" in the new social movements, especially with environmental or quality of life concerns as a class-aware group with goals more general than

traditional class politics. For Offe, new middle-class has alliances with traditional left, in positive relation with peripheral and decommodified groups (Buechler, 1995). New middle-class²⁷ of Eder (1995, 1993) is correlated with culture, environmentalism, the quality of life. New social movements are not class movements in traditional sense, but manifest a new type of class relationship within, the middle class is in the making, with a distinct identity and consciousness. Identity and concerns for good life, life-world are new fields of social conflicts. For some approaches, these ones could be considered as a “working” class. The recruitment from different classes, into a movement or alliances and possibility of connections are some doors opened by new social movement theories in the framework of global and “beyond class” political agenda like ecology, gender, peace, minority, civil rights. The proposal of Roth (2000) is interesting and important since, especially in terms of urban issues, the so-called new and old social movements are simultaneous and interconnected. Their amalgamation and the overlapping membership in movements is another point. For the supra-national dimension of the issue of (local) collective consumption, urban social movements could be evaluated in the framework of anti-globalization movements (Mayer, 2006).

Seeing urban social movements in new social movements’ category (differing from “the classic labour movements”) leads also an approach near to middle-class radicalism. This relation is promoted with the idea that the “class” creating a general category ignores wide ranging characteristics of movements (Roth, 2000). It is clear that if it is examined from a class (or a “new” class) perspective, gentrification and

²⁷ It can be explained by its tendency to avoid being identified with the lower classes and their failure to become a dominant class. Eder’s class proposition is a revisionist one. New middle class is not a class, in between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with a blurred position (Callinicos in Şimşek, 2005) which is a situation mentioned by Eder as reason for a new conceptualization. The new social movements cut across class lines, manifesting new emerging class cleavages “in advanced industrial societies”. They can be seen as manifestation of a new type of class relationship within which the middle class is in the process of making (Eder, 1995, 1993). Eder explicates his theoretisation as a reformulation back to and beyond class.

urban renewal are proposed for a new, hygienic life style, especially for middle-or new middle- classes.

From this point of view, it is critical to think about the understanding which proposes urban social movements' (concerning urban issues) actors merely as new middle classes. These conflicts make visible and interrogate the real property relations, as stated by Harvey (1989). Even though a resistance, a movement based on an urban issue does not define itself as a movement with a "class" base, "consciously" or "unconsciously", urban social movements, by "their nature" related to urban space, have class based characteristics, in "very classical" term.

3.3. Finding a definition, finding "the" definition

3.3.1. Connecting study for Urban Renewal and Social Conflict: Castells' study revisited

After an elaboration of urban planning within its relationship with the state and its social function, in the study of Castells namely "City, Class and Power" (1978), his analysis for Paris titled as "Urban Renewal and Social Conflict", is crucial in terms of its triangular elaboration and relationship between urban planning-renewal, social dynamic and social movements. The city is defined as a social practice in constant flux, and its social manipulation is linked to the ensemble of social and political conflicts. Its conceptualization of social movement is a certain type of organization of social practices, the logic of its development contradicts the institutionally dominant social logic. Urban planning, in this context, must be linked to the whole range of social contradictions, and the conditions and the determination of the objectives of social movements in the urban field. The interactions between urban planning interventions and the social dynamic are categorized as participationist, focused on demands, or contestatory.

The already structured characteristic of space, public initiatives and private enterprises, the motto "Reconquest of Paris", the marked specification of the social categories occupying these areas, rather than physical state, the intervention of the

state are primarily elaborated aspects. The urban renewal increased and accentuated residential segregation, creating privilege to higher social strata and leading to the forced displacement of the lower classes. In this study, there is an emphasis on the history and political conflict, peculiar to France. The effects of the renewal programme on social relations, by its redoubled effects on the economy, the politico-institutional structure and on ideology. The not relocated majority is another crucial point emphasized by Castells (1978). The urban-renewal programme is described as a powerful machine in the study.

In the protests, the students' roles are important since with their work on the cité, they would set in motion a political process which would involve the inhabitants, even occupying offices of the renewal agency. Students, with success in one case, they intervene also in other projects threatening families with expulsion, by informing and organizing the inhabitants. In the field study, there is a mention of "individualization" of the problem, with its specific and circumstantial propositions, preventing the collective resistance and togetherness. The dozen of families threatened with expulsion of the renewal agency in The Impasse Philippe signed a petition for being informed about the date and the form of eviction. The tenants' situations are critical in this example, too since with the strategies of the agency, it leads to individualization of the problem and consequently, disrupting the collective resistance and the possibility of meeting together. The present Action Committee was from outside the quarter and the students were arrived at the end of process, after the left of the most militant part. The individualization of the problem and the limited objectives lead to the collapse of the Committee. In Presqu'île, a working class and immigrant quarter, Castells explains a resistance history, in various phases of the renewal, underlining young workers' and proletarianised students' roles.

Castells concluded his study about urban renewal and social conflict, with the analysis of interaction between urban renewal and social movements. The social base and their strength are factors for the creation of resistance success. The urban policy in respect of the capital is proposed to be another important point in the characteristics of the programme and for the formation and the orientation of urban

social movements. The new urban forms should be social, less segregationist and less technocratic.

In his later study namely the “City and the Grassroots” which will be elaborated in the following part, in which he conceptualized differently the motives and the characteristics of urban social movements, Castells emphasized the social limits of urban planning, with class-based political explanations for protests especially in the framework of social housing, *Grands Ensembles* in France in the Second Part namely “Housing Policy and Urban Trade Unionism: The Grands Ensembles Of Paris”(Castells, 1983, pp. 73- 96).

This study has critical importance since it relates an urban spatial decision in the framework of urban renewal with resistance, protest with urban social movement. The categorization in the framework of interactions between urban planning interventions and the social dynamic are categorized as participationist, focused on demands, or contestatory also for discussions around the definition of urban social “movement”. The study underlining young workers’ and proletarianised students’ roles, “individualization” of the problem preventing the collective resistance and togetherness and especially, tenants’ situation gives clues for the situations and analyses for Turkey.

3.3.2. Castells as the “father” of urban social movement

A social movement can be defined as the system of practices which result from the articulation of a joint urban agents system and of other social practices so that their development goes objectively towards a change in the relations of force in the struggle between the classes, that is in the power of the state.(Castells, *Luttes Urbaines*, 1973, in Finquelievich, 1981: 241)

If the elaboration is started with the framework of the politicization of urban problems, it is crucial to underline the transformation of the capitalist mode of production, leading to new social and political conflicts, as stated Castells (1978). Social conflicts resulted from the clash of interests between dominant classes and

dominated ones, in *Luttes Urbaines* (1973), social movement is defined as the system of practices resulted from the articulation of a joint urban agents system and of other social practices for the objective development towards a change of urban system or a substantial change in the relations of force in the struggle between the classes, in the power of state, by Castells.

The urban struggles are defined with the increased scale of the production process and resulting need for a concentration of large numbers of workers. This development lead to the increased importance in provision of the collective consumption goods like housing, transport, services²⁸ which is accentuated by workers' struggles for the reproduction of their labour force. Castells in his study "City, Class and Power" (1978), states that movements concerning the urban and ecology, organize and mobilize populations, transform relations of force between classes, innovate cultural models and become one of the essential axes for social change. For the change and effect, he adds that the direct effects of these movements are less important than their repercussions on public opinion and the elaboration of public policy at a general level, with their growing visibility and ideological legitimacy.

The "theme of urban social movements" is defined, by Castells, as protest, dissent by consumers and the converse of the "theme of urban planning", the demand for an increasingly regulated urban process²⁹ (1977, Lowe, 1986). Castells points out the articulation of contradictions and practices as crucial factors in the evaluation of the political effects created within the urban system. Besides the primary class conflict, the secondary contradictions, the urban issues can be into a central role in the anti-capitalist struggle. The notion of urban social movements as qualitatively higher and more politically advanced than other organizations and capable of producing system change (Lowe, 1986).

²⁸ These protest movements are turned into ecological or community movement, proposing alternatives to local government and urban development.

²⁹ According to Dunleavy, this relationship has a methodological problem, with poor levels of integration between them.

In the early phase of Castells, besides the dominant and primary contradiction between capital and labour, urban social movements –organizations consciously and materially alter the balance of class forces in society, if they can be linked to the dominant level. The qualitative transformation of the urban structure could be produced by the articulation of urban movements with other movements, especially with working class movements and the political class struggle, as stated in *The Urban Question* (1977, Lowe, 1986). Urban movements could be urban social movements if they are drawn into the advanced sections of the working-class movements, underlining the importance of organization. They generate new areas of confrontations in the anti-capitalist struggle.

In the part namely “Research on Urban Social Movements” of the *Urban Question* (1977), the urban renewal is defined as “urban reconquest”. Castells underlines that the very foundation of the renewal operation is the social transformation of the quarter. Urban renewal programme is defined as the powerful machine, generally creating new homes in outer suburbs for the tenants. Renewal is proposed as slum giving place to proper housing. Rehousing in the same or nearby, exchange facilities, rehousing of all residents would be factors which should be considered. Castells gives examples of protest to urban renewal, for National Tenants’ Association in the *Impasse Philippe*. The students’ support and their anti-renewal committee’s bulletin are crucial in a situation of individualization of the problem to weaken their resistance. The examples in this study are crucial to seize different aspects of urban resistance with an emphasis on working class housing question and different forms of resistance, questioning the “meaning” or urban renewal, removal to the suburbs, and capital being the determinant in the projects. For instance, the claims of the struggle in *Cité du Peuple* are critical since it underlines working class quarters’ resistance creating a revolutionary potential with their struggle through which they break their chains: *Together we shall bring the bourgeoisie down!* In the Afterword, Castells responds to the critics of Pickvance and said that he did not claim that the urban movements are the only sources of urban change. He states that the mass movements in the urban organization qualitative transformations, through a change

local or global, of the correlation of forces among classes, in advanced capitalist societies. In the “Afterword” of the Urban Question, there were signs of the City and the Grassroots, with the statement that the urban protest is important due to its linking force of different social classes, especially middle to working class and the urban issues’ cross-cutting characteristics with exposure to common consumption problems and issues. In the City, Class and Power (1978), there is a change in the manner of theorization in which urban social movements and their strategic role in the anti-capitalist struggle has changed and the signs of new forms of social cleavages based on collective consumption could be pursued (Lowe, 1986).

The example of Madrid which is elaborated in an article and the City and the Grassroots became “the” movement example for Castells, with plurality of groups with different social bases, with “common concern” with urban issues-housing, planning, environment, and life-style-. The groups could be ranged from shantytown and public housing movements to suburban and exclusive residential neighborhood organizations. Lowe (1986) points out that what is described by Castells is not a pluri-class movement but a “plurality of separate organizations” since in 1978, in his article, he underlines that the organizations mobilize separately.

The quality of life, even in the early studies of Castells (1978) is said to be for some scholars, as a substitute for the contradictions between capital and labour, as new causes of social antagonisms. Urban contradictions, for others, are only an expression among others of class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. What is critical in this early study of Castells is that he proposed new contradictions linked to the present stage of capitalism, playing a role in the political class struggle, being marked and defined by the logic of capital as a social relationship. Urban problems do not rest on a direct contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class, but between their interests, submitting to the mode of organization of daily life imposed by the logic of capital. This is critical since there is both a capital and state intervention emphasis, by accepting the multi-class character of the urban contradictions. However, in this study of Castells, there is strong emphasis of the class struggle, the processes of exploitation and

domination, especially for the elaboration of examples. It could be interpreted as a common interest which gathers the popular classes around multi-class nature of urban issues determined by capital, against dominant classes. Organization of space, for instance, housing could be a key issue. However, it is mistaken to analyze this “urban problem” as a spatial one which divert from real reasons.

Urban protest, being a worldwide phenomenon, is elaborated also in one part of this study of Castells, as a collective consumption trade unionism, which is a search for local cultural identity and action for local political autonomy. All grass-roots urban movements could be considered as somehow a part of a single worldwide class struggle; however with an awareness of cultural and gender-based conflicts, supplanting the economic struggle, exemplified with San Francisco and Los Angeles cases (Castells, 1983).

The existence of consumer claims in everyday life give rise to conflicts arising from the demands of the dominated classes for a satisfaction of their need for the reproduction of their labour force, the need of the dominant classes for an increased regulation of the urban system, resulted in logic in urban planning. The increasing state intervention in consumer process transforming the state into a manager of everyday urban life and all these contributing to the imposition of a model of social relationships, under the mask of urban planning could lead to new social and political conflicts.

These movements could be evaluated as central to modern life, not being self-conscious agents of structural social change. With the failure of class struggle, they are signs of resistance, helping to create major changes (Calhoun, 1986). Urban social movements could be evaluated as organizations standing outside the formal party system, bringing people together for the defense and the challenge of the provision of urban public services for the protection of local environment. A “collective” urban social movement could be defined also with its aim for the “change” could be organized (as a distinctive way in terms of grassroots orientation, unhierarchical mode of organization and not allied to a formal party politics) around

the issues of collective consumption, with their emphasis on direct action and protest tactics.

From classical and American point of views, they are “collective” actions, aiming transforming the social interests and values embedded in any city. They could be conceptualized with collective consumption, cultural identity, and political mobilization. With its multidimensional characteristic, containing a range of issues and stakeholder groups, the urban social movements, for ones, must transform some aspects of city life, the other are not but may be linked or expressed at one level of the city. With a peak in the 1970’s, they are defined with subjects concerned with housing, urban services and territorial defence (Pikvance, K., referring to Pickvance, C., 1985).

In ‘The Urban Question’(1977), Castells stated that the urban social movements³⁰ relate the urban problematic and the way of production and the socio-spatial dimension of the class struggle, analyzing urban political action, different from Lefebvre studying on radical action manner, with emphasis on property relations³¹ (Castells, 1977, Gottdiener, 2004). Castells underlines that with urban social movements; the class struggles go out the factories and enter into the space of social life with emphasis on the field of consumption. The struggle over streets as reflections of contradictions and “urban social movements” were the outcomes of trade unions, political groupings and urban-based groups’ coming together over collective consumption, on the idea that cities have to be understood as historical manifestations of power and production in capitalism. The collective consumption

³⁰ In this study, space is a social product specified by a definite relation between the different instances, economic, political and ideological and the conjuncture of social relations that result from them. It is an historical conjuncture and a social form from the social processes expressed through it.

³¹ What is important in Lefebvre’s study, especially in ‘La Révolution Urbaine’ (1970), pointing out Engels, he underlines that considering problem as housing problem leads to ignoring the revolutionary transformation problematic. Not only everyday life transformation, but also property relations’ one is prerequisite. Another critical questioning also was about the passivity of users and silence. (Lefebvre, 1970: 239) A radical class struggle must be a dimension of ‘space’ for the success, according to him. With spatial praxis, an abolition of abstract domination could be achieved. Class struggle should not be abandoned and should be go hand in hand with space dimension.

cutting across the class lines, collect together different political or interest groups and create new social splits. However, these inequalities are not dependant from class positions³² (Gottdiener, 2004).

Another point of critic was about the position of Castells in *The Urban Question* about the working class emphasis with the implementation of a revolutionary political organization into urban protest movements. The consumption which generally leads to the supersession of traditional class division is another urban fallacy (Lowe, 1986). Lowe (1986), states that the meaning of the urban is the arena of the collective consumption process, emphasizing provision of the public services. The significant role of the urban social movements is transformation of the social relations of society and originators of alternative political and cultural systems. This transformation and change (policy change by collective action) role is another critical point of discussion. The critical views of Mingione are also on “collective consumption” analyses for urban problems, contrasting with general economic or industrial problems³³. The urban conflicts are interpreted as a class confrontation in terms of collective consumption, according to this approach. For Mingione, the consumption process is an aspect of production process and could not be evaluated separately. The “collective” adjective leads also to questions about the difference between individual and collective consumption and the characteristic of the individual one. Other problem stems from the vague definition of the collective consumption. Apart from the definition based on class needs, the redefinition of urban sector as an autonomous object is problematic, isolating from its historical and dialectical complexities. The understanding and analysis in the capitalist development must be pursued as the main understanding³⁴.

³² This point is critical in terms of part related to class and urban social movement problematic.

³³ The deduction in the analyses and even there is an emphasis on relations of production’s or economic problems’ determinant roles must be open to discussion.

³⁴ For instance, the built environment of Harvey as an analysis concept leads to reduction as “urban” the capitalist built environment.

Castells' importance came also from his explanation for urban crisis as an ideological explanation for urban renewal, the relocation of the poor and the replacement of classes (of lower classes into middle or upper classes). He defined a new sphere, called "collective consumption", which is a second face of conflict, additional to conflict between labour and capital. The state's intervention in the consumption sphere leads to conflicts. The radical changes of these movements are related to their linkage with trade unions and party political organizations³⁵. He proposes the restrictive and the generic senses for ambiguities of urban social movements. The restrictive sense includes three levels of potential urban and political effect, participation (symbolic urban and political changes), protest (minor reforms not challenging fundamental structures), and urban social movement (fundamental changes in power at urban and societal levels) from lowest to highest and rarest. In this sense, if a movement does not create fundamental changes in power at urban and societal levels, this means that this is not a social movement. Another critical point, in generic usage, held by Castells is potentiality created rather than actual effects. Beyond the immediate effects a protest might lead to changes in consciousness among participants, which facilitate subsequent protest activity. This means that it is crucial to avoid the task of making a careful assessment of the actual and diverse effects of urban movements.

In his study, *City, Class and Power*, Castells (1978) elaborated the social prerequisites of urban social movements for Paris example (grands ensembles and the squatting movement in Chile), in terms of the advanced capitalist society framework. Firstly, the socialization of consumption process and the intervention of the state deepen and politicize contradictions. Secondly, the dominant classes' ideology is diffused as an urban ideology, which "naturalizes" class contradictions, considering them as "urban". Consequently, it is important to be "critical" what is proposed to be "urban problem", with emphasis on politics and the state. The

³⁵ Collective consumption concept and the critical approach to inability to bring about structural change in power relations are no more than "reactive utopias". (Referring to Castells, Pickvance (2003)) This inability is critical for my study.

progressive formation of urban social movements is also another important point in the analyses.

Castells distinguishes three kinds of processes of urban struggle: a process of economic protest, based on working-class economic organization forming a social force around the reproduction of labour force, a process of political process, around the multi-class political organization, and the ideological organization by student social force. Urban struggle for early Castells is under consideration of an urban system as a specific organization of economic relations at the level of the reproduction of the labour force (urban trade-unionism for positive urban effects), class political relations (urban political movement for the favor of dominated classes), and class ideological relations (urban ideological movement for an effect of reproducing the dominant ideology). For the satisfaction of a protest, a form of class struggle is crucial. The urban question, the quality of life substituting the contradictions between labour and capital, are attempts to “naturalize” the social contradictions, to propose solutions for “technical” problems. The quality of life is a practice for Castells for the discovery of new social contradictions in the organization of cities and the ensemble of class relations, the relations of “power”.

They could be defined also as collective actions aiming transforming the social interests and values embedded in any city. This could be studied as Castells did, in the title of “grassroots mobilization”. In this analysis, he rejects the logic of capital, the “mere” relevance of class concepts and struggle to understand urban social movements and the space (Harvey, 1989). Apart from class relationship as fundamental source of understanding (in his early works, in *City and the Grassroots*, for instance, the Glasgow Rent Strike, *The Movimiento Inquilinario* in Veracruz), he underlines also other sources of urban social change, defined as “citizen movements”, namely the autonomous role of the state, gender relationship, ethnic and national movements, in other words heterogeneous field of actors. Urban movements are not reducible to class structure or class struggle. However, this does not mean that class does not shape or not play any role in urban social movements³⁶.

In the *City and the Grassroots* (Castells, 1983), the class gives its determinant position to three concepts. Castells' analysis is focused on three characteristics, "collective consumption-trade unionism-"³⁷ (in order to maintain high-quality, publicly supported goods and services provided by the state, such as subsidized housing and parks, and to preserve historic areas), "community" (for "cultural identity", ethnically or socially based tied in a neighborhood, around a specific territory), and "citizen" (organized to gain political influence or self-management, "political mobilization" in relation to state, especially the role of local government) movements. Withdrawal of investment, of resources, from lower - income neighborhoods, Organization in neighborhoods for developing housing and job opportunities, and demanding better services for local government. The *City and the Grassroots* was a history of urban social movements, remembering the importance of the collective memory of neighborhood (Susser, 2006). In the "City and the Grassroots", Castells underlines this aspect, especially in Madrid "citizen" movement case. In Orcasitas, Madrid, he states that after ten years struggle, the new high-rise public housing is inhabited by shanty town dwellers, which is an example of "an urban renewal, but not social removal". However, it is important to not forget that this is not a mere solution. Castells proposes a vision of an alternative city (1983: 326). For Mayer (2006), even though urban social movements remain unable to transform society, they do transform urban meanings, undermining societal hierarchies, on the basis of autonomous local cultures, decentralized participatory democracy. The sub-local civil society groups with empowered sustainable

³⁶ Before the *City and the Grassroots*, in the framework of the elaboration of Citizens' Movement, the inter-class organization idea in the movements has risen in 1978, for Castells. This does not mean a "class mixing", but means that each group has its autonomous class interest. He made a categorization according to class interests. Shanty town mobilizations are defined as mobilizations for the renewal of the areas by publicly controlled urban redevelopment.

³⁷ In terms of collective consumption, it could be mentioned the study of Lefebvre with use and exchange value of the urban land. For Castells, for many modern urban social movements defend a view of the city as use value rather than merely the exchange value for real estate speculators as capitalists searching for profit. Urban social movements could be held as central to modern life because the success of both capitalism and statism combines with the failure of conventional class struggle leaving people no other choice. Urban movements are not self conscious agents of structural social change but symptoms of resistance to powerful forces of social domination.

neighborhoods, anti-globalization movements for local and transnational movements could shake the institutions of the state whose norms are enforced. Mayer questions the local potential in centralizing understanding of the urban movements, influenced by Castells.

Castells considers these movements as organizations standing outside the formal party system, bringing people together to defend or challenge the provision of urban public services and to protect the local environment. Collective consumption's importance, state intervention into this process, dialectic between state apparatus and urban social movements, organization importance into social movement for a "horizon", social change and transformation of the urban meaning are important aspects proposed in his study. In Castells' middle phase, this consideration as source of social change³⁸ lost its determinant character for movements. Using urban movements and urban social movements interchangeably, he came to a conclusion that although these movements can innovate social change, they themselves could not carry it to a transformation of society, since this is related to the adaptation at the political level. His idea about relation between urban social movements, considered as reactive organizations, not an alternative, "illuminating urban shadows" and urban planning is a very important key to my study. Exposing difference between collective action and social movements, he underlines reformist, not marginal character, in the urban sub-cultures issue.

The change in Castells should be evaluated as different aspects of urban social movements, not a total denial of the former ones, related to the class struggle with strong emphasis on (revolutionary) change. However the core of the study, urban social movements are originators of alternative political and cultural systems is retained, as Lowe (1986) stated. Various approaches should be assessed also in the framework of the local, national and time conditions of the case study, not ignoring the global network and framework. In terms of counter-hegemonic ideas, urban

³⁸ Social change and the transformation of urban meanings (1983: 305) (which could be defined with an alternative city which is organized on the basis of use values, autonomous local cultures and decentralized participatory democracy (1983: 319-320)) could be realized by urban oriented mobilizations, for Castells.

social movements as a collective conscious action aimed at the institutionalized urban meaning against interest, logic and values of the dominant class with an idea of a new form of state, a new form of society. In *City and the Grassroots*, Castells' analysis is not a class contradiction analysis, emphasizing common goals for collective consumption in mobilizing middle-class communities, for urban issues. However, the structure of state and its dependency on world capitalist system and its moment in history of democracy is a very critical point for the evaluation of urban social movements (Susser, 2006).

3.3.3. A Summary for Castells

If the elaboration is started with the framework of the politicization of urban problems, it is crucial to underline the transformation of the capitalist mode of production, leading to new social and political conflicts, as stated Castells (1978). Social conflicts resulted from the clash of interests between dominant classes and dominated ones, in *Luttes Urbaines* (1973), social movement is defined as the system of practices resulted from the articulation of a joint urban agents system and of other social practices for the objective development towards a change of urban system or a substantial change in the relations of force in the struggle between the classes, in the power of state, by Castells. The “theme of urban social movements” is defined, by Castells, as protest, dissent by consumers and the converse of the “theme of urban planning”, the demand for an increasingly regulated urban process. (1977, Lowe, 1986) In the “Afterword” of the Urban Question, there were signs of the City and the Grassroots, with the statement that the urban protest is important due to its linking force of different social classes, especially middle to working class and the urban issues' cross-cutting characteristics with exposure to common consumption problems and issues. In the *City, Class and Power* (1978), there is a change in the manner of theorization in which urban social movements and their strategic role in the anti-capitalist struggle has changed and the signs of new forms of social cleavages based on collective consumption could be pursued (Lowe, 1986). In his study “City, Class and Power” (1978), states that movements concerning the urban and ecology, organize and mobilize populations, transform relations of force

between classes, innovate cultural models and become one of the essential axes for social change. For the change and effect, he adds that the direct effects of these movements are less important than their repercussions on public opinion and the elaboration of public policy at a general level, with their growing visibility and ideological legitimacy. In *City and the Grassroots*, Castells' analysis is not a class contradiction analysis, emphasizing common goals for collective consumption in mobilizing middle-class communities, for urban issues. However, the structure of state and its dependency on world capitalist system and its moment in history of democracy is a very critical point for the evaluation of urban social movements (Susser, 2006).

3.4. Other assumptions for urban social movements after Castells

Pickvance³⁹'s categorization as different phases such as urban protest, urban conflict, urban struggle or urban movement has a significant importance in terms of seizing different ways of urban resistance and description of other kinds of urban protest activities. Pickvance has also a critical position against the emphasis of Castells about urban social movements' change creating role in the system, ignoring institutional sources which create change. For Harvey (1989), political consciousness is multidimensional, contradictory, and fragmented. The urban social movement- which is often ignored because of being peripheral, undermining their credibility and power to be a total transformation of capitalism- history must be read in this context of money, space and time.

Urban social movements are held also in discussions of hegemony, in the framework of political, moral, intellectual leadership of a class and the space. The establishment of hegemony is determined with a process of conflict including negotiation and struggle between several social forces. It could be mentioned three levels of conflict:

³⁹ The core structuring elements for Pickvance are rapid urbanization, state intervention into social consumption provision, the effectiveness of political institutions in expressing political conflict, and a range of general economic and social conditions.

The conflict between existing ruling forces in the city spaces and the new forces which will reshape the existing city space, consequently, the suppressed classes, groups and movements defending their position and spaces, in fact, creating alternative spaces, free social spaces and the conflict about power and control over the city, resulted in new citywide hegemonic cultural and ideological system of meanings (Thomsen, 1992).

Urban social movements are seen as crucial in terms of a hope for a new struggle for democracy⁴⁰ (Bumin, 1990). One of the important points is that the left political parties consider social movements as movements which will be joint to them. The social movements must be independent from them by preserving their “opposing” struggle areas, as “counter-power”. Urban movements are schools of consciousness for participatory and direct democracy in the framework of political and syndical struggles (Referring to Castells, Bumin, 1990). Without urban dwellers, any renewal could not be practiced; any decision concerning their lives could not be given.

Another point is that the urban areas give rise to the formation of ‘justice movements’, ‘urbanization of justice movements’. The return to the urban comes not only from new urban inequalities, but also new urban political opportunities and new urban actors. During the early 1990, ‘Reclaim the Streets’ international movement originated in London with “Whose streets? Our streets!” slogan (Reclaim The Streets action, Toronto, September 2003, Smith, 2004) is a crucial recent example as a reaction to car culture and highway expansion projects. Reclaim the Streets movement is a new but also a very old style of protest, from Dada to Surrealism to the Situationist International, the artistic avant-garde with a theoretically informed political activism⁴¹. The blurred distinctions between art, politics and everyday life reveal the ability to control their own life. The response “our streets!” is a playful,

⁴⁰ Struggles have different meanings for different people, theoreticians, and academicians.

⁴¹ It is interesting to examine Benjamin Constant’s “New Urbanism” approach which underlines the discrepancy between the standards for urban space and the real needs of community.

creative and collective response in contemporary urban social movements like “Reclaim the Streets!” (Smith, 2004).

The most crucial elaboration for the political dimension of the urban movements is the study of Norman and Susan Fainstein⁴², with examples of oppositionist groups to urban renewal and tenants and squatter movements for obtaining improvements or lower rents (1974). Although the American characteristic of cases determine the factors in the definition and the study-related to non-white or overlapping of proletariat and race-, it is stated that the urban social movements are political since they are concerned with power and the distribution of benefits. The class base and race solidarity emphasis are important aspect in this approach to the urban social movements. The study is related also with civil rights movements and militant ideologies.

Homeless’ protest could be held as urban social movements (sometimes as poor people’s movements⁴³ or social justice and citizenship movements⁴⁴) in terms of urban and economic concerns. In 1980’s, in U.S., homeless people formed social movement organizations and mobilized collective action in cities across the country, with the slogan “Housing Now!”. If they are examined in terms of social network linkages, facilitative organizational contexts, access to resources and of social power in the system, there is difficulty in access and facilities for protest mobilization even for resources that in general the activists take for granted-however, the presence of resources coming from outside is crucial (Roth, 2000). Not only a survival strategy,

⁴² They define social movements as emergent social groups (never assuming a permanent form, always changing in size, structure and strategies) which propose to innovate and depend for success upon the conversion of a social collectivity into an action group. They use the term political and social movements interchangeably because all political movements are social movements even though all social movements do not have political goals. Political movements attempt to change the distribution of public goods and benefits.

⁴³ Poor people’s movements related with urban issues, are sometimes categorized as new social movements, with importance of psychological, social network, even though the pattern does not fit to the new social movements, with gains translated into material resources (Roth, 2000).

⁴⁴ In the conceptualization of the right to city of Lefebvre, there is an emphasis of the right of the “citizen”.

but more exactly, an example of opposition and resistance in claiming these spaces for their need, an active relationship between city authoritative power and individuals could be proposed as definitions. Homeless street identities are constructed, resisted and reconstructed, within these protests. The *squatters*⁴⁵ in Western world are crucial in terms of “urban” social movements. The squatter areas are crucial in terms of the emergence of organized groups in everyday life, locally. Globalisation especially lived in the metropolis leads to rise in the market price for housing as a “glocal” conflict, paradoxically with new economic opportunities. (Berner, 1997)

3.5. Everyday Life as a way of resistance?

Revolutionary events generally take place in the street. Doesn't this show that the street engenders another kind of order? The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to exchange of words and signs as it to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become “savage” and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls. (Lefebvre, 2003: 19)

The clues for gecekondu resistance, not merely in times of demolition, but it could be mentioned a life as a resistance is related to the everyday life. Everyday life from “other geographies” (This categorization with polarization us and them, capitalist or not, advanced or Third World is not created by this study; however, in the mainstream analyses, this differentiation is mostly and primarily underlined. Moreover, in these theories, there is emphasis on the ways of resistance) includes “gecekondu” in urban protests. It leads a critical approach in the evaluation of approaches, like culture of poverty which ignore their resistance, giving a possibility to construct counter-hegemony since the hegemony's characteristic is its insinuation in everyday life, with its strategies.

⁴⁵ As self-help housing, squatter is a legal concept. ‘Slum dweller’ refers to physical characteristics of place of residence and urban poor to the income of residents. What is crucial is that the interrelations are not characterized by trust but also inequality, exploitation and dependency. (Berner, 1997)

The elaboration of everyday life gives important clues for the relationship between the space, the social and spatial regulations. The everyday life⁴⁶ is dependent on the development of social relations and their respective contents, for Lefebvre and the users of everyday life are potential candidates for sociospatial struggle. The most popular figure who has a critical point of view on everyday life, in modern city is “flâneur”, especially elaborated in Benjamin’s the Arcades Project (*Das Passagen-Werk*). It is mostly a literary construction of the nineteenth century (of Charles Baudelaire), an artist, a poet, and a stroller in the arcades of Paris. Flânerie has become a way of reading urban texts, and uncovering the traces of social meaning in the city. The inequality in modern capitalist city was revealed by this figure, by his way of reading urban texts, especially in the arcades of Paris, the places of conspicuous consumption of commodities of capitalist production (Stevenson, 2003, Benjamin, 2003). With the crucial figure Guy Debord who is famous with his “Society of consumption”, the Situationist International proposed “new concepts” such as *urbanisme unitaire* (unitary urbanisme), *psychogeography*, *dérive* (“drift” which underlines a strolling without an aim, against bureaucratic rationality in the city.), *détournement* which emphasize the relationship between the social and the spatial and gives clues for the explanation between the regulation and the social, especially for the issues related to systematic gentrification and negative attitude towards slum areas. They propose psychogeography contrary to zoning of urban planning, producing maps as fabrication to the “market”. The map of Paris which Debord drew is named “naked city” as a “new” systematic of mapping as a “critique of urbanism”, revealing “revolutionarist energies” and “transforming the potential”. Michel de Certeau with his conceptualization spiritual versus imposed, is a crucial figure influenced by Lefebvre. For de Certeau, the study of everyday, its creativity and strategies and the art of doing are for revealing the subterranean forms of dispersed creativity in the everyday with the “bricolage”. Differently from space planner, city planner or cartographer who think the very plurality, the ‘walkers’, with their ‘everyday’, spatial and urban practices are reacting against imposed space.

⁴⁶ For another study for everyday life and its resistance, which is not elaborated in the thesis, please examine Scott (1995).

Space (espace in French) and place (lieu in French) have different meanings for de Certeau. The place has stability; however, the space has vectors of direction, velocities and time variables, as a “practiced” place. ‘...the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.’ (De Certeau, 1988: 117) Footpaths, tracks are signs of liberation or following “one’s own path” attempts (de Certeau, 1988, Stevenson, 2003). Space (or more exactly spaces, multiple “spaces”, different from “place” determined by stability, excluding the two things being in the same location) constitute everyday strategies”, beyond strict definitions⁴⁷.

3.5.1. Outside the mainstream “advanced capitalist western” literature

In “other” geographies, the everyday life resistance is generally ignored and elaborated as the lack of resistance. This categorization with polarization namely us and them, capitalist or not, advanced or Third World is not created by this study; however, in the mainstream analyses, this differentiation is mostly and primarily underlined. The everyday life resistance highlights the collective resistance, revealing the potential. Another kind of everyday life pointing out the possibility or impossibility of collectivity and the individual consciousness is prevalent for these geographies. As it is mentioned before, in the literature, the European or more exactly “Western” and “advanced capitalist society”, “developed country” characteristics of movements are emphasized and stated in the beginning of the studies, as a prerequisite.⁴⁸ In this term, the study of Asef Bayat (2006) is critical and interesting since he conceptualizes and examines “Middle Eastern” countries and movements. He elaborates three major approaches and his own approach namely passive poor⁴⁹, survival strategies⁵⁰, urban local movements⁵¹ and everyday

⁴⁷ Rudosky’s (2005) correlation of spatial practices of de Certeau and Mathieu Kassovitz’s film “La Haine” is interesting. Three young people like “nomads”, living in Banlieu 89 project in Paris, with their pedestrian and spatial opposition to authority, by appropriating for themselves topographic system of the city. The man in the streets has a resistance force, with opportunities to run away, in restricting and imposed conditions.

resistance. For the “participants” of urban local movements, he uses “political poor” conceptualization.

His view “everyday resistance”, with “resisting poor”, he puts forward a term namely “violation, infringement of the silent”, indicating a struggle during a lifetime. This one is interesting if the “other” countries, different from the “western” ones are subjects of study⁵². It is defined as a silent, “modest”, not collective but lasting for a long time resistance⁵³. Passive type as a cultural type, is working for survival represented in Lewis’ “Culture of Poverty”. However, the end of this predominant understanding is made by Castells and Perlman’s “The Myth of Marginality”. The second underlines the opportunism dimension of struggle, and the struggle for survival even with betrayal of people like him. The third is the politicized poor of Perlman and Castells. They are stigmatized and marginalized “socially”. However,

⁴⁹ The “passive poor” are defined as people who work for surviving for a month. This is elaborated especially in the study of Lewis, “Culture of Poverty”. However, with Castells’ and Perlman’s “The Myth of Marginality” (1976), this approach is criticized and refuted. The Myth of Marginality is an elaboration of the concept of marginality which is a myth offering an ideology of social prejudices, with a critique of culture of poverty. In Spanish and Portuguese, marginal points out dangerous, associated with the underworld of crime, violence, drugs and prostitution and in the European and American context, the dangerous classes. The term “marginality”, according to Perlman is used for sometimes various groups: the poor, the jobless, the migrant, members of subcultures, racial and ethnic minorities and “deviants” of any sort. In fact, the threat of social and political disruption of “growing barbarian masses”, poor, jobless, and migrants, other sub-cultures, racial, ethnic minorities, deviants is the main point. Instead of political, economic and cultural marginality, she proposed repression and exploitation. As stated by Perlman, they are not marginal, but exploited and repressed, stigmatized, excluded from a closed social system. They are “marginalized” “by” system and public policy. Especially, in the removal process, the marginality myth became a tool for justification. For Perlman, they are eliminated, cast out of the city, rejected and punished.

⁵⁰ This categorization is proposed as victims, people who are unfaithful to others like them. (Scott’s definition) However, in reality, these people resist and create opportunities for a better life.

⁵¹ These people are politicized, defined by Perlman and Castells who state that the poor is not marginal but marginalized, exploited, and oppressed, being stigmatized socially.

⁵² Perhaps, it is an acceptance of these “divisions”, “differentiations” however it is clear that there are “differences”.

⁵³ This study is crucial in terms of his emphasis on “class”.

the type of Bayat is near to the approaches with emphasis of everyday life, which is conceptualized as “the silent rape of the ordinary”. It is a struggle for a lifetime, a resistance to the notions of urban policy. It is an individual and silent action of the “informal” people⁵⁴, not even having an opportunity for strike. The individualistic and silence dimensions are open to discussion, raising questions in what extent it would be a collective struggle and the capability of silence.

In the “Politics of “Mistreated” (Chatterjee, 2006), with its original name “Politics of Governed”, the politics outside the civil society are the emphasis point. Their illegality and informality of their life practices are proposed as being their rights by Chatterjee. He points out a different face of the civil society, a society of the mistreated, outside the civil society, despite controversial usage of some concepts, highlighting the slum areas’ resistance in India.

3.6. Revanchism and zero tolerance

This issue has a core position, even though it seems irrelevant since firstly, it is mainly an elaboration of the relationship urban decisions (as revanchist urbanism), urban social movement and government and police attitudes. Moreover, it makes clearer the stigmatizations-especially around issues of security, order, and local economic development- both in everyday life and academic life. It also points out the difference between “middle class” and gecekondu reactions in urban issues and various definitions for urban social movements.

The section namely “Disorder and Zero Tolerance: The Dialectics of Dystopia” of the study of Merrifield (2002) starts with a quotation from Dante’s *Inferno*:

That City with its side bathed by the savio,
Just as it lies between the plain

⁵⁴ The slum clearance for him is a strategy of state’s domination the “unknowable”, the “informal”. The street (street economy and politics) becomes very crucial in terms of informality.

And the mountain, lives somewhere between
Tyranny and Freedom.

Merrifield states that this attitude's goal became nothing other than civil cleanliness. The "disorder" which is not always "bad", is proposed as a pretext for the zero tolerance having controversial meanings which are manipulated under different contexts (2004). The revanchist city in the definition of Ruth Glass related to gentrification opens a way for Smith (1996), with various examples, who proposes different terminology namely new revanchist urbanism with revanchist city⁵⁵ (Smith, 1996, Atkinson, 2005), focusing temporarily on more authoritarian state forms and practices with social control, capitalist production, role of private market. French word "revanche", meaning "revenge", historically "revanchist" group were from right wing movements appealed from traditional values. In 19th century Paris, in the government of Napoléon III, working classes were cleared from the city.

Smith's understanding of zero-tolerance policing in revanchist city becomes visible by spatial decisions (Smith, 1996). Gentrification, in a global context, leads to an urban regeneration policy connected with an entrepreneurial style of urban governance, by focusing on middle classes as new savior of the city (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005) and excluding "some groups" considered as threatening. It became an urban policy, tied to range of revanchist public policy measure, and its brutal repressive methods, vengeful state tactics such as zero tolerance. Zero Tolerance Policing is developed, practiced itself as the cease of public housing construction, for instance as an anti-immigration legislation, attitude towards homeless, differing according to the country and its conditions in Western examples.

The revanchist city reminds the recapitalization of economic landscapes of the cities by neoliberal urbanism. This leads to a "punitive" and "revanchist political response". The "urban entrepreneurialism" sharpening inequalities and social

⁵⁵ The revanchist city is also defined in new studies, as a reaction to "minority", "working class", "immigrants", "gays and lesbians", supported by the public discourse (Kodalak, 2005).

exclusion, the “renaissance” of the entrepreneurial city which is disciplined through architectural forms and institutional practices and active “systems of surveillance”

– Like an urban panopticism- as technologically sophisticated totalitarianism (Fyfe, 2004) (architectural designs, closed circuit television CCTV, private security and legal remedies) could be stated as the signs of the revanchist city (MacLeod, 2002). An urbanism of despotism or control, with purification obsession is practiced in the cities. The “fear of crime”, excessive control of the “deviant other” by planning practiced as for instance lighting and surveillance mechanisms, apart from spatial clearances and “rehabilitation” for “security” and policing and media representations which support stigmatization and moral panic for the justification of spatial decisions.

In Mike Davis’ *City of Quartz* (2000), the space has become dual, quartered, walled as a fortress, and created like an image. Moreover, city life is militarized, obsessed with security resembling to “panopticon”, practiced by policing social boundaries, design deterrents of architecture and urban design, destruction of its public character. Land-use planning creates social control districts, limiting behaviour.

Programmatic extinction and stigmatization of the “poor”, stigmatization (Atkinson, 2003), revanchist urbanism and city with secure purified, public spaces-security obsession- and zero-tolerance policing, spatial and social exclusion become characteristics of cities. In the framework of globalization’s effects, as social control in the urban dimension, street “cleaning”, police’s zero tolerance, media attack on the poor, excluded, creation of ecology of fear and gentrification and yuppification process with market exchange (Keil, 2000).

In other words, poverty is stigmatized, even from the definitions of the concepts. Gans’ study (1996) is critical for this point, discussing around definitions and representations of “underclass”, with racial connotations, in “negative” behavioral term, and having revolutionary potential. This stigmatizing attitude leads to an emergence of a “fight against them” and an economic concept, “underclass” turning into “undercaste” related with status in the society. Another study is that of Loic

Wacquant (1996), as a comparison of French/Parisian–Red Belt- and American/Chicago’s ghettos- Black Belt-, giving clues various ways both of elaboration and stigmatization of urban poverty, with crime, insecurity. French ghetto points out having a heritage traditional mode of “communist” workers’ city and racially and culturally homogenous character, whereas American ghetto has a “black” connotation. This study is critical in terms of evaluation of question and events of banlieue, “cité” in France, “communist” stigmatization of a neighborhood (of exile with conceptualization of Wacquant) and its dwellers⁵⁶ and of proposition of social housing as a solution.

The essays about theorizing policing social movements are conducted by Donatella Della Porta. It could be defined as state response to social movements with several dimensions for comprehending changing patterns: For the degree of force used, brutal versus lenient, for the number of prohibited behaviors, repressive versus tolerant, for the number of repressed groups, diffused versus selective, for the police respect of the law, illegal versus legal, for the timing of police intervention, for the degree of communication with the demonstration, confrontational versus consensual, and for the degree of adaptability, rigid versus flexible (Della Porta and Fillieule 2004; in Snow, Soule and Kriesi and Della Porta). Della Porta’s comparative study about the harsher policing techniques discouraging peaceful mass protest and encouraging the most radical part of the protest is an interesting example, in the triangle of social movements, political violence and the state (Della Porta and Diani, 1999).

⁵⁶ In Turkey, the “communist or leftist” resistance tradition still continues in the resistance field; even though dwellers could not define themselves as “political”, in Güzeltepe example.

CHAPTER IV

4. URBAN RENEWAL IN ISTANBULⁱⁱ

Our handicap is that the legal feasibility for the international investments is not prepared. What is asked us whether we have resolved the ownership problem. Dubai is comfortable for this aspect. It is necessary to provide the conditions for impressing international investors. We could not take away, prepare this. We could not sell İstanbul, we could not open, make visible, carry the values that we possess to the international investor. (İkiz, 2006)

It is interesting to begin this part with a quotation from the mayor of Küçükçekmece, Aziz Yeniay, from a statement after MIPIM⁵⁷ (The World's Property Market) , a fair of selling cities in Cannes.

Even though it is difficult to determine the exact date for the beginning of the projects, it is exact to propose the year 1999, after the Marmara earthquake and 2004 as a start for urban renewal project in İstanbul a big work site⁵⁸, becoming a popular issue especially with Küçükçekmece project. The exact legislative date could be deduced as the 12.10.2004, from the tentative legislation of urban regeneration. However, the indefiniteness reigns in terms of definitions, date determinations and legislative process and their contents. Next steps of the legislations were dated as March 1, 2005 namely “Tentative Legislation of Urban Regeneration and Development” (*Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Yasa Tasarısı*) and June 16, 2005 namely “The law concerning the conservation by renovation of fraying historical and

⁵⁷ For the official page, please examine <http://www.mipim.com/App/homepage.cfm?moduleid=399&appname=100517> and for further information about İstanbul in this market, please examine <http://www.dexigner.com/mimarlik/haberler-g4103.html>

⁵⁸ This title (*Şantiye* in Turkish) is chosen intentionally since it is a project of the municipality and a characteristic which is mentioned at the discursive level, with pride.

cultural immovable wealth and utilization by revitalization/ The law of conservation and revitalization” (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun/ Koruma ve Yaşatma Yasası*). “Tentative legislation of Urban Regeneration and Development” (*Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Yasa Tasarısı*) is mainly focused on historical/cultural urban areas and areas under threat of natural disasters-especially earthquake-, if its articles are analyzed. The proposed methods are urban improvement and renewal. In “The law concerning the conservation by renovation of fraying historical and cultural immovable wealth and utilization by revitalization/ The law of conservation and revitalization” (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun/ Koruma ve Yaşatma Yasası*), these features point out historical or under natural disaster threatened urban areas, will be “renewed”, by renewal projects.

The project approximately has a foresight to demolish 85 423 housing units, according to governmental statements in the website of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (www.ibb.gov.tr) and the Directorate of Gecekondu and Dwelling, in June of 2005.

In October and November of 2006, the government has planned to make law the tentative legislative document for these operations. Municipality statements⁵⁹ are mainly supported by statements supported by earthquake threat and by the vision of global cultural capital in 2010. The Istanbul municipality with the other local municipalities carry on the practice of these projects, with a private, however publicly masked enterprise “IMP” (Istanbul Metropolitan Planning, *İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama*) and social housing construction organization “TOKİ”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Please examine the Istanbul Municipality’s report for the strategic plan for the period between 2007 and 2011.

⁶⁰ This institution, based on the social housing legislation 2985 of the year 1984, was aiming to supply social housing for lower and middle classes with Turkish Real Estate Bank (*Türkiye Emlak Bankası*). However, in time, the pilot people has shifted into upper middle classes and upper classes.

(Turkish Administration of Social Housing, *Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi*). The inner structures of these institutions and decision making processes are complex and even unknown publicly.

What is critical in this point, apart from payment difficulties of gecekondu owners, is that the tenants' situations like an impasse. In the week of the 31st of October-the 6th of November 2006, as a result of earthquake discussions, it is mentioned by legal authorities that the legislation of urban renewal will be accepted during that week. However, it is not yet legislated. The urban renewal-regeneration legislation is another discussion point since the projects are realized based on this law which is "not legislated" yet. For Turkey, "legitimation" of urban renewal with an attribution of a "humanistic" mission (Çeçener, 2006) is the most critical face of the urban renewal, transformation in Turkey. In the draft law of the urban renewal, the relocation right is ignored, with the determination of overestimated values by the municipality. TOKİ, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, other local municipalities and the government organized solidarity from the year 2003 for the case of renewal in the framework of "illegal" threatening gecekondu areas. On 17th May of 2004, the Directorate of Gecekondu Transformation (*Gecekondu Dönüşüm Şube Müdürlüğü*) was established for the mission of accelerating the creation and construction of healthy and "prestigious" buildings⁶¹. TOKİ has planned the construction of 250 000 housings in five years. For gaining empty open spaces for the sector of housing, urban renewal/regeneration became a tool with illegal housing⁶² and threat of earthquake discourses (Polat, 2006). TOKİ's plan and strategies being unknown, (Polat, 2006) this institution collaborated with private sector, even in its own

⁶¹ For an optimistic exposition of his collaborated projects, please see Bayraktar (2006). These projects are related also in this study to the social state, ironically.

⁶² It is interesting to examine Metin Yeğin's (2006) article about the urban renewal, with a comparative analysis with favelas. He quoted a statement of a dweller of Favela and hip-hop musician in Brazilia, on being marginal. If most of the country lives in these favelas, there is no more marginality. Yeğin talks about also the global dimension of the urban clearance/ renewal projects, in Europe.

formation. Mortgage legislation⁶³ proposed as an opportunity for people with low income (as a good news, praised especially in the channel ATV news real estate supplementary of the journals like stated by Irak (2006)) the bank credits were some regulations allocated to this aim (Polat, 2006). It is accurate to question if “poor in turn”, the renters in the gecekondu could profit from these “opportunities”.

To summarize, urban regeneration/renewal is proposed to be prime-necessity to be recognized by everybody. Even though the legislation is not legislated “legally” yet, municipalities of districts put into practice these decisions, with other substitute laws namely 5216 which is “the law of Metropolitan Municipalities”(*Büyük Belediyeler Yasası*), 5302 which is “the law of Private Administration of the city” (*İl özel İdareleri Kanunu*), 5366 which is “the law concerning the conservation by renovation of fraying historical and cultural immovable wealth and utilization by revitalization/ The law of conservation and revitalization” (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun/ Koruma ve Yaşatma Yasası*), 5393 which is the “municipality legislation”(*Belediye Kanunu*) and changes of inhabiting legislation in September 2006. The urban regenerations/renewal has four dimensions. Firstly, it is pursued in historical urban areas concerning historical peninsula of Istanbul, especially Tarlabaşı and Dolapdere. Secondly, it is realized based on reasons related to earthquake, which is proposed mainly for Zeytinburnu. Thirdly, it is actualized as a spatial purification and refinement of gecekondu or Roman neighborhoods. Finally, it is a deindustrialization project aiming at more profitable sector replacement (Pérouse, 2006). Consequently, it can be asserted that urban regeneration is practiced as a decision different from what is proposed for its academic definition. Urban regeneration as proposed and used in the discursive level, whereas urban renewal is proposed in the legislation and used in the practice of the decisions. The study subject of the thesis points out third dimensions of these determinations.

⁶³ Another critical point is that mortgage is used as it is in English, hindering its Turkish meaning, “*ipotek*”.

The urban renewal, transformation project throughout the city pursued mainly since 2004 has three main aspects, constituting branches of “the” project for Istanbul. Firstly, it is realized in historical areas and city centers as form of gentrification. Secondly, it became a clearance, demolition project in gecekondu settlements. Thirdly, these two branches are supported by international or transnational great projects, concerning the new constructions for an ideal of “cultural global capital Istanbul”.

Proposed firstly as a mere solution, it became a legitimizing factor by mentioning “earthquake” and “flood” lived in the gecekondu quarters. Because of a flood like in Alibeyköy, the municipalities started projects, evicting the old dwellers. Top-down massive “gecekondu”⁶⁴ clearances legitimize themselves with reinvention of public housing (like in Wyly and Hammel’s study, 2001) and the renewal activities are supported by a wide project or an image for legal, sanitary and religious life, namely “Başakşehir”, with a slogan: “Everybody will possess a home.”

These conditions raise discussions about meaning of the city is reduced to the shopping centers, hotels, skyscrapers for the transnational capital. The mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş mentions in general in his statements that in the new period it is necessary to be “planned and regular”, which means in practice on the urban space, a great urban clearance and “regeneration” leading to displacement, exclusion, isolation and “illegalization” of a group of people and their living area, despite the presence of a skyscraper illegally constructed with a nickname Sky-Cage (“Gökkafes”) underlined in the discussions around this issue. Especially, with the mortgage programme proposed as a solution for people who could not afford their housing, the urban renewal affects their lives. The housing policy by praising and proposing as “the” solution mortgage is the legitimizing part of the “great urban renewal projects”.

⁶⁴ It is preferred intentionally to use the word peculiar “gecekondu” instead of slum or shanty town.

The urban renewal/regeneration affects mainly two areas in Istanbul: the historical, cultural central urban areas and the peripheral regions, exposing more and more inconsistency between public interest and market understanding. The recent projects which attract critiques are Sulukule, the towers of Dubai and Haydarpaşa (transnational decisions of Arabic capital), Galataport, Büyükdere (Mashattan), Marina projects in Tarabya, İstinye, Kumkapı, Zeytinburnu, Maltepe, Kartal, the land of IETT (Cevahir Center), in Zincirlikuyu, Tuzla-Pendik (with the airport Sabiha Gökçen and Formula 1 spatial projects) and Kartal.

Kartal and Zeytinburnu -which is the first gecekondu settlement- are thought to be “renewed” by famous architects in Istanbul, the discussion has shifted to the evaluation of the ‘foreign’ architects who will do these projects, not the ‘project’ itself. “Including people” into the projects is discussed; however, these projects excluded even Turkish planners.

In Küçükarmutlu, Istanbul Technical University’s “techno city project”, a construction of university building threatens dwellers living in this area. This project, proposed as a part of the urban renewal, legitimizing all illegal areas, creates many questions in mind, because of critical aspects. This quarter as stigmatized as “leftist”, “revolutionist”, “alevi”’s “no man’s land”, is situated on valuable lands, near to Bosphorus, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Köprüsü, and on ways to upper- class residential areas Etiler and Bebek. Now there are two camps, university and people, so-called science and excluded lives. This project is considered as government’s control, inspection, and great surveillance.

In this sense, it is crucial to remind Bilgi University project in Kuştepe, being an alternative urban renewal project, integrating quarter’s dweller into the project. This integration is not making dwellers “servant”, instead, supplying required and beneficial services to Kuştepe. The university became a pioneer for a “real” urban renewal project. (Kazgan, 2002, 2000)

Discussions and practices in Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu and Kartal have different dimensions. Küçükçekmece project was proposed, creating discussions around, last year. Its importance comes from its first position in the urban renewal practices. The municipality, wanting to legalize the process by a series of conferences, plans a great urban renewal project. The conference on the transformation project, especially gathering the western academicians and professionals was critical⁶⁵. The “imagined” consequences are not clear but predictable. The most important aspect is that the social is mostly ignored one. Planned gentrifications and urban renewal projects make life difficult for gecekondü dwellers, especially tenants leading to displacement and suburbanization of poverty, segregation, polarization.

The French Institute of Anatolian Studies working on urban renewal projects focused mainly Küçükçekmece, specifically Ayazma⁶⁶ gecekondü demolitions. TOKİ's⁶⁷ role has a crucial significance for this gecekondü transformation-urban renewal process. Directorate of Accommodation and Gecekondü of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Mesken ve Gecekondü Müdürlüğü*) is another actor in this process. The mayor uses the social rehabilitation and spatial beautification as aims, in his statements. The statements of the Prime Minister Erdoğan have critical importance, especially with resemblance with “tumor”. Ayazağa, in a location near to the Olympic stadiums and housing projects, is said to be occupied by chaotic gecekondüs. The social infrastructure, the art and the aesthetic are proposed to be prerequisite and a tool for legalizing and justifying overburdened spatial decisions. In the discourses, the criminalization of the dwellers is mostly seized aspect. Another similar example, Kurtköy has undergone urban projects, because of the Formula 1 organization. “Social rehabilitation” discourse

⁶⁵ The projects and ideas of foreign architects are more predominant in other projects, especially for Zeytinburnu and Kartal.

⁶⁶ Ayazma has a critical spatial situation near the Olympic Stadium and other housing projects of Municipality, in the center of the newly imagined settlement area for Istanbul. For further information please see Electroui No 25 of the Institut (ouistanbul@yahoo.fr)

⁶⁷ For an example of study praising the urban renewal projects, please examine Bayraktar (2006).

goes hand in hand with urban projects; specifically for the most recent example, Sulukule Urban Renewal Project pursued by the collaboration of TOKİ with Fatih Municipality and Istanbul Municipality. This ongoing project of Sulukule leads to different especially critical discussions and even playing a role of attracting attention to renewal neighborhoods and of supplying support from various milieus.

Criticized as being another face and application of Gramscian hegemony in our country, “takiyyeci” practice of planning becomes a tool for persuasion and “hiding” the decisions for Istanbul. These secrets are based also into the center of Metropolitan Planning and Design, IMP (Çavuşoğlu, www.arkitera.com) whose formation is constituted from different actors, various groups: From young urban planners, social scientists who work with self-sacrifice and good intention to academicians, and their universities.

The legalization of these illegal areas and their sanitization are some of the proposed reasons necessitating these operations. The discourse was that Istanbul would be a site of construction, for defining massive urban renewal programme. Çağlar Keyder (2003) in his article “How selling Istanbul?” It is critical to remember the future prospects proposed for Istanbul as a cultural capital⁶⁸ or other labeling.

ⁱⁱ In the history of urban transformation and renewal in Turkey, Adnan Menderes, the prime minister in the period between the years 1950 and 1960 and Bedrettin Dalan, the mayor of Istanbul in the period between 26 March 1984 and 28 March 1989 are crucial figures with their demolition activities generally compared with Haussmann. Menderes period (between the years 1950 and 1960) urban projects are generally resembled to the “strategically beautification” or the famous totalitarian aesthetic of Haussmann (conceptualized by Benjamin), by Yardımcı (2005). Dalan is supposed to open a new period of demolitions mainly determined by economic interest. In his period, especially quarters of Istanbul, namely Tarlabası and Kalamış were important examples which were open to market investments. With an aim for creation of a metropolis of the twenty-one century with a series of publicities, Istanbul was becoming a consumption spectacle. In the project of Beyoğlu, “Tarlabası demolition” was a turning point and an important example in the urban history of Istanbul. The buildings in bad conditions were demolished and their dwellers were displaced. The apparent conflict was at the level of the architecture chamber or the “modernists” versus the “conservationists”, however; the city was symbolic capital in political struggles, in different levels of discussion, in the framework of Beyoğlu’s changing meanings. Dalan, ignoring historical and also social characteristics

⁶⁸ For an interesting and detailed analysis in the framework of Biennale, please see Yardımcı (2005). Yardımcı, in her study emphasizes the spectacle dimension of the city, referring to the theorization of Guy Debord. In this emphasis, there is a focus on everyday life critic of art and everyday life resistance.

of Tarlaşa, hold the view that Beyoğlu was a place which has to be rehabilitated and cleared, especially for its “criminal” reasons which were hindering Istanbul to be a “world city” (Bartu, 2000). Especially, by the 1980s, in the name of the deterioration in housing areas and the laws concerning the gecekondu areas lead to a significant urban transformation era (Uzun, 2005). The study of Nil Uzun, namely “Impact of Urban Renewal and Gentrification of Urban Fabric: Three Cases in Turkey” (2003) should be proposed as a source of information for the analyses of Turkey. Uzun, for both aspects, focuses on cases in Cihangir, Kuzguncuk (gentrifications) and Dikmen Valley Project (urban renewal) for Ankara- In Dikmen Valley, surrounded by high and middle classes, the project is formed by Ankara Municipality and a private planning company. After the project, squatter houses are replaced to the edge of the valley, creating a dual social structure, other problems, not solving the existing ones. Dwellers of the neighborhood organized an association for resistance against current urban regeneration projects pursued in Ankara.- , underlining residential choice reflecting preferences, especially focusing on historical inner city neighborhoods. With the popularization of the concept with its use as a tool or more exactly synonymous for planning, it is discussed in the academic milieu. Two conferences in the 2000s create a discussion opportunity for urban renewal/regeneration projects. Firstly, in the “Symposium of Urban regeneration” is held on 11-13 June 2003, in Yıldız Technical University, there were some critical points mentioned especially in the framework of application, feasibility of the projects, focusing on its social – different interest groups- and economical – resources- points. The main concern is the discussions for the reasons of integration of different groups in these projects, or as tools for the integration of cities into the economic “competition”. Another crucial point is that the Western examples, imported models in what extent can be guides which are commonly considered as strict recipes for Turkey. However, Kustepe example is mentioned also as a successful project, - with university’s role underlined- is emphasizing without demolishing, instead, integration projects of Bilgi University about people living in this quarter. “Social” transformation, with courses of occupation for example was the first aim of this project. So-called “collaborative” planning’s feasibility also is a critical point to think about. Middle East Technical University organized 8-9-10 November 2004 another conference in terms of urban renewal/regeneration however including region dimension, titled as “Cities and Regions Changing, Transforming”. Urban transformation is one of the subjects which are discussed in this framework. A part from the discussion about its results- success or failure-, the main points were about Western examples and the strategies for the application of the projects. Which is critical is that the European examples are held as right and appropriate practices for Turkey also. Without any discussion for feasibilities and any consideration of Turkey’s characteristics, for instance, a community development of London, “horizontal” partnership become a right example and a goal for our projects. Due to the articulation of Istanbul, to the transnational economy and its consequences like shopping malls, restaurants, expositions and festivals, with an emergence of a new professional class, Istanbul became a project of “world city” (Yardımcı, 2005). Dalan is resembled to Haussmann repudiated with his so-called “urban renewal” and rendering city “livable” attempts, with destruction of buildings and streets for boulevards. Haussmann prevents barricades and street demonstrations in Paris and Dalan opens Tarlaşa and Kalamış to market investments. For Yardımcı (2005), the period of Dalan, marked by right wing politics of 1980s, is different from cleaning the center from the unwanted components. There is an idea of marketing the city, in the word arena, as a “world city”, as a “shop window” of Turkey. The delivered districts and the emergence of the idea of gated communities date back to this period.

CHAPTER V

5. URBAN RESISTANCE COMING BACK TO TURKEY

5. 1. Memoirs and Definitions for Gecekondu Reactions

In Turkey, gecekondu resistance is an absent concept since in general gecekondu has it a place of stigmatization and ignorance. The political decisions and organizations of gecekondu dwellers are also held as radical, illegal or criminal and their ideology is proposed as an enemy. Consequently, their political attitudes' significance over the dominant ideology is in general ignored⁶⁹.

For instance, a mostly known and mentioned study for Turkey⁷⁰ proposed itself as a source of new advices for policy decreasing conflict, of Erder (1997) is around the concepts housing classes, and a seeking for consensus/agreement in “mass social movements”, with new conceptualization of local and analyses based on “ethnicity” in “ghetto areas”. The urban tension is examined as a disorder which has to give its place to social order. For Erder, the urban tension stems from illegal production of urban spaces, pointing out the gecekondu quarters, or more exactly two types of housing, legal and illegal. The basic tension is to be legal, to articulate to the urban system. Another reason for urban tension and urban social movements is the social inequalities. In the study of Erder (1997), urban social movements are considered mainly as “new political” and based on diversified social conflicts, “outside class conflict”, referring to Pakulski. Categorized as gecekondu, renters, neighborhood, citizen and local political committees' movements as analyzed in the literature, Erder comes to the solution that the urban social movements are different from “class” based movements, referring to Saunders and Castells' “the Urban Question” which can be criticized since it is still based on collective consumption which is a concept

⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis for social classes in Istanbul and Anatolia, with a general political evaluation, please see Boratav (1995).

of the City and the Grassroots and the social reproduction which could not be thought outside the class. The main emphasis and aim of the study is on the methods of decreasing class conflict, as spatial and ethnic appropriation feeling-with multiculturalism regulated with democratic rules-, referring to Smith, D. The main source of urban tension is the production of urban space “outside the law” and around the will to be “articulated to the formal system” which leads to consensus.

Class-based political behaviour became more apparent in the revolutionist youth organizations with the aim of radical transformation outside “legal channels” (Şengül, 2001). In this framework, the study of Aslan (2004) is critical and significant one, especially “1st May” neighborhood (officially named as Mustafa Kemal) as a study field. This district is famous with house arrests and stigmatized in the media. However, it is a peculiar example with its resistance as well as its establishment as a result of this resistance, being an alternative socialist urban design in the capitalist system. Even though there is mainly an emphasis on “political” character of social movements in this “ethnic” quarter, the class struggle is not denied and the study results in class-oriented political movements, organized as “beyond local”, targeting the formal government.

For the history of urban resistance of gecekondü, the study of Aslan (2004) is important since it focuses on dangerous edges and ignored gaps of information of Turkey. What is important is that he underlined the critical characteristics of the 1970s, in the world and in Turkey, economically and politically, especially, the working class movements alliances with the left/socialist movement targeting the political government. Another part of the urban social movements in 1970s was of radical left organizations, outside the “legal” boundaries, allied with working class movements and other social movements. This was attributing more and more a political characteristic to these movements, creating “idealist” models, sometimes influenced by a traditionalist Marxist line in other countries, sometimes pursuing a more native and original, genuine way. In the 1970s, the “political and organized” gecekondü movement, the struggle around the housing problem and gecekondü -both in settled areas for the urban facilities and in the settlement process- had a special

place in social movements. It is important to evaluate social and urban conditions of 1970s. The planning “ambition” of 1950s gave its place to an intervention to housing market. The leftist groupings were important with their emphasis on housing besides the unemployment and other economic issues, in this period (Aslan, 2004). Aslan mentions slogans of leftist press (“Deliverance of the People” (*Halkın Kurtuluşu*), “People’s Way” (*Halkın Yolu*), “Struggle” (*Mücadele*)) considering housing problem as a part of class struggle, in the 1970s, like mentioned by Engels “1st May” neighborhood, considered as “no man’s land” in the media, is a real area of resistance, since its establishment and its “planning”, by university professors, students doing plans, and helping in construction of gecekondu as a model of socialist solidarity and participation, organization. It is a product of a political and social struggle for a solution of housing.

Wedel’s study (2001) focused mainly on the women’s role in the politics of gecekondu quarters. It is a crucial elaboration since it has a triangle focus on ignored aspects of the urban resistance, which are gecekondu, woman and urban politics. However, in the study, there is implicitly and sometimes explicitly an emphasis on the unlawful action, “illegality” and “clientelism”, “opportunism” –based on individual appropriation of land, different from collective occupation- and “violence” in the protests, especially in times of demolition of their gecekondu. These strategies oriented for solving their problems are despised, apart from urban social movements. The study is critical to evaluate their real “actor” characteristic in the shaping of the city. She criticizes the poverty culture theory of Lewis (in: Wedel, 2001), for his explanations based on desperation, dependency and the feeling of appurtenance to the lower class ignoring the potential for social mobility of gecekondu dwellers. The general interpretations are based on “passivity” or on “radicalism” of the gecekondu dwellers. The explanations in the framework of passivity and radicalism are both signifiers of extreme stigmatizations. The radicalism is correlated to the “defeatist” character; and the passivity is supported by some famous theories of Oscar Lewis as mentioned above and Huntington’s proletariat, characterized by conservatism, passivity and obedience (in: Wedel, 2001). Wedel mentions also an understanding of Nelson (in: Wedel, 2001) which

considers these dwellers neither passive nor radical, but not forming “a political class” on their own. The study of Karpat mentioned in the elaboration of Wedel (Ibid; 2001) considers the leftist protests as “militant radical terrorist groupings”. The community derived from relations being from the same city of origin, sometimes conceptualized as *cemaat* in Turkish as mentioned before, and the participation through informal relations are proposed as crucial at political level. The urban social movements are studied in the framework of neighborhood associations. Which are proposed to be the core of urban social movements influenced by theses of Schuurman and Naerssen (in: Wedel, 2001) for “Third World countries”. The possibility for urban social movement is related to the achievement of organization of “neighborhood association” achieved within comprehensive unity. These associations are elaborated by Viola and Maiwaring (in: Wedel, 2001) in the framework of new and old characteristics within attempts for radical democracy. Wedel’s solution is the empowerment of groups for the “integration to the city”. The study of Wedel in terms of democratization with participation not merely based on deprivation is crucial with its critics for stigmatization like “militant”, “radical”, “defeatist” and “passive”.

5. 2. The elaboration of Everyday life dimension in the Turkish literature

Around discussions for questions whether it is an urban resistance or not, the everyday life has critical importance. It gives also signs of revanchist attitude, gecekondü stereotyping, and various elaborations in academic world. Different methods and attitudes (phobic, romantic-populist) in “field study” give clues for the academic stereotypings. The discourses have diverged in two main approaches namely “*garibanizm*” (poor-fellowship) and “romanticism”. The general position for gecekondü and its dwellers is between the “literatures of the poor”, “*garibanizm*”, especially in the periods when “social explosion” discourse of MGK and myth of dangerous classes in “*varoş*”, with “street children” were dominant proposed characteristics. The “poor” becomes something which has to be regulated and policed. Even though the culture of poverty contributes to a view criminalizing and despising, which underlines the pathologies like laziness, fatalism, and violence, his

theory gives clues for defense mechanisms and the art of managing (Erdoğan, 2002). Representation in programmes of television like *Bam Teli*, *Deniz Feneri* and in journals inherited also the attitudes of “*garibanizm*” and populism (Ibid; 2002). According to Erdoğan (2002), the political culture of the poor in Turkey differs from barrios’ organizations of Latin America, with its incapability of developing its local urban social movements and of being individual political actor, outside the party politics⁷¹. Referring to Türkdoğan’s understanding based on culture of poverty of Lewis for the poor/mistreated subject in the dualities of fatality /rebel, passivity/activity, acceptance/refuse.

However, for Erdoğan (2002), there is a third and intermediate, in-between positions which include leaking himself with a foxy attitude into “other’s” area watching for the gaps and opportunities created by instrument of government, living in others’ area, fleeing without quitting as stated by de Certeau, which signs an art of managing constituted of heterogeneous and singular elements into pieces. The position for the idea that the poor is neither a force which is always ready to activate, to be mobilized, rebel nor a group who accepts fatalistically their situation considering as legal and right is critical for an appropriate analysis. Mentioning Bayat’s (:in Erdoğan, 2002) study which is elaborated in the thesis attracts attention to the exaggeration of their force and capability of making, with emphasis on these practices since for Erdoğan, another characteristic is their deprivation (they are made deprived) from the means for ideological-political and cultural discourse creation. These practices could not be defined as hidden resistance since they do not target the state and the relations of “governance”, being anti-systemic. The feeling of oppression in terms of not being a good citizen because of “illegality” is dominant.

⁷¹ Aksu Bora (2002) underline that traditional relations of solidarity lose its function since nobody is capable to realize this position. However, there are attempts for decreasing the expenses and increasing the sources outside the revenues, like receiving money from relatives in Germany as stated by Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2002). The using of “strategy” is inappropriate for some researchers due to the lack of choice and the limited character of sources, and it is important to consider the poor as a subject, outside the boundaries of social structure and for analyzing the conflict, consensus, and consultations between individuals.

The emphasis on everyday life resistance as stated by Şengül (2001), anarchism of everyday or as a counter project which is defined as struggle from the margin grows in academic discussions. Moreover, this suggestion is supported by the theory of Gramsci, as counter hegemony. New struggles perhaps could not lead to radical transformations but these resistances of small dimensions are crucial in terms of tactics against government's strategy. Erdoğan's study (2002) underlines some possible mistakes which could be made by mystifying and romanticizing the urban resistance and protests like Salman, elaborated in the study of Wedel (2001).

5. 3. The revanchist attitude and zero tolerance in Turkey

Popular and dominant media's approach in Turkey to the social movements and protests are reported generally from state, government's point of view, as disrupting order, by stigmatizing them or emphasizing violence and deprivation sides, instead of mentioning reasons behind (Köker and Doğanay, 2004). Spatial regulations, from gentrification to urban renewal projects have strong emphasis on social "rehabilitation" or change, increased security from mobese system⁷² (camera system in the streets, avenues proposed as facilitative means for the observation, the security supply; however, containing a danger and a feeling of being a severe spy) to the police force's attitude could be show as signs of zero tolerance, even street operations realized in periods of conference or international activities for instance removing street beggars, "street children" from important avenues.

The construction-representation of *gecekondu* is critical to grasp the meaning of zero tolerance and revanchist city for Istanbul, in the framework of social, economic, political changing conditions. Zero tolerance could be considered as an attitude both of "citizens" and "profession groups" like academicians, journalists. Moreover, another side which is "state" and its police could be mentioned separately from these two groups.

⁷² There is a protesting initiative, namely "nobese". For further information, please see www.izleniyoruz.net

The revanchist relationship between middle classes and lower classes, *gecekondu* dwellers in Turkey could be critical to understand the differentiation between their reactions towards urban spatial decisions. In the urban renewal process, there have been always resistances and barricades against officials responsible of demolition in the neighborhood and police force, especially specific team, the “Agile Force” (*Çevik Kuvvet*) or more exactly zero tolerance. In Turkish context, the police’s approach, the governments’ stigmatizing and criminalizing statements about the people who protest or resist to the demolitions and the media contribute to the production of “accusing representations” in the framework of a zero tolerant attitude, in the revanchist city, Istanbul. Police forces and dwellers came into a situation where they are like enemies, struggling face to face. Yet, there is another dimension which is absent for politically allied dwellers, but valid for “ordinary” grassroots that police is the force of the “holy state” working for the benefit of the citizens.

Apart from great contribution of empirical data, academic *gecekondu* studies generally ignored the diversity of inhabitants. From the mid 1950s to the 1960’s May military intervention, it could be pursued zero tolerance approach, with the government’s oppressing, violent measures to the mass demonstrations. The new constitution of 1961 created a more liberal environment, granting rights to civil society for organizing itself around political ideologies, apart from liberal economy replacing state role by the market. In the 1960s, the Marxism, sympathetic to the poor and *gecekondu* entered to the critical world, especially organized themselves in the 1970s, in the universities, in the rescued regions (which mean territories into which state forces could not enter) of *gecekondu* areas (Erman, 2001, 2004*).

The political history of *gecekondu* starts with their voting for center right parties in elections during 1950s and 1960s. The economic decline in 1970s with oil crises and the political instability of Turkey lead the routes of social mobility closing down for them. They were politicized because of these reasons and permissive character of 1961 constitution and political radicalism (radical leftist groups attacked by ultra-nationalists right in “liberated areas”) began to rise in *gecekondu* areas. The military

intervention in September, 12, 1980 resulted in pacification and depoliticization of society. The civil government of Prime Minister Özal from 1983 until 1989 is critical for opening the society to international market (Erman, 2003).

The revanchism could be pursued in the media, in some academic studies and in the discourses of the governments. The people of early periods coming from villages were stigmatized and criminalized especially in terms of defending their dwelling rights given by the authorities. This stigmatization is correlated with that of housing, in other words, gecekondulu criminalized and stigmatized as “varoş” in 1970s and in 1990s, but especially from 1996, is correlated with “collective urban violence” and “urban crimes” and various “illegal activities”.

Therefore, in the 1990s, the gecekondulu became the site of violence, with its representations in the media, especially with the Gazi episode of 1995 and the 1st May of 1996 demonstrations. In the media, with negative connotations, street gangs, children oriented to substance abusing, which lead to a new definition, “varoş”. (Erman, 2003) “Varoşlu”, “threatening other” replaced rapidly gecekondulu, “rural other”, referring especially to being contra the city, oppositional to the city, setting itself against the city for Erman (2003). This “threatening other” is hostile and antagonistic to the city, attacking the city, its values, its political institutions, and its ideology and its social order (Erman, 2001, 2003).

The revanchism in Turkey could be said to have rise with the concept of “varoş” with 1st May of the year 1996; or more exactly the changing meaning of gecekondulu⁷³ which is correlated by the figure “rantiyeci”. However, in the literature and also in the popular discourse, the revanchism against gecekondulu and their dwellers is predominant. The “devastation”, the “illegal” and “unhygienic” situation should be regenerated by these socio-economic projects. The migrants are considered as guilty. This criminalizing attitude leads to the conflictual reactions. The ruling idea was that

⁷³ By its emergence, the innocent role of gecekondulu was to supply the dwelling role because of a real need. Gecekondulu housing which has meaning “built overnight” is burdened by a temporality in the city’s periphery for serving as the shelter of the poor.

there was a dominance of *gecekondu* in various fields (Keyder, 2000). This idea resulted in a revanchist city typology and for saving their city, some groups among the elites and middle classes developed a revanchist attitude. The most popular discourse was that in “mega-village” Istanbul, the village culture of the new-comers was oppressing and defeating the culture of the city⁷⁴.

To sum up, from the year 1923 to the 1950s, elitist social engineering became determinant in the modernization of society. In the 1950s and 1960s, the migrant was represented and considered as the “rural Other”, seen as a homogenous, “lacking” group, accused for ruralizing the city⁷⁵. The urbanization is defined as “corrupt”, “awry”. In the 1970s and 1980s, it became a “disadvantaged other” elaborated with “integration problematic”, and *gecekondu* culture as a “fatalistic”, “irrational” culture of poverty of Lewis. Changing attributions between the “urban poor Other(s)”, the “undeserving rich Other(s)” and the “culturally inferior Other(s) as Sub-Culture’ (in the apartments) were in the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s, with recognition of heterogeneous character of *gecekondu*, identity politics, clientelist relations, and media representation related to the mafia. By the 1990s, it could be stated an emergence of the “undesirable Other(s)”, with a stigmatization of a whole neighborhood, related to political “marginalization”, in two camps, “Islamic” like Sultanbeyli, and “radical leftist/terrorist” like Küçük Armutlu. All these definitions are mainly due to changing and attributed character of *gecekondu*, for instance, as a commodity and its *apartmanlaşma* (*construction of apartment houses*) process, in the first periods. The threatening “varoşlu” Other is mainly the construction of the late 1990s, with politicization and radicalization. This usage is sometimes accepted, without a critical attitude or its social and political implications are questioned. This construction of “varoş” meaning, Hungarian in its origin, implying neighborhood outside the wall, is mainly related to the media representation, for its recent usage in Turkey. Economically deprived lower classes are proposed to be in “criminal”

⁷⁴ For a detailed study, it is necessary to examine the study of Aksoy (2001).

⁷⁵ The “Other” is constructed by a construction of “Us”. The “Us” could be a “modern and ideal” urbanite.

activities, radical political action against the state, supported by demonstrations of 1st May 1996, accused by vandalism, violence and destruction, with discourses like “exploding *varoş* came to town”. The media is focused mainly on “street gangs or street children” underlining the “illegality”, “anarchy”, being “outside the system” threatening even “laicism” and “democracy” (Erman, 2001, 2004*). These became legalization factors of zero tolerance attitudes.

Especially treated as “unregulated”, “state-free” territories, their protests for the right of dwelling are considered as “rebellion”, “violence” or “madness” (Erman, 2001, 2003). The “criminalization” of “varoş” is based on the Us/Them discourse, mentioned with poverty, non-integration into the city, violence, anger, invasion, with its peculiar culture, identity, by ignoring, fearing of and repressing their “potential” (Erman, 2001, 2003).

Academia’s attitude which is elaborated above in the framework of protest for the urban issues could be analyzed in terms of their ways of analysis. Erdoğan Bayraktar’ s study is mentioned in the related part. Orhan Türkdoğan’s (2006) “best seller” *gecekondu* study⁷⁶, it could be pursued the signs of stigmatization, giving Oscar Lewis, “poverty culture”, as a basic theory, supporting urban renewal project in Istanbul for the creation of “modern” and “contemporary” urban spaces. Especially, the “ideological” organizations in Gazi neighborhood are held as “ethnic” based “problems”. The cooperatives, associations, and their journal are proposed as “illegal, in the *gecekondu* quarter as a social cyst in the poverty culture and deviant behaviors. The “cultural” dimension and “identity” are emphasized points in the study. Although urban renewal is rejected, it is related to their “cultural interruption” in the framework of “poverty culture”.

The stigmatization and the traces of revanchist city and zero tolerance could be pursued in the different ways of elaboration of academic studies. Erman (1998) studied the migrants’, *gecekondu* dwellers’ own thinking for themselves, letting migrants speak in their own voices, outside “our” classifications, “integration

⁷⁶ İstanbul Gecekondu Kimliği, 2006, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık

theories”. This study also gives clues for the “apartment” in Turkish sense (building) /gecekondu duality. One part introduce, consider themselves as “urbanite”, another in-between, neither a villager, nor an urbanite or both of them and being none of the categories, in other words, being “human”. Besides these feelings, academic discourses have undergone various approaches with changing representations of gecekondu and rural migrants (Erman, 2001, 2004*).

CHAPTER VI

6. DELIVERING ITS IMPORTANCE: URBAN REACTIONS AGAINST SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS IN ISTANBUL WITH AN ATTEMPT OF CATEGORIZATION

The urban reactions in Istanbul has a characteristic related to what is called “civil society”ⁱⁱⁱ or “civil society organizations” if it is translated *mot-a-mot* from Turkish for grasping its usage. This mentioned society and organizations are valid in the middle or upper class neighborhoods. In the studies and representations in the media, it is underlined the “consciousness” of being citizen, a city dweller of this people. This type of reaction has importance in two terms. Firstly, it has a characteristic of a NIMBY movement, supported and elaborated both by academic milieus and media. Secondly, it has a position of appropriation of the city, in an adversary position against *gecekondu* and its dweller. Another resistance, of *gecekondu* could not be considered as a “resistance”, in academic studies or in media representations. This aspect will be elaborated, firstly as a summary of *gecekondu* resistance examples highlighting various types of organizations and secondly, as a field study pursued in a neighborhood undergone urban renewal project in Istanbul, Güzeltepe.

6. 1. Civil Society’s coming to terms with spatial regulations: For “their city” Istanbul and Not in Their⁷⁷ Backyard⁷⁸: “Turkish Civil Society” in the “city”

The civil society organization is the translation of the NGO in Turkish usage. This nomination dates back to the period when it is organized that the UN Summit of 1996 would take place in Istanbul. Before the organization, the discussions for the

⁷⁷ This emphasis on “there” is made for the distinction between “the” civil society in the city and people dwelling in *gecekondu*. This distinction is produced by them in terms of their appropriation of the city.

⁷⁸ This could be abbreviated as NITBY, influenced from NIMBY

Turkish usage of NGO had begun and finally, “civil society organization” is chosen as definition. Being a “civil society organization” is considered as something prestigious and very crucial, burdened with some missions like that of political parties (Gümüş, 2002). Gümüş underlines also the adversary position of these NGOs against city of origin (*hemşehri*) associations by claiming that they were real “Istanbullu” (people whose origin is Istanbul) and the alliances between these NGOs⁷⁹ and professional groups, differently from ancient times.

In Turkey, the rise of the NGOs dates back to the 1980s of the application of the neoliberal policies. According to Keyman, religion, ethnicity and culture became determinant in the organization, leading to social movements which are sometimes institutionalized. By means of associations, some businessmen and industrialists, form pressure groups in the articulation of economy and culture. According to İnel, these associations point out a new kind of politicization, being absorbed in the market. NGO s became a mediator between the state and the private sector, being not independent from both of them. The local initiatives in the framework of NGOs at the level of quarter are seen as a hope after 1980’s of Turkey, determined by the fear of “political organization” (*örgütlülük*). Habitat II conference and the earthquakes of 1998 in Kocaeli and Sakarya are turning points for growing responsibilities of NGOs. However, this does not mean that the NGOs accomplish their totally effective roles in the society (in: Tekeli, 2002).

A volume of the journal Istanbul Vol. 42, July 2002, published by ‘Vakıf of History’ (Tarih Vakfı) was about on the resistance of the civil initiative, concerning the city. This volume is crucial since apart from information for the civil resistance history, it reveals various tensions and opens discussions about the duality of resistance which would be emphasized in the thesis. In this volume, Doğan Kuban’ s (2002) article is a good example for the exposition of the duality in the civil resistance for Istanbul and the us/other elaboration if it is analyzed at the discursive level. Analyzing migration as the invasion of the Anatolia, he argued that the civil resistance comes from people who are “civilized” and “urbanized” and who have the sensibility of

⁷⁹ Gümüş conceptualizes this position as “civil appropriation”.

appropriation. Including himself in this camp, he said that they are afraid that Istanbul loses its particularity of being a city. The proposition of Kuban (2002) is a gathering with an integration of who could not be urbanized –like Bergama peasants– and a formation of a discourse which reaches people. He gives also a mission to the intellectuals and defines this struggle as a war towards the agrarian culture, accusing “them” of the rental exploitation and states that the political sovereignty belongs to them. The civil protest is a war of civilization against the rural culture.

The discussion of Çağlar Keyder with Cihan Tuğal is very crucial in this respect (2002). Apart from Keyder’s general emphasis on global networks importance in terms of NGOs, what is critical in the discussion is the relationship between NGO and middle classes. The middle classes in Arnavutköy case, for Tuğal, like in the literature, organize for its own quarter (NIMBY movement) or for the security feeling of its own life against the “poor”, the “migrants” and their capacity of committing crime. Tuğal would like to analyze interrelations between the urban movements and Keyder responds that the inequality spatial reveals in the quarter organizations, which are not NGOs. The appropriation of the local is a new kind of identity⁸⁰ and spatial appropriation constitutes common points between the lower and the middle classes. Civil organizations are considered as NIMBY movements; however, it is important to not ignore that middle class local organizations, supported by academicians mobilize and show their sensibility for the issues concerning the city. The earthquake of Marmara is crucial in that local organizations are formed for being prepared and raising the level of consciousness.

Oktay Ekinci’s (2002) position is quite different since he emphasizes “civil society”’s role in the analysis of protests concerning Istanbul. Habitat II proposes Agenda 21 which constitutes an urban council, a local democracy assembly. He underlines the criminalization of dwellers as “enemy against state”, who struggle for the historical heritage of the city. The first example of the civil reaction formed by especially professional and expert groups is the event against the construction of the first bridge of Bosphorus. The reaction against Park Otel was a cooperation of the

⁸⁰ This could be elaborated in relation with radical democracy.

association of Ayaspaşa and the chamber of architects. Korhan Gümüş, in the same file, underlines false conceptualization of the civil society which is thought to be connected to the state, criticizing and questioning the sensitivity of intellectuals⁸¹. (Gümüş, 2002)

The recent article of Korhan Gümüş (2006) has an intermediary meaning between these two categorizations. There is an emphasis on NGOs and “civil society”’s future campaigns of “aid” in the gecekondü demolition. It gives a missionary role to civil society for ending demolitions, which could be opened to discussion. Besides, it has a critical role to call civil society into gecekondü issues.

In the years of the mayor Bedrettin Dalan, the urban protests were stemming from the professional associations related to urban issues, Chamber of Architects (*Mimarlar Odası*), Chamber of Engineers (*Mühendisler Odası*). As an example for this period, the protest against the project the avenue of “Büyük Hendek” in 1987 was a turning point. Since this date, it could be identified a “localization of the civil society movements” (Gümüş, 2002, Behar and Pérouse, 2006). In this period, the actors combating with the projects imposed above gave their places to the defence of the quarter’s benefits (Behar and Pérouse, 2006). In the first period, the gentrifiers were a part of the social movements. The beautification (“güzelleştirme”) associations gave their places to the associations for “protection”: Association of Galata, 1995, Association of Kuzguncuk, 1997, Neighborhood Initiative of Arnavutköy, 1999. Especially, with the earthquake in 1999, the civil associations, NGOs become more diffused at local level.⁸² However, these protests have in general a positive impression and a wide range of supporters “outside” the quarters, by other NGOs, and academicians. The quarters are in general middle and upper-middle class quarters, with a “symbolic capital”. The movements are against a

⁸¹ Various thoughts for intellectual and resistance in everyday life like public intellectuals of Bourdieu with their commitment and scholarship, intellectual of Situationist International and Tarık Şengül’s (2001) anarchy of everyday life could be discussed in this framework.

⁸² In this same period, in 1980s, Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy, in 1990s, Cihangir, Galata and Asmalımescit became gentrified quarters.

project imposed on the quarter even there is no violation of individual rights, for instance, destruction of houses.

Before the years 1980, another crucial aspect was that the attitude of professional – architectural- chambers who were using a “professional”, scientific, “top-down” regulative discourse resulting in legalization of the government’s populism, stated by Gümüş (2002). “Government” was accusing⁸³ reactions of the chambers, which were little arenas before and more exactly for being politicians. Another aspect of reaction which is underlined by Gümüş (2002), of gaining consciousness for a reaction is the presence of an intellectual discussion field of left or Marxist journals like *Birikim* (Accumulation), *Toplum ve Bilim* (Society and Science). These discussions influenced mainly the new professional generation, which orient them to the chamber activities. This is this group which prefers to be far from political interests and ambitions which constitute a civil force. However, after 1980’s, a significant part losing their political references and finishing their education years, the others focused their activities on environmental and urbanization issues. One of the important groups were named as “Green Solidarity” (*Yeşil Dayanışma*), which was organized based on activities, protests and does not have a hierarchical structure. This group was constituted of writers, artists, architects, advertisers and architects. In 1987, this group attracted attention with their protest against demolitions in Büyük Hendek, in the period of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan. It was a public relation activity not based on a political ideology or claim. Especially for this reason, their protest became popular, reported as news in the first pages of the newspapers. Apart from this one, the reactions against transformation of the Nişantaşı public garden into car park, against the hotel construction in Taşkılla, the struggle for Gümüşsuyu Park Hotel and Şişli Center in the place of bus terminal. Another group was struggling for Güven Park, in Ankara. Even though these protests were taking place in the quarters, supported by their dwellers, these movements were elitist and dwellers’ participation was remaining at the level of observing and communicating. The target was the mayor, the public authority, by means of media. The dwellers who were living and

⁸³ “People who support railways are leftist.”, “To resist, withstand against the bridge is the malice.”, “Rice or plan?” (*This statement has a poetical tone in Turkish: “Plan mı, pilav mı?”*)

having these related problems were “not talking”. Haliç and Tarlabası underwent demolitions in spite of this resistance. The professionals and élites’ sensitivity was aiming to give consciousness to the public and the dwellers were not talking. In 1989, Dalan lost the election, and gives his mayor position to Nurettin Sözen. In Sözen’s period, professionals had missions in the decision making processes and apart from some protests, “civil movement” draw back. In this atmosphere, the resistance for the construction of Koç University campus, Şişli Business Center, Feshane, Yedikule Gazhanesi could not be permanent. The responsibility was on some people, in the local organizations and dwellers were merely watching the organizations. The platform of Beyoğlu and Istanbul were short term local initiatives in the period of Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*). Habitat II was a turning point for the rising of civil organizations working together for Habitat’s organization.

The protest for plan of public improvements –legal name of the urban plans in Turkey- “*imar planı*” of Piyalepaşa-Okmeydanı is a different example for Gümüş (2002) since for the first time, the experts and the professionals chosen the method of helping the dwellers. It was an indigenous movement which was unexpected by the government. The building called as Sky-Cage (*Gökkafes*) became a platform of discussion of planning decision against laws, in a civil organization –from professionals to the “ordinary” people- milieu. The third bridge was a triggering reason for the local organization of dwellers of Arnavutköy as Neighborhood Initiative of Arnavutköy. This organization has recently, in 2006, protested against the noise pollution from which they were affected. The earthquake of 17 August of 1999 was another point in history of Turkey for civil society, its mobilization, differently from NGOs. According to Gümüş⁸⁴ (2002), civil initiatives for city were supported and guided by professional groups. These ideas were contradicting in general with that of dwellers.

⁸⁴ The proposition for future prospects for civil mobilization of Gümüş which underlines the creation of an environment of consensus, not ignoring even “weak voices” resembles, theoretically to the radical democracy of Laclau and Mouffe.

It is important to mention the role of the “intellectual” in Tepebaşı, in recent examples of civil reactions. The “initiative of Tepebaşı” (*Tarlabaşı İnisyatifi*) is another “organization” of academicians-sociologists, architects-, artists, journalists, and people working for Istanbul. However this initiative possesses a “danger” of people dislocation because of the propositions of great cultural projects, for the global competition of cities. During the project, if social meaning is not ignored, this could turn to be another example like “Kuştepe” (Kazgan, 2002, 2000).

For ‘urban’ constructions like a bridge there is an ‘organized’ protest, in Arnavutköy which is middle and upper- class areas. These could be not merely a neighborhood protest, but a building (*Gökkafes*), for the “French Street” case (originally, “Algerian Street”), there were discussions and reactions in academic or intellectual world, not as a protest or resistances of the dwellers, in the streets.

It is difficult to elaborate the aspect of “civil society” in this study, however; it is also important to underline its presence and its different aspects. NGOs in Istanbul, became activate against projects like the Third Bridge, “Gökkafes”, concerning “the city”. The academicians also express their views “collectively”, in general, for these ones. The differentiation between civil appropriation and intellectual sensibility is critical since the intellectuals, themselves, are not the civil society; however, their role is to supply the representation of the civil society “by itself”. Nevertheless, it is also important that this does not mean that the intellectual must be far from politics. The intellectuals (especially who have the power of “specialization” in urbanism), reflect themselves in their professional choices. (Gümüş, 2003) However, urban planning is not a profession depending merely to the choices and decisions of the planner. The planning process, with multiple actors, is dominantly, a political and economic one.

The organization namely the Platform of City Owners (Şehrin Sahipleri Platformu) reflects the situation and the attitude of the “civil society” to urban affairs. The organizations are in general for the projects for “the city”, not for instance, slum clearances. On the contrary, sometimes, these groups support these hygienization

projects. For the slum clearances or so-called urban renewal activities, the “collective” protest comes from in general radical left organizations or parties. This dimension is very critical to examine in terms of the politicization of urban protest, the “organization”, the critics and the stigmatization because of radicalization.

Another interesting point is that some artistic productions which could be evaluated as a critic of the urban projects, in the framework of Biennale (an international exhibition and artistic workshop including installations and video projections, organized especially around a subject), elaborated in the study of Yardımcı (2005). For instance, the project namely “Dwelling Right is the Friend’s living right” (*Barınma Hakkı, Dost Yaşam Hakkıdır*), pursued by the “Group of Culture” (*Kültür Grubu*), pointing out Karanfilköy, could be mentioned. According to Yardımcı, these works are far from everyday life resistance or a protest from the core of life of Situationist International. Another interesting project is the one related to gecekondu, in the biennale of 2001, using ordinary but authentic streets in their advertisements. “Chamber Project” (*Oda Projesi*) was having an idea of a gecekondu construction at the entry of the entrepot. Mustafa Tetik, a gecekondu dweller who built his own gecekondu. He stated that constructing a gecekondu in such milieu like Biennale, without fearing of police is a pleasant activity. A cross-section of life, gecekondu was in exhibition. However, this is different from the amalgamation of art and life of Dadaists and Situationists. For Yardımcı, this representation is not a gecekondu since there is no threat of demolition and it is not illegal. Gecekondu becomes an aesthetic object which is exposed and consumed. The real situation of gecekondu and gecekondu dwellers not changing, different from “aestheticized” gecekondu, remains an aesthetic problem, paradoxically (Yardımcı, 2005).

What is critical is that, recently, during the prolongation period of the study, from September 2006 until December 2006, some “intellectuals”, TMMOB, other civil initiatives present or involved in the process of critical idea formation for urban regeneration practices. In the recent period, urban renewal was one of the action topics of the World Social Forum gathered in Istanbul and of the demonstration of TMMOB throughout the country. TMMOB’s demonstration could be considered as

a little return to its position in 1980s, both for urban and general politics. Moreover, recently, it organizes a symposium for urban regeneration in 18 November 2006, where apart from academicians who proposed critical idea about projects, the gecekondu dwellers were participated, not merely auditors, but as a “spokesmen”. Another significant aspect of this symposium was apart from the statements of the Chambers of Urban Planners for the projects, it was the collective demonstration at the noon break, in the Sakarya Avenue, Ankara. Another initiative which is in the formation process, mainly on the urban regeneration issue, is the “movement of urbanists for the society” as they named themselves (toplum.icin.sehirci.hareketi@gmail.com). These initiatives and organizations could be proposed as attempts to be “on behalf” of the gecekondu dwellers or as “united” protests.

6.2. Long Lost Literature on Gecekondu resistance: For the “gecekondu quarter”: Not My Quarter (NMQ) instead of Western Not In My Backyard (NIMBY)

In this chapter, the resistance of the dwellers of the operation areas, as grassroots movements will be elaborated. In general, in the literature, especially for Turkey, what is examined and emphasized is the history of “civil society’s resistance”. The demolition leads to a gathering around common concerns, elaborated as political, illegal, violence, especially by the press; even though they recently gain support from different milieus.

If it is pursued early signs of resistance for the recent urban regeneration/renewal project, it could be said that urban renewal projects based on reasons related to flood in Pendik, and Alibeyköy were triggering reasons and more exactly justifying ones. These examples can be classified in terms of protest against violation of *direct interest*, for instance, Pendik⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ In a TV programme of Channel D, Kadir Topbaş is accused of the great clearance of Alibeyköy by an old dweller and abandoning the area in ruins, instead of green areas. He, very surprised of this information, telephoned and gave promise to deal with this situation.

Jean-François Pérouse and David Behar, for the history of urban reactions, they mention the associations of beautification (“*güzelleştirme*”) in the neighborhoods, for the period before 1980 (Pérouse and Behar, 2006). In the 1970s, the Marxist ideology accepted these gecekondü neighborhoods. In these unregulated areas like no man’s land, the ideological groupings were organizing. Aslan (2004), in his study mainly political and with class based approach-survival struggle-, about 1st May Quarter (officially Mustafa Kemal) until the years 1980, the struggles characterizes the cities especially in case of great social contradictions. This quarter is stigmatized since it is founded against the authority, with social struggles and became an official quarter. This quarter is an example and alternative model of gecekondü movement, social solidarity and participation with “People Committee” (*Halk Komitesi*) from “planning” (in gecekondü quarter, with professors and students) to resistance. (Aslan, 2005) There were three significant demolitions with violence. Benefits from public services, especially housing problems are always considered as threat for public “order”. Social movements are one of the most important dynamics of urbanization. Aslan (Ibid; 2005), in this term, proposes democratic and participatory systems. The feasibility of these ones in Turkey is another discussion point. Referring to Engels, Aslan highlights that from the beginning of capitalism, housing problem has always been major problems, concerning not only working classes, but also other social groups, giving clues for the relationship between new social movements, class and urban social movements.

Another recent study of Marie Le Ray elaborates the political stigmatization in the framework of 1st May Quarter (Mustafa Kemal). The stigmatization hinders also the physical and discursive investments of the public state. These “protected” areas, liberated zones create the possibility of discussion and protest. With the illegal organizations of clandestine radical left, the image of the quarter in the media and in the public gaze is rebellious, violent space, menacing the national project. (Le Ray, 2004)

For instance, the concept ‘varoş’ in Turkish literature, became a popular and frequently used and discussed concept with the movements in March 1995, in Istanbul Gazi Neighborhood and in the 1st May protests in Kadıköy. The ethnic and regional movements on 2 July 1993 Sivas Massacre and 1995 Gazi Neighborhood and Ümraniye events created tension and exposing different struggles in urban space (Günlü, 2002). Spatial segregation (because of social segregation) is also a triggering factor of the movements. Spatial deprivation and exclusion, because of political, ethnic factors deepen the inequalities and become a crucial reason leading to protest (Aslan, 2004, Kalaylıoğlu, 2004). The history of urban reactions in Istanbul and the representation in media with “varoş” conceptualization gains another face, especially with 1st May 1996. (With slogans like “Varoş came to the city”, “Varoş surrounding the city”-like in the war-. For more information, please see Bozkulak, 2005) In the autumn of 1996, the resistance of Karanfilköy could be stated as an important gecekondu movement⁸⁶ (Pérouse, 2004, Arıkanlı, 2005).

In 2000s, especially journals and internet organizations construct the revolutionary image of gecekondu and consider gecekondu active in the class struggle. The gecekondu neighborhoods are considered as the sectors, areas of civil war (Pérouse, 2004). Pérouse and Dekhli (2002) give as an example Küçükçekmece, Ayazma and dwellers’ conscious formation for their living conditions and housing rights. Having no urban services, however, governments closing their eyes to its construction, they resisted with an organization, the “Association of Ayazma” (*Ayazma Derneği*), found for this reason. They showed the organization formation and consciousness was not related to the education or income. Urban renewal project is welcomed by Küçükçekmece middle-class dwellers, even though Municipality’s plans and the result of the project are unknown.

As a summary of gecekondu resistance to demolition of urban renewal project, it could be started with Bayramtepe. In Bayramtepe, in 11 July 2005, the dwellers repulsed with their barricades, equipments which were for the demolition of 48 housings. In Pendik, Kurtköy, in 14 July 2005, the dwellers would meet the mayor of Pendik.

⁸⁶ For a detailed study, please see Arıkanlı (2005).

However, the mayor Erol Kaya refused this proposition. The same day, in spite of the resistance, the officials demolished 44 houses, with the support of gendarmerie. 15 dwellers were arrested, one was injured and another had a heart attack. Okmeydanı was another field of resistance. But in 17 and 21 July 2005, 48 housings were demolished. Gülsuyu resistance was different from other resistance fields. It is an example of organized protest. The “beautification and cultural association of Gülsuyu Gülenusu” (Gülsuyu Gülenusu Güzelleştirme ve Kültür Derneği) collected 4000 signatures and they delivered on 12 July 2005, to the municipality. On 23 July 2005, a march was organized by making a statement to the press. The recent example of urban renewal project for Sulukule has various characteristics. Firstly, it has gained great support from different milieus, due to its social and historical difference. The organized resistance of Sulukule is crucial to be elaborated since they founded an association for this imposed project in their quarter.

Against demolition in these neighborhoods, some associations are established by gecekondu dwellers’ initiative, usually mentioned as “beautification” or “solidarity” associations like that of earlier periods. However, these “beautification” associations in some neighborhoods with political heritage, different from city of origin, “hemşehri” organizations playing a buffering role even though they lost their solidarity role, especially for Gazi, 1st May, Nurtepe and Güzeltepe are considered as “illegal” organizations because of their radical political characteristics, differently from associations of middle and upper-middle class quarters. This leads also the stigmatization and labeling of all of the newly formed “beautification” associations against demolitions as “illegal”. Apart from this aspect, there is also a dominant view that considers gecekondu protestation and resistance in the demolition time as “violence” and “illegal” based on the “illegal” characteristic of gecekondu.

Last but not least words, it is critical to remind the discussion of Tuğal and Keyder (2002). Cihan Tuğal attires attention to the global character of the “slum movements” in the world namely “Slum Dwellers” organization and its lack in Istanbul. Keyder underlines that the social movements in Turkey organize around national (a nation with determinacy of police methods, the stigmatizing discourses

with expropriation, division and bad intention) rhetoric. Keyder (2002) adds also that “hemşehri” associations lost their importance with changing conditions and do not have the capacity of mobilization.

To sum up gecekondü initiatives for urban regeneration/renewal projects, it could be mentioned firstly some common platforms like the “Coordination of Working People against Demolitions” (*Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*) especially gathered around Okmeydanı demolition and “the Platform of Istanbul Neighborhood Associations” (*İstanbul Mahalle Dernekleri Platformu*) and future platforms and associations aimed to be created by TMMOB. Secondly, some already present beautification associations are involved in the issue of urban regeneration/renewal, like that of Güzeltepe. However, there were mainly “radical” political organizations which were under police observation. For Güzeltepe, the association is closed after the resistance based on the “political offenses” of its members. Thirdly, beautification association mainly opened as a way of resistance organization in the neighborhood; like that of Derbent, Gülsuyu, and Sulukule which have different characteristics due to their social differences. Urban regeneration project leads to a beginning of a period where “beautification” associations replace “hemşehri” solidarity associations, losing their missions.

ⁱⁱⁱ **Civil Society**

The civil society is proposed as milieus for local actor’s involvement in the democratization process. This kind of organization and the movement is the most elaborated face in the framework of urban issues. It could be defined as non-politicized relations like customs, moral notions, religious activities, ideologies, families, gender relations, ethnicity, habits related to utilization of already reproduced space (which could be used as the reproduction of space with a broader content) and the economic relations of the society (Keskinok, 1997). Even if it is proposed as a domain opposed to the dominant forces or government where there is no hierarchical relationship beyond political domination concerns. However, it is intertwined and generally works together with the state.

Civil society is also defined as an active and positive moment of societal development, preceding and determining the political moment, covering the whole area of all material relations, all ideological and cultural practices of individuals, and all their spiritual life at any particular phase in the development of productive forces, according to Marx. According to Gramsci, the civil society is based on “hegemony”. Who makes history are politicized men. However, the sphere of struggle and the state are structurally limited by civil society (in: Keskinok, 1997). For Gramsci and based on the contributions of Urry to this concept, the civil society consists of three overlapping spheres, firstly, circulation, the distribution of socially created population, development and consumption, secondly, reproduction, biologically, economically and culturally and finally, struggle on the subjective group,

movement and class level (Thomsen, 1992). Gramsci's hegemony is crucial in terms of everyday life resistance. The domination is not a form forced constraint, but a regime of voluntary consent. The hegemony does not have a form, but it is power relations, changing form and having various shapes. The civil society is the hegemony beside the political society, which is rude power. The hegemony may contain this power, too. The organic intellectuals, (not one person but gathered in a group), has structural and class-based relations and each class has its own intellectual group (Gramsci, 1983). The civil society consists of organizations, press, and action groups. For some views, social movements are also a part of the civil society (Thomsen, 1992). For some political parties are not included in this society, for the civil society is not independent from their presence. The civil rights, the fight for free autonomous social space, and the enlargement of democracy are generally cited in the framework of the civil society.

In the "Social Movements Reader" (Goodwin and Jasper, 2005), it is defined as a sphere of association and conversation which falls outside the direct control of the state and authorities, as dialogues and interactions through which political views are formed and through which groups come to understand their interests vis-à-vis those of other groups and the state. Civil society includes voluntary associations, friendship networks, religious groups, independent newspapers, and the like. For them, social movements generally emerge out of civil society and often attempt to expand it, and movements are themselves an important component of civil society.

Zizek (2004) mentions a possibility of an alliance of intellectuals, progressivists, leaders of "varoş". Apart from the conceptualizations as civil society, academicians, scholars have great importance for criticizing, resisting urban interventions, with their "privileged" positions in different contexts. Gottdiener (2004) critiques academicians who choose to be only 'observers'. According to Gottdiener, academicians are radicals in two ways. Firstly, as a theoretical job, and secondly, alienated from their everyday life and social milieu, as a praxis who deals with the 'other'. Organic intellectuals of Gramsci and public intellectual of Bourdieu are concepts which should be mentioned in this respect. Sociological intervention, of Touraine, means being in contact directly with social movement, in exchange with actors. This could be mentioned in terms of the role of the intellectual in the social movements (in: Neveu, 1996). According to Spivak; NGOs constitute a boundary between global elites and the rest of the society, being a discriminatory culture masked with an illusion of humanitarian approach. Far from being various, NGOs substitute their same form of domination (Yardımcı, 2005).

The civil society with a "socialist" point of view-differently from new social movements and middle class radicalism-, inspired by hegemony of Gramsci could be stated in the framework of radical democracy of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Their critique is linked to a reconsideration of socialism, with an emphasis on Gramsci and the reintroduction and modification of the concept of hegemony around the political implications. They criticize orthodox Marxism due to the determinism and reductionism and class essentialism, with a reformulation of class positions (in: Hunter, 1998). They are also critical in terms of "new social movements" as emergence of new forms of political subjectivity cutting across the categories of the social and economic structure. Their theory is crucial because of the social movements, especially for the grassroots activists. Their ideas for social movements are in search for a radical political movement with an alliance, a coalition of many different struggles; recognizing various kinds of struggles and their inherently different form of struggle, beyond absorbing them, namely new social movements in a class struggle. However, they are against the idea that all forms of antagonisms could be understood merely as the effect of capitalism, by recognizing the relation between different struggles in a hegemony linked by a chain of equivalence which underlines the specification of each mode of oppression, incorporating varied movements into a combined project as potential sites of struggle (in: Castle and Hunter, 1998). A struggle for this hegemony is also a struggle for the transformation of the individual groups' consciousness, for Mouffe. The importance of radical democracy is related to its ability of democratization the process of competition, of creation of a public moment –citizenship- of commonality in this competition. As Mouffe stated, the common good exists in public, related to the debate, in transcendence of particular interests. The radical democracy is correlated with the contestation of the universal, the particular, the public and the private, by reshaping the contours of what the political means, by encouraging the variety of struggles (in: Sandilands, 1993), providing a

form of identification enabling the establishment of a common political identity among diverse democratic struggles, around radicalization of democracy (Mouffe, 1993). It could be said that not giving sufficient emphasis on the critique of capitalist exploitation, they are in search for a perfectly unitary and homogenous collective will. The movements would serve to form a specific form of solidarity through articulation, preserving their autonomy. They underline a wide variety of struggles, with an understanding of the structural relations other than class relations. Individuals are free to pursue their individual goods in various spheres of interests, but with a necessity of common good, like in libertarian approach. It seeks also to create the conditions for free individual self-development, eliminating oppression and exploitation (Smith, 1998).

CHAPTER VII

7. Haunting the specters of gecekondu resistance: Güzeltepe Neighborhood

The very essence of the hopes that we hold for a real free world lies in the razed universe of the slums. We shall be vigilant of the slum collectivities with the hope that they can pave the way for creation of new patterns of social awareness. They will be the seeds of the future. (Slavoj Zizek ,The Free World of The Slums, 10 Ekim 2004, Birgün, p. 10)

The first operation was on 22 July 2005, equipments of demolition, the police of Agile Force (*Çevik Kuvvet*) arrived, there was a resistance with barricades. The second operation was on 28 July, 6:30 in the morning, 5 dwellers have been arrested and the demolition was accomplished. The demolition still continues under various pretexts. However, these operations are realized in parts, five or six houses for each demolition. The resistance and its discursive statement were mainly based on the dwelling right as the 57th right of the Constitution and as a will for a “human” living. There was another demolition one year before the “famous” demolition. According to the statements of dwellers, these operations are realized rather slowly since the officials are afraid of their resistance.

7. 1. Sociologist and “them”?

The approach in the field study relies upon the idea to reveal various aspects of gecekondu resistance which is underrated, romanticized, or considered as “violence” or “madness”. The general framework of my study is focused on “after demolition period” since the fieldwork was pursued on the ashes of the demolished gecekondus situated in an apparently appeased picture. The study period is between the months January and October 2006. It seems to be disadvantageous; however, the elaboration of this after period creates an opportunity to grasp the heterogeneity of urban protests and gecekondu housings. The aim is to introduce gecekondu resistance and

Güzeltepe in the sociological literature, which remain merely in the newspapers with “representations of violence” or “revolutionary Heroes”.

The study is mainly focused on aspects of resistance, from “ordinary” grassroots (involved in the resistance which are not politically allied and could not have the possibility to speak instead of spokesmen popular in the press and the meetings) to the political groups which organize and support the resistance. It aims also to convey the resistance experience of *gecekondu*, generally considered as violence or madness.

The field study is based on in- depth, semi- structured interviews (but restructured during the conversation) at various levels and with different people as explained in the methodology of the study, to reveal an oral history of the neighborhood and the resistance.

The official interviews were pursued with Eyüp Municipality, the office of Plan, Project, Etude (Plan, Proje, Etüd) in the Directorate of Gecekondu and Accumulation (Gecekondu Mesken Müdürlüğü) of Istanbul Municipality, and with headman’s office (*muhtarlık*).

Members of *hemşehri* (being from the same city of origin) associations, of TAYAD, of HKM, members of ESP being dwellers of neighborhood constitute other interviews apart from dwellers. It is tried to investigate the inhabitants of neighborhood both tenants and gecekondu owners, both affected by demolition or not, and involved in the resistance or not for grasping the real situation. In total, thirty people were investigated from every aspects of the resistance, from political people both outside and from the neighborhood, both gecekondu owners and tenants. The representation in the newspapers, in the framework of urban renewal for both Güzeltepe and other quarters, constitute another part of the study. In the field study, the tape recording machine is not used in the study because of the sensibility of dwellers, especially after their “mis”representations in the press (as stated by

Champagne in: Erdoğan⁸⁷, 2002). In terms of their voluntary and involuntary silence and their voluntary voices as pointed out by Necmi Erdoğan (2002), they would both talk and prefer to be silent, because of the lack of confidence-problem of trust-, especially in an early period of the field study. Study period pursued in the neighborhood is mainly considered as a journalistic activity and in their mind; all the researchers are corresponding to journalists.

Even though an intrusion into their lives symbolically (considering them as something to be revealed, discovered) and epistemologically (reminding, revealing their agonies from academic-cultural and class of academicians), it is avoided to make “pornography of poverty” from an obscene view, especially with definitions and photographs of illnesses, unhappiness, as underlined by Erdoğan (2002). Being photographed is both desired and not by dwellers. The photographs are both considered as signs of their “survival” in this quarter, a way for being “popular” and a threat for being accused and stigmatized. It is intentionally chosen to not underline the poverty and mainly focused on the creative and resistance potential and its characteristics in the quarter. They talk about their representations in the press both by being proud of themselves and by complaining from their situation in legal authorities’ view. This aspect will be elaborated in the chapter related to representation in the press.

The information is conveyed after a period of knowing each other based on another kind of relationship. During the interviews, they underlined that they give information which they do not give to anybody since they consider me as “their sister” gaining their trust. Moreover, they would like to see their resistance in a research which will immortalize it. They said also that they would continue their

⁸⁷ The examination of TV programmes which are burdened with a “helping” mission of Erdoğan points out another representation in the media. The programmes namely *Deniz Feneri* with its helping team, *Yaşamın Kıyısında*, *Yarımlar Umut Olsun* with simulation of “hızır” create another sphere and discourse for poverty, hidden agonies, which became spectacle objects. Apart from dwellers who do not want to be represented in these programmes, those who obtain opportunities are feeling intensive unhappiness. According to Erdoğan, they are the most incapable group in inspecting their own representation in the TV.

relations with me, not ending after this research, not wanting to be forgotten. In the analysis, despite of the attempts to break the boundaries of otherness, there is naturally a distance between them. The analysis should consider the statement of Gramsci –selections from the prison notebooks- which points out the heterogeneous and weird components of their understanding which they change slowly. The equal imagination is pronounced as an embryonic and chaotic way as stated by Gramsci, with statements: We all are humans (Erdoğan, 2002). Even though they would emphasize their potential, they underline that they have no education, and they are ignorant comparing themselves with me. But, still, their mostly emphasized characteristic is their pride, avoiding from despising themselves. When they talk about their lives, they said that they are like stories, novels which could make me cry. Their attitude towards politics is a distanced one. Even though they criticize the politicians, they are pessimistic for the elections.

The methodology is based on the construction of solidarity with people as study object, with a desire for solidarity beyond that of objectivity, referring to Gutiérrez⁸⁸ (in: Erdoğan, 2002), who underlines listening to poor and being friend with them. Since it is clear that the interviews are made in the relations of domination due to the impossibility of “being as one” and of “fusing”, even though there are an approach, an approximate position between them in the empiric field study. On the other hand, exalting romantization about them as subjects who reached their own reality is another mistake. Bourdieu (in: Erdoğan, 2002) and Charlesworth (in: Erdoğan, 2002) underlined the intrusion made in the social asymmetry in the field means also a symbolic violence (Considering as something to be revealed, discovered) and epistemic violence (Imposing questions from the academic, cultural, class world of academician, researcher which reveals their hidden agonies) which could be lessened with active and methodic listening. The hegemonic practices with every day life practices as a whole must be examined (Erdoğan, 2002).

⁸⁸ This does not mean a legalization and making innocent representatively with this attitude, for Erdoğan.

7. 2. Socio-demographic Information for Eyüp

The importance of Eyüp rests on several reasons varying from historical, natural, to religious and touristic due to its early residential characteristic, the presence of rivers Alibeyköy and Kagıthane, and the tombs and the mosque Eyüp Sultan, with its area until the borders of the Black sea. Eyüp has its legal borders from the central area which are Şişli, Beyoğlu to the summer places of Istanbul namely Çatalca and Küçükçekmece. It is also surrounded by Bayrampaşa and Kagıthane which are in turn in order, central development area of the city and middle and working classes' residential areas.

The population of Eyüp is 255 912⁸⁹, according to the census data of 2000. Its area is 242 km², being neighbor to the quarters Zeyinburnu, Bayrampaşa and Gaziosmanpaşa, constituting of 20 neighborhoods which are Eyüp sultan Merkez, Nişanca, Defterdar, Düğmeciler, İslambey, Rami Cuma, Topçular, Rami Yeni, Silahtarağa, Sakarya, Alibeyköy Merkez, Esentepe, Karadolap, Yeşilpınar, Akşemsettin, Çırçır, Güzeltepe and Emniyettepe and 8 villages which are Mimar Sinan, Mithatpaşa, Göktürk, Akpınar, Ağaçalı, Çiftalan, Ihsaniye, Işıklar, Odayeri, Pirinççi, Yayla.

The population according to the census data of 1997, the population is 249 662. The speed of increase of population was 25.8% between the years 1990-1997, being less than of Istanbul which is 34.54% ("Eyüp Dönüşüm Sürecinde" pursued by Yıldız Technical University, 2000).

According to the information for the education of census of population of the year 2000, the population of Eyüp Center of District is 210 904 (106 678 Men, 104 226 Women). The number of people who are illiterate is 14 921 (3 201 Men, 92 500 Women) and the total of literate is 195 975 (103 475 Men, 92 500 Women). The

⁸⁹ According to the census of population of 2000, for the center of the district, the male population is 119 227 and the female, 115 889 with a totality of 235 116 people. The villages have a population of 20 796, having a male population which is 11 711 and the female one, 9 085 people.

number of people having not school completed is 41 539 (20 355 Men, 21 184 Woman) and who are graduated at least primary school is 154 411 (83 119 Men, 71 292 Women). People graduated from higher education is 9 046 (5 542 Men, 3 504 Woman).

The heterogeneity of the population is reflected in the different characteristic of its residential areas. Eyüp is one of the most populated gecekondu areas of Istanbul since 1950s in an increasing percentage. Especially, the 1950s is a period which is characterized by the construction of early gecekondu neighborhoods near Haliç and Kagıthane, because of the presence of industrial areas. In 1960s, with the increasing industrialization, including Küçükköy, Alibeyköy and Kagıthane apart from Eyüp, Rami and Gaziosmanpaşa, Eyüp had been shaped by its own and its neighbor areas transformations.

It is necessary to underline that with increasing tendency of industrial decentralization, the attempts of sanitization of Haliç polluted by mentioned industrial activities –especially by the 1980s, removal of the industrial foundations-, and the growing historical protection decisions and projects for its historical areas, the social structure and the role of Eyüp have changed significantly. However, it still preserves its central industrial position at the third rank in Istanbul, after Emnönü and Beyoğlu. The spatial development has shifted to the periphery of the expressway TEM and peripheral natural areas. Another critical determination of the study pursued of Yıldız Technical University in 2000, is the close relationship between the choices of housing near to the industrial areas (“Eyüp Dönüşüm Sürecinde” pursued by Yıldız Technical University, 2000).

According to the investigations for analytical report, pursued by Yıldız Teknik University Dwellers of Eyüp are mostly discontent with the problems related to infrastructure, pollution of environment and the smell of Haliç (Information gathered from the study namely “Eyüp Dönüşüm Sürecinde” pursued by Yıldız Technical University, 2000).

However, because of the heterogeneous characteristics of Eyüp, and the absence of Güzeltepe in the general evaluations for Eyüp, part from general characteristics of the gecekondu areas, it is necessary to evaluate the socio-demographic characteristics of Eyüp compared with Güzeltepe.

7. 3. Where is Güzeltepe?

Güzeltepe is mainly a gecekondu neighborhood, on one of the hills of Eyüp like the neighborhoods namely Emniyet Tepesi and Esentepe. It has social housing in its neighborhood boundaries. The neighborhood's location is critical in terms of two reasons. The former is related to its proximity to the main transportation axe, the international highway namely TEM constructed in the 1980s and the presence of AKOM which is the center of coordination in case of a natural disaster. According to the dwellers, apart from these reasons mentioned above, the soil of the neighborhood is "resistant" for a possible earthquake in Istanbul. In the future, according to the statements of dwellers, the neighborhood with new housing constructions could be similar to Levent. Güzeltepe, in Eyüp district, has also a location near Haliç coasts and "Miniatürk" which is the new touristic and cultural activity center. The latter one is its leftist heritage coming from its emergence, its early years populated with workers active in the early worker movements in Turkey and its location near to Nurtepe and Gazi Neighborhood (*Mahallesi*). The tension in Nurtepe is appeased by authorities according to leftist groups. However, Nurtepe –like the center of the groups and their activities which are absent in Güzeltepe- and Gazi are still considered "dangerous" neighborhoods. For dwellers, Güzeltepe has importance in terms of the formation of the "dangerous ensemble" constituted by Güzeltepe, Nurtepe and Gazi.

7. 4. Socio- demographic information for Güzeltepe neighborhood

Before starting to expose numerical information of the neighborhood, it is crucial to underline that the information is lacking, incomplete for the whole of the Güzeltepe population. The headman complains from this situation which he related to the "ignorance" of the inhabitants. According to the information of the headman's office

(*muhtarlık*) and oral history revealed from interviews, Güzeltepe is one of the neighborhoods of Eyüp which dates back 35-37 years. The population is 25 959 people according to the headman's office statements and according to the data of the general census of the year 2000, 22 October is 20 527. The male population is 13 171, with a percentage of 50, 74 and the female population is 12 788, with a percentage of 49, 26.

According to the data of the headman's office and the headman Mustafa Demir, educational data is "valid merely for 1524 people." The percentage of people who are illiterate is 0, 29 (5 people), who know merely reading and writing is 1, 96 (34 people), who are certificated from primary school is 52, 69 (801 people), from junior high school is 15, 14 (221 people), from high school is 23, 97 (375 people) and from university is 5, 95 (88 people). According to the data of the headman, the working population is 5217 people. 737 people of this population are categorized as being from various professional groups. There are 2354 people who are workers and 2126 people whose profession are flexible and variable, which is categorized in the data as "free" in Turkish usage (*serbest meslek*).

For the cities of origin, from which the dwellers come to Istanbul, the numbers point out Sivas with a percentage of 21, 28 (5524 people) and Erzurum with 5, 86 (1521 people). In fact, young generation which is born in Istanbul has a percentage of 12, 40 (32 219 people). The other cities of origin are Erzincan (1451 people with a percentage of 5, 59), Giresun (812 people, with a percentage of 3, 13), Kars (520 people, with a percentage of 2), Muş (583 dwellers, with a percentage of 2, 25), Ordu (815 dwellers, with a percentage of 3, 14), Samsun (698 dwellers, with a percentage of 2, 69) and Tokat (355 dwellers, with a percentage of 5, 22). Another statistic is related to the possession of house. The dwellers possessing their own house have a population of 25 959. In other words, this number equivalent to the number of population points out that every dweller possesses their houses. This statistic also seems to be "incorrect". However, for gecekondü, it could be said that the tenants' population decreased significantly after demolition in the neighborhood.

For the families suffering from general economic predicament of Turkey, according to observations pursued in the field study, “poverty-in-turn”⁹⁰ could not be mentioned as an accurate explanation in the neighborhood since there is nobody for taking turns without economic support of “hemşehri” associations or new comers as renters in the neighborhood. It is located near to the factory of Ülker, however, the factory of iron-steel which was demolished was the main working area of the quarter in the time. The resistance was determinant in the early times of the quarter, even in the foundation of their association. Streets of Nurtepe near Güzeltepe is called “Çayan”, from the revolutionary figure Mahir Çayan in 1970s, 15-16 June worker movement. The early gecekondus were that of revolutionists according to dwellers. There is an agglomeration of neighborhood Nurtepe, Gazi and Güzeltepe and it was one of the location of the revolutionary movements in 1980s, 1985s, according to the statements of dwellers. Güzeltepe could be analyzed as a little city, having heterogeneous characteristics. Even within gecekondu dwellers, there is social heterogeneity besides the diversity in social houses.

Eyüp which is thought to be a more conservative neighborhood, Güzeltepe involves heterogeneities. Even though it was mainly an Alevi neighborhood, in time, especially with the presence of the social housings, it shows mainly a heterogeneous aspect as mentioned above. This study does not directly lie upon the Alevi issue; however, due to the city of origin which is mainly Sivas, it is partially observed in the neighborhood. Being Alevi does not create a difference in the quarter according to the statements of Alevi and non-alevi dwellers, if it is compared with other quarters labeled with this sect. It is questioned in the quarter; since as stated above, it is mainly populated with people migrated from Sivas. Alevi dwellers said that there is no discrimination of religion in the quarter; however, it became a difference when they accepted the aid of AKP. Only in Istanbul, they came to realize the difference of sects as Alevi, Sunni since in Sivas, their city of origin, these two sects are not very much differentiated derived from their anecdotes of *imsak* and *iftar* prepared and shared all-together. The religious place, cemevi is located in Nurtepe. For young

⁹⁰ Nöbetleşe yoksulluk (Poverty-in-turn) in Turkish of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001)

people, according to the insufficient observation, it could be mentioned a tendency of not appropriating being Alevi. Working women are employed in the workshops as seasonal workers; since they would not be far away from their houses and their families, be in the acquaintance places without spending time and money for transportation. The city of origin of most of the dwellers is Sivas; the meaning of community continued to be a binding force, however; the “nostalgic” solidarity of place, hometown does not play primarily determinant role in the quarter. In Istanbul also, the hometown organizations of Sivas are the most widespread one (Pérouse, 2005). It is necessary to refrain from romanticizing the roles of these organizations. It could be even stated that they have almost no role in solving the problems of dwellers. In the quarter, the beautification association (*Güzelleştirme Derneği*) like that of Gazi and of Gülsuyu, have political connotation as mentioned above, even considered as “illegal” in the documents of the security forces. It is currently closed by legal authorities. The beautification association was active in the resistance; however, equally or being less than other groupings. For instance, some beautification associations like of 1 May quarter have history of struggle, being founded by leading political figures in the neighborhood. The association of Gülsuyu had a central role for an organized resistance against projects. The associations of these mentioned quarters were active in the organization and the permanency of the resistance, and even founded with an aim of collective organization in the demolition resistance, like that of Sulukule, a roman quarter undergone urban renewal project and its demolition. The associations of Güzeltepe remain broken off the dwellers because of their lacking characteristic of integration, solidarity and organization. The hometown organizations, especially of Sivas (the village of Akkaya, of Ulaş-Demircilik) in the quarter is not an association which is the invisible hand for the Güzeltepe owners, for instance, in finding employment in the city. It helps, but not in a *gratis* way, but as a debt. It gains a more supportive role for illnesses, orphans; however, it could not surpass its character of being a place where weddings, circumcision are taking place. Their community ties and their closeness come from their city of origin gaining a solidarity role when the concerns, problems are commonly shared. It is crucial to mention that with neoliberal policies, the state quits its responsibilities vis-à-vis the society, is the community, “cemaat”. The solidarity

based on origin as survival strategies is corroded and the resources are more and more impoverished (Şen, 2002).

The nostalgia for village of origin, the will and the “impossibility” of returning to their villages got more entrenched with deepening feeling especially with the clearance of their “village houses in the city”. It is not romanticizing; but an inference from their statements; they’re unhappy since they consider social housing as a “cage”, a “prison”. Gecekondu indeed matches well with their nostalgic image of their village of origin; whereas the apartment housing concretized as social housing which is proposed as a model of ordered life does not conform to the “ideal life”.

The sign of collective work (*imece*) that is perceived in the early constructions of gecekondu render its literate meaning that is being built in one night. However, in the quarter, the families helping each other are the ones who have near kinship. For instance, in a life history of a family, the kinship relations were determinant in finding the place, entering to the quarter and building the housing which widen with the growing population of the families and the new revenues of the children who find jobs.

The gathering of women does not occur around religious concerns; even though they practice their religious duties, only death or births gather them around religious “mevlit”. There is not a constraint over women, apart from “rumor” which they consider as “natural”. Women⁹¹’s first will is the education of their children, based on their belief in meritocracy. The use of internet and the possession of computer are widespread in the quarter due to the children. The bad conditions of health and life are the most critical problems of the quarter exacerbated by poverty. After demolition in the neighborhood, a public health center (*sağlık ocağı*) is under

⁹¹ For an analysis for “working” women, please examine Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2001) Cömert “Abla”ların Sadık “hanım”ları Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınları, Su Yayınları.

construction and the pharmacies that are indeed rented gecekondus with high prices of 700-800 YTL (approximately 375 Euros) per month.

Hacı Arif Bey (İlkokulu), Şehit Kubilay (İlköğretim) and Şainname are schools of the neighborhood. There are two “kıraathane”(coffee house for men of the neighborhood) with another social meeting point is the billiard saloon and internet coffee houses. The associations are in general “hemşehri” (being from the same city of origin) associations of Sivas. However, one of them “The Association of war with poverty” (*Fakirlikle Savaş Derneği*) was always closed during my field studies and also unknown for dwellers of Güzeltepe. In Güzeltepe, there was a private village clinic; a new construction of a public one near to the social housings is started. There are many real estate agents. Internet coffees, “kahvehane” (coffee houses for men) and slogans painted on the houses’ walls were main spatial characteristics of the neighborhood.

One of the most interesting prices was that for selling gecekondus. Gecekondus were sold and rented like other type of housing. In locality of Silahtar in the neighborhood, a gecekondus of 76 m² has a price of 40 000 YTL. A building land with construction permission of 306 m² has a value of 160 000 YTL. What is interesting is that urban areas with construction permission and gecekondus are sold with the mediation of real estate agencies in the neighborhood.

7. 5. Official approach

7.5.1. Official interviews

What was interesting in the interviews with officials was the common ignorant attitude to Güzeltepe and to the demolition area in the neighborhood. The questions received quiet ambiguous answers; as if the issue constituted to be high stake of the state. Especially in the office of the “Directorate of Gecekondus and Accommodation” (*Gecekondus Mesken Müdürlüğü*) of Istanbul Municipality, a tensed atmosphere was reigning. I was accused of and interrogated for the reasons why I was interested in this neighborhood, how I could know the exact number of

demolished gecekondu which he could not know in the neighborhood by the office of “Plan, Project and Etude” (*Plan, Proje, Etüd*). The director of the office stated that this “gecekondu” area was the area of preventing gecekondu and reserved to be planned. The illegal position of the area and the new “planned” situation (spatial decisions for this area of preventing gecekondu) are underlined points. Decisions for this area are blurred and not determined according to the statements of the office “Plan, Project and Etude”. The redevelopment project remains unknown, while asserting the difficulty of planning practice and implications, the office stated that the plan of scale 1/5000 was firstly accepted, and then cancelled. The area of demolition is reserved to the commerce by zoning; however, there is not any legal decision yet.

Eyüp Municipality was more amicable and clear in its explanations. It stated that demolition area was reserved in line with the decisions of *Gecekondu Mesken* of Istanbul Municipality, as a *Gecekondu Preventing Area*. The restoration of historical buildings aims to reveal the cultural heritage of the quarter. This restoration was supported by reserved funds in the budget of municipality, since the main framework of the planning stems from the very attempt of making Eyüp, a “cultural center”.

There are two main valid plans, currently which are the Conservation Plan (1979) and the *Imar* Plan (1997). In the planning office, they are working on 1/500 sections of the 1/5000 scaled plan. Another prevalent planning vision is related to urban regeneration. They prefer to use urban regeneration, instead of using the concept urban renewal, since in legal procedures it is urban regeneration which is mainly used. Yeşilpınar, one of the neighborhoods of Eyüp, is thought to be reserved area, for future developments, it will host new constructions as a result of the urban regeneration. The planning office of Eyüp Municipality stated that they have not decided yet between *TOKİ* and *Gecekondu Mesken* for the collaboration in the project. The planning of Eyüp, with its touristic (cable railway) and maritime transportation innovations (between Eyüp and Üsküdar and Eyüp and Kadıköy), and other infrastructural and historical renovations, new cultural centers like Sütlüce, Feshane, Santral of Bilgi University, historical Mevlevihane and tombs is in a

nostalgia of its old “golden” times, aiming to be a cultural center of Istanbul as a future prospect.

Another official person, headman is against the protests, different from the headmen of other “renewed” quarters. People who demonstrate are from other “illegal” quarters, as provocateurs that harm the dwellers’ situation. He said that he plays an intermediary role between dwellers and the Directorate of Gecekondu and Accommodation.

7.5.2. The Government and the Municipality in the demolition process

For Eyüp, Güzeltepe, the Istanbul Municipality in its internet site informs about evacuation of 15 gecekondu in the street Yenibayır which were on “their possessed area”, and “paying their equivalent values to gecekondu dwellers” which is based on a discourse of an unordered urbanization. The architects whose plans would be realized in some urban renewal areas are seen as bringing remedy for “created problems”. The foreign characters of professionals are used for the legalization of projects. The relocation is practiced as a gathering of different gecekondu in some determined social housing areas without thinking its diverse consequences. The demolition of gecekondu is stated as great leap forward in urban transformation of Istanbul or actions of which they are proud of the place deserted is thought to be a shopping center, but according to the rumors in the quarter, it would change completely the character of Güzeltepe with villas constructions. The urban renewal projects of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area Municipality are endorsed by the government and different groups of the same political party or same approaches for “gecekondu”. In his early reportages, the Istanbul Municipality mayor Kadir Topbaş considers illegal construction as a result of political vacuum at the beginning of his service. The main actors of the urban renewal/regeneration are the government, the Metropolitan Municipality (*Gecekondu ve Mesken Müdürlüğü*), the municipality of Eyüp, TOKİ and IMP.

The area where 11 gecekondus were demolished is planned to be a “cultural center” which will be constructed by TOKİ. It is also thought that they would have a rental value. The social housing legislation, by its application since 1981, has always been to the advantage of the upper middle and upper classes. TOKİ, in this urban renewal project plays a key role. Social housing projects pursued in several districts are proposed as a panacea yet, continuous request with “forms” like petition to the municipality persists even though they are refused. The general idea of dwellers of the neighborhood is that demolition would continue and be realized in time both for Güzeltepe and other cities.

The quarter’s land was on “Vakıf”; however it changed “hand” and became the property of the Metropolitan Municipality. The information of demolition was sent to dwellers six months ago. Dwellers of Güzeltepe are accusing themselves for signing the documents because of their fear of losing their right of dwelling. Some of the renters do not vacate their house for gaining the right of possessing a social housing; their petitions written to the municipality remained unaccepted. Officials, in that period and recently came to their home, asking questions; nevertheless, dwellers could not even ask the reason of such an investigation.

The first visit to the quarter, it is observed the armchairs as residues of destruction were outside. The dwellers were complaining that after having received equivalence 18000 YTL (approximately 9400 Euro) for their gecekondus, they were in debt for 20 years, in general. For dwellers possessing more than one gecekondus, the equivalent value increased whereas the debt years were decreasing. Another important remark in this situation is that the extra gecekondus ownership does not indicate a wealth; however, these housings were inhabited by populated families or children’s new families. The regulation had adverse consequences as some families could not have right for social housings, according to the statements and observations in the neighborhood. The social housing will be elaborated under another subtitle; however, as an initial remark; it could be stated that relocation in small houses rather than in their gecekondus built in gardens is not an equal exchange according to Güzeltepe dwellers.

There are individual requests of “rights” from the municipality; yet the municipality stigmatizes those right-seeking dwellers as “terrorist”⁹² because of the protests even though they have not actively participated. Being a dweller of the quarter has led to an accusation of governments, municipalities.

7. 6. The Resistance

The day before demolition, the police closed the way to the so-called “dangerous” quarters namely *Gazi* and *Nurtepe*. Especially, for gecekondü owners, participation to the protests remains at the individual level, especially if their own gecekondü is under the threat of demolition. One day before demolition, the organizations, especially *HKM* was in the field. The woman responsible of the leftist groups who gives statements especially for the left media for the resistance was the main figure. The politically allied youth and renters inhabited the bus station. There were civil policemen who were watching the organization. In this evening and other evenings after the demolition, the *Güzeltepe* dwellers, political and other organizations, groups and associations gathered especially for *halay çekmek* (Anatolian folk dancing having a political solidarity meaning in this context) around the fire. This atmosphere is generally mentioned by romanticizing, as a good memory of the resistance as solidarity. This day, the police accused the woman for being disloyal to her homeland. According to my interviews, this conversation and accusation frightened the dwellers. Fear created by the police and the employees led to drawback in the resistance and prejudice in the quarter. They said that they love their homeland, country and they would not be “disloyal”. The dwellers add that on the day of demolition, they could not see her. This situation is the most mentioned as an aspect of this day of “war”.

The protests have different dimensions, apart from being on demolition days. They have continued after the clearances of gecekondü, which makes this resistance different from other ones. On 30 July, the statement to the press, the 2 August, the

⁹² For some residents, the others say that they are in “depression” or in a situation of “insanity”.

protest by locking phones of the department of Gecekondu Mesken and the municipality, 6 August, the statements of HKM and on 8 September, the protest in front of the Municipality with support of TMMOB with a heritage of support in the 1970s in gecekondu quarters are some examples of continuation of the protests. On 2 October 2005, a meeting of solidarity for demolition was organized with the support of TMMOB, other professionals, other organizations, especially HKM.

Leftist groups consider this resistance as “wars in different fields”. There is a support from professional organizations; however, it remains insufficient, especially at the moments of demolition. Since, because of their signatures in legal papers which indicate their “acceptance”, the “legal” struggle dimension could not be applied. There is also a struggle for the comparison of support in the left media and between leftist organizations.

Some dwellers, though not directly affected by demolition also involved in the resistance; since their political and “humanitarian” position led them to react as they put it. They said that the “revolutionary soul” died in the neighborhood in time and because of the newcomers in the social houses. According to them, this is what municipality and government intended to achieve. They added that it is more appropriate to study another neighborhood Derbent’s resistance due to its constant, unified, and “revolutionary” resistance. For this group, Güzeltepe resistance is not a success, despite it is proposed to be. It is a failure for the left underlined in their statements, if the resistance, the benefits are to be evaluated, even though they state that it was a great success immediately after the end of resistance.

People involved in the resistance highlight also various tensions. Especially, they underlined that the tenants have chosen these houses intentionally, and they have rented in recent period, after municipality demolition decisions. Consequently, the tenants, according to dwellers involved in the resistance are different from Derbent, Okmeydanı and Aydos. They added that they are in “bad conditions” implying their conditions of life, however, they were aware of the process and they have chosen to

live or not to leave with an expectation of possessing a house at the end of the demolition.

7. 6. 1. Is there a “homogenous” resistance? Two parts in one front

Güzeltepe was one of the areas of urban renewal in Istanbul. The leftist groups were assuming that if they were successful in the resistance of Güzeltepe, it would be encouraging for other areas of operation. In the resistance history, Güzeltepe has a prominent place. It was, together with its neighbor quarter Nurtepe, the location from where the first worker movement in Turkey, 15-16 June of the year 1970 was supported. Some inhabitants of Güzeltepe underline that those times were “different” with its real revolutionary soul and active resistance.

According to the first observations of Güzeltepe lead to the idea that in Güzeltepe; there was a sense that the struggle was pursued especially by the renters. The gecekondu owners were blaming the renters for worsening the situation and also for being “political”. The owners were accusing them for profiting more than them; since due to their protest; the renters (defined as “Durakkonducu” especially by the media for people staying in the bus stations, instead of gecekondu because of the demolition) received a one-year rent furniture aid from the municipality. The owners stated that because of what the renters gain, their “possible” benefit decreased and failed in a bad situation between “the renters” and “the municipality”. Most of the renters left the quarter; the gecekondu owners are transformed into “social housing” indebted. There is a fear of determination of their protest as political. It could be said that there are divergent sides within the protesting side. Different recruitment reasons and ways of the movement in Güzeltepe are identifiable. In general, the renters are a part of those claiming “political right claiming”. People affected and non-affected by demolition have “political fear”; and this fear of being “considered as political” mainly affects and determine recruitment in the resistance.

Even if it considered this resistance stems from a homogenous problem, and consequently as a “unified”, “homogeneous” protest, there are some revolts and tensions in the movement indeed possess a heterogeneous character. (Between gecekondu owner and renter, between gecekondu owner and the other political groupings and “organizers”, between gecekondu owners and the social houses’ dwellers⁹³ -in fact, after the renewal activity, the gecekondu owners are also relocated into social houses) The study encounters “tension” at various levels; apart from tension within gecekondu dwellers (concretized especially for the concerning subject, gecekondu resistance which will be elaborated), there is also a tension between dwellers of social housings and gecekondu dwellers. Especially, dwellers of old social housings are accused of not paying anything for accommodation and social infrastructure. These two parts could also be elaborated as in three; since being organized, and having allied to a left organization has created further tension and differences in the resistance and which has also implications for future “consciousness”. Some dwellers of gecekondu, mainly “renters” were already allied to a political organization; therefore, they played an emancipatory role in the organization of resistance before the demolition. The construction of the “other” in the “other” in the “unregulated territories”, underlining the conflict, tension in the gecekondu neighborhood, between those who own and those who are renters, which are thought to be homogenous, similar (Erman, 2003)

To summarize, the field research encountered different groups of dwellers on their attitudes towards resistance. Most of the dwellers who are not affected by the demolition are inactive; remain as “spectators” against others’ struggle. Dwellers of gecekondu whose housings are under threat of demolition were whether active or inactive, were varying extent sympathetic to the resistance. In the active resistance, there are renters and youth who are politically allied to an organization and those who are not and the gecekondu owners. The renters used a class based discourse and

⁹³ In the renewal project, there is a plan for the destruction of the old social housings because of the number of floors which is inadequate. (2 floors) In terms of this, there is rumor which is about the relocation of the residents of these houses, to the new houses which will be built in the recently deserted area. The dwellers of gecekondu which were situated in this area state that they would feel “dead” if a new housing were constructed there. A resident says that she would a garden, park where she also could spend time.

are much more active, more like resistant in the protests. Gecekondu owners considered as the most beneficiary group of the urban renewal, see renters as hindering their right to gain housing rights in much better conditions of quality and paying. There is another aspect which differentiates a renter from a gecekondu owner which is the renter struggles for another housing for cheap rent like in gecekondu or seeks the chance for housing with payment conditions like gecekondu renting, yet the gecekondu owner is generally unwilling to quit his house which is constructed by him/ herself within a garden which he/she shares with all of his relatives. His/her condition also is not a perfect situation; since he has to pay almost all through rest of his life and his passage to the apartment is a “forced” and “indebted” one.

What is critical in this struggle is that this resistance gathered dwellers on a common ground, which was their “natural and constitutional right”. It is acceptable that all of them have gained acquaintance to the class concepts, gained a “relatively” consciousness. However, the leftist groups which organize and other organizations remain insufficient –especially after the demolition- in pursuing their alliances with them. Even in the “war field”, they excluded other dweller of gecekondu, not giving them sufficient information and even expelling them. The grass roots underlined that they are not political. The slogans of leftist groupings which are proposed to memorize, even for children affected dwellers adversely. They consider the police attack “harsh”; however, they say that they “love their country”. The slogans particularly for police force and especially because of the hostility or looking down on leftist groups in the resistance, the “political fear” became more intense. They consider themselves different from “illegal” quarters like Gazi and Nurtepe.

The slogans on the walls are thought and claimed to be written by people coming from Nurtepe and Gazi quarters, at night, “not by the youth of the quarter”, according to the statements of some dwellers. These political slogans of leftist groups have changed through time, according to important historical dates with political connotation and events. The quarter changed its emergent political character through time, through social changes of the quarter and of Turkey via a shift towards

a more “apolitical attitude”. Women said that they do not let their children in the streets of their quarter because of the fear of recruitment in political groups.

The renters, especially due to their precarious situation are those that are the most recruited in the leftist groups. However, for *gecekondu* dwellers, the recruitment remains at the “individual level”. The grassroots’ statement is that they resist for their natural right, underlining that they do not constitute a group of political parties. They stated that they are with “right” people, for the defense of their right, not supporting any political view.

Continuous help and support during the resistance, especially for the life in bus stations, were supplied by these political groups, not by *hemşehri* associations. In general, they specifically underline that they are not political and they fight and resist for the “natural” right of dwelling.

7.6.2. A leading figure

T. was spokesman during the resistance and the most popular figure in the media. Even though he emphasized his independent position, not as having allied to a political group in the interview, his intermediary position between organizing, and supporting political groups is critical to understand the spokesman position in the media and in other platforms for representing dwellers of Güzeltepe. At the beginning of the interview, he mentioned the atmosphere reigning in Güzeltepe and in his relations with other dwellers. After demolition, his position is like that of an enemy, both for official institutions and for dwellers. He mainly complains about the rumors of him acting on his personal benefit. In the statements in the newspapers as a spokesman, he was defining Güzeltepe resistance as a successful example with its “unified” organization characteristic. However, in the interview, he asserted that the revenues from the resistance was not an achievement with two year rent help and occasional furniture for tenants. Moreover, the split within the renters is still prevalent in the neighborhood and even harsher. Some tenants (three families) are

dwelling in social houses in Ayazağa with a hope to possess these ones in the future. Others in precarious situation who did not deal with officials still change their houses continuously. In the study period, the constant atmosphere was moving houses and it was still valid until October 2006. Young members of HKM were like a team who help them in this similar situation too. T. puts himself in an excluded and different position from other dwellers involved in the resistance and from political approaches, groups even though he was “to a certain extent” related to HKM, by saying that he was “free”. He added that he does not need any help of municipality for accommodation since he possesses three houses. Moreover, he has stronger survival force, compared with others, for instance in the cold which was one of the reasons for the cessation of the protest. He explained the split in the resistance by the distance of dwellers to the political groups in the government. Tenants (three families) near to the political government and municipality had gained social house opportunity. He underlined that if they would have resisted in the cold for a month or demonstrated on the roofs of the social houses as he had proposed to do (“excluding children”, he said.), the resistance could have been more consistent and really successful. In the pretext of being in a shameful situation or of not being frozen to death, the resistance was ceased at its peak point. If the roof protest could have been realizable, it would have been a turning point since it would have been a real collective resistance, including other gecekondur neighborhoods threatened by demolition. He added that he could have called for media channels. He is aware of the force of the media, which make their resistance visible and he is also aware of the interest of media towards Güzeltepe. The real urban regeneration could be realized by dwellers themselves, for him. For instance, the EU funds are relevant sources for this project. He said that even though he graduated from junior high school, he could propose a future for Istanbul with “real projects of urban renewal”. Another alternative is that Marmara region is thought to be integrated into the EU. For this reason, Istanbul should be cleared from the poor and these projects are the reflections of this idea. He pointed out that Güzeltepe was also crucial due to its contribution to the Turkish vocabulary, *durakkonducu* (people living in the bus stops as their gecekondus were demolished).

The main problem in the neighborhood life and in the resistance is the lack of solidarity. He said that he was very popular and a leading, pioneer figure and he would end this situation because of its future job and life prospects and of the approaches of dwellers. He also mentions the resistance heritage in the 1970s and 1980s of the quarter, even playing a role in its emergence. Nurtepe was a fortress for “revolutionists”. These groups were defending the quarter from demolition even merely with their presence as a threat. He had taken a speech of Atatürk in Bursa and showed some statements which he also had shown to “young revolutionists”. He said that it is necessary to work with arguments and he was working by this way.

In the interview, it is generally mentioned that Güzeltepe was a vacant, frightening area, 30 years ago. In time, it is established near Nurtepe, in a relationship with this neighborhood. Nurtepe is a center for Gazi Neighborhood, Güzeltepe with its political groups’, organizations’ center characteristic. For T., Nurtepe and Güzeltepe were two villages, as their village in the city, like in their hometown, earlier. It has now “became a city” which they could not even imagine twenty years ago.

For him, Güzeltepe was an example of gecekondü resistance which became visible, especially due to its representations in the media. The importance of Güzeltepe is that it became the final point of demolition for a period because of its “popularity” and its protest with a long duration. Like HKM, he added that the officials realized the intensity of the resistance and made a pose, but not a final. In the resistance, there were problems related to the characteristics of Turkish people, not particularly of Güzeltepe.

7.6.3. A political figure

The interview with another dweller from its early period in Güzeltepe and a member of ESP was critical to seize the approach of a “political” inhabitant”. According to him, ancient revolutionary soul, prevailing in every aspect of neighborhood life in old times is not present in these days. However, he underlines that almost every

dweller has an alliance with the “civil society”, like a tradition, which is also stated by the other dwellers. Civil society in their language is a political group, especially having a sub-group or organization in Nurtepe or Alibeyköy.

This dweller mentioned his point of view regarding some of the aims of urban renewal/regeneration. Firstly, the will to change is prevalent in terms of the social profile of the neighborhood for its political characteristics, by authorities. Secondly, the neighborhood was “degenerated purposefully” and now, it is attempted to change these conditions exposing these problems as urban regeneration reasons. It was “no man’s land” for officials, even for police forces. The security of Güzeltepe dwellers was always been an ignored issue; however, if it is said that there are groups who were writing slogans on the walls, police would come immediately.

Thirdly, the “police” will be more effective in the neighborhood with ultra-nationalists (*ülküci*) groups. Near to the newly constructed building for health center (*sağlık ocağı*), establishing a police station was considered. Another critical point was that even though he supports the resistance, he considers the resistance of tenants as “unfair” to some extent, different from Derbent or Okmeydanı/Aydos resistance. The reason behind this idea is that some of the renters became dweller of the neighborhood after demolition decision or decided to continue to live there being informed from this process. According to him, this is related to the expected future benefits after demolition. The first worker movements in Turkey had emerged from this quarter and Nurtepe and one of the early demolitions is realized here. For him, strategic location of Güzeltepe, near to the neighborhoods Nurtepe and Gazi results in its determination as a “social target”. The main aim is the social dissolution of the radical characteristic of the neighborhood via heterogenization with new comers’ relocation in the social houses of the neighborhood. For instance, he mentions a recent will of dwellers, a new mosque, which is a good sign of the success of this aim. He attracts attention to the late resistance for these social houses since Güzeltepe is like a lost castle since the very beginning of the construction of social houses. He added that he was born there and he will bring up his child there and finally he will die in Güzeltepe; since this quarter is built with revolutionary blood.

He mentions also the strategies of municipality, individualizing this issue, collecting signatures from gecekondü after personal negotiations; as future demolition in the projects as stopped due to the resistance, these signatures will make up a crucial part of the public statement in line with municipality interests and will be released to press.

Showing the firstly built gecekondü, he stated that with the inclusion of possession of these houses, the revolutionary soul has died; according to him. This is also the fault of the left, according to him. He underlined that the resistance is not supported by all the tenants; moreover, there is not a unified contrary position shared by all the gecekondü owners. Harsh attack to the police also created sympathy for people involved in the resistance. The tenants' over benefit seeking position influenced the recruitment. He added that he and his group had proposed to occupy the social houses after demolition period; however, dwellers were afraid of the withdrawal of rent help by the municipality. The mere strategy of using the constitutional right or human rights related to European Court of Human Rights was not appropriate to the resistance.

7.6.4. Red in the movement

Red is mainly correlated with “socialism”, “revolution”, “blood of the workers”, the “suffering of the proletariat”, the color of the flag, maps of political parties, in general from Left and with Leftist radical groups. There are also expressions and definitions related to “red quarters”. It has also psychological effects and feelings like danger, passion. In Turkey, “*kızıl*”, bright red, generally refers to being alevi or “communist rebel”.

Red was for Güzeltepe resistance, the color stigmatized with representation in the media and mainly used in the demonstrations in the clothes and masks. The anecdote related to the color told by a dweller and grassroots activist, is interesting. This woman during demolition period addressed one day to the municipality for

discussing the social housing conditions. However, apart from its active position in defending her dwelling right, it is accused of being “terrorist” because of red ribbon for her hair. She merely said she loves wearing red and she is not silly to wear intentionally red in this institution.

7.6.5. Variety in the left

Some of the dwellers said that everyone in the neighborhood has an alliance with the “civil society”. Civil society in this term is used like a group, organization mainly political, even considered as illegal by legal authorities. TAYAD is an organization dealing primarily with F typed prisons, whose main resistance is the “fast to death”, associated with “Fundamental Rights and Freedoms Associations” (*Temel hak ve Özgürlükler Derneği*). Their location is the historical core of the neighborhood, currently, Nurtepe. They insist on the “Çayan”’s reference to Mahir Çayan, as mentioned above. It plays an important role at the physical center of the neighborhood Nurtepe, the early one which leads to the establishment of Güzeltepe. The members, who had represented a critical position in the resistance, were also members of the beautification association. Even though the organization gave support to Okmeydanı protest against urban renewal, according to some points of view, members who were included in the Güzeltepe resistance are excluded from TAYAD. Members that are interviewed used a normalizing jargon for demolition, comparing life in Güzeltepe with that of Levent. Mostly mentioned aspect was the media’s representation and stigmatizing position (as varoş) especially for Kasımpaşa, and Okmeydanı protests.

ESP (The platform of the oppressed/*Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu*) is the other platform which had played active role in the resistance. The members of this organization are imprisoned, especially after the demolition resistance, according to the statement of its member. This platform, more exactly its members were a part of the Güzeltepe beautification association which is currently closed due to its illegal activities. This beautification association was in the list of illegal associations of the

police. The media of ESP, namely Atılım also plays one of the leading roles in the organization and the support of the resistance. ESP is also the political group to which the dwellers of the neighborhood are mostly allied.

HKM (Public Centers of Culture/*Halk Kültür Merkezleri*) is a political organization mainly active since 2003. It is defined by its members as a center which is created in the lack of opportunities. It is mainly confused with cultural centers, especially of the municipality. HKM is located in Alibeyköy, which is a central district for Güzeltepe, Nurtepe and Gazi neighborhoods. It became especially active in the demolition resistance, in organizing before and after, and not ceasing to bolster the dwellers. The group is organized especially by young people mainly living in Alibeyköy and Nurtepe. They became also repudiated with this mission. For instance, according to their statements, if one of the gecekondu neighborhoods is affected from demolition or there is a threat to undergo, gecekondu dwellers primarily call for their help. The “çeribaşı” which means the traditional head of the Romans in the quarter of Yahya Kemal, which is a roman quarter, ask them for their support. This resistance had stirred great attention, especially from foreign media. The “çeribaşı” used HKM flag behind him, during the statements in the media. It is a very different example, since it is not a frequent situation, a Roman neighborhood calling a left political organization for the help. Indeed, it is the organization which attaches the most importance to the dwelling problems, actively, in terms of support and activism in the streets and in the press with their review *Barikat or Socialist Barricade (Sosyalist Barikat)*. *Barikat* is an important example for alternative media. It is available on the net, apart from being printed. HKM complained about the representations of resistance in the media, especially about ridiculing and mediating the reactions of the Romans as people who dance (do belly dance), accepting immediately proposed money for the exchange of their houses. Güzeltepe, according to the members of HKM, due to its representation in the media, was an example with its character “before, during and after” periods. However, for people who are involved in the resistance from HKM, another resistance, that one in Derbent was more important due to its unified and total resistance as one body during hours. They added in the interview, that the organization thought it to be a rough summer with total

demolition all over the city. However, they said that the authorities are afraid of organized resistance all over Istanbul's gecekondu quarters.

From the memories from Güzeltepe resistance, the primary scene was the failure of the first attack of police and officials because of the organized character of resistance with well-established barricades. The symbol of HKM, the barricade, became the first sign of their success. However, the second demolition attack of the officials was much more prepared. Numerically, according to their statements, there were 30 buses of polices for 30 persons present in the resistance. The barricades were still well prepared, even though demolition area was in the carousel, intersection of various roads. The failure was, according to HKM because of the fact that some dwellers in the resistance opened the barricade after being convicted by the police and officials. The officials individualized the problem, by talking sincerely with dwellers who are afraid of being against state's police or who had dealt on social housing opportunity. According to members of HKM, it was the main difference between Derbent and Güzeltepe, which makes Derbent a successful example of resistance. This split was an early sign of the failure since the real separation is experienced after demolition, especially during the negotiation process with municipalities, mentioning three tenant families living in social housing in Ayazağa, different from other renters. The most critical attack from officials, apart from physical ones was the accusation of the responsible from HKM, of being outside the quarter; despite its presence and even organization of the resistance. The resistance, to sum up, with the acknowledgement of Güzeltepe case as not a complete achievement, was successful with the relative gains of its tenants, with its popular image encouraging other threatened demolition areas.

7. 7. The Results of relocation

The relocation appears as a “complicated and multi-faceted” issue. One of the serious problems is the insufficient relocation. Especially for the renters, the relocation was “the” problem and the main reason for the resistance of Güzeltepe.

The relocation is realized by disregarding the distance to friends and relatives. Consequently, social and cultural repercussion is another point. The functional community feature could change because of the relocation policy as scattering throughout new districts, far from social and familial ties and the support if it is insufficient. Another repercussion, the “political” one is related to the removal of the Residents’ Association. The new apartments and the housing project became a target of complaints about the spatial organization with the identical character of the buildings. The transportation difficulties with its economic dimension can also be cited among negative implications of the relocation.

There were two types of rehousing to the social housing. In fact, right to have-more exactly twenty years in-debtedness to pay the costs- a social housing is related to the possession of *gecekondu*. Other dwellers, namely, the renters, are relocated in social housing outside Güzeltepe. The relocation of the *gecekondu* renters who do not choose to benefit from the rent aid was into another social housing area, in Ayazağa, under unfavorable conditions.

The rumors for future demolition, possible projects for deserted areas continue in the *kahvehane* (coffee houses for men). Dwellers, both renters and *gecekondu* owners are restless, waiting for an employee coming for announcement of the demolition. Besides this restlessness, the protests or organizations in a possible demolition seem to be appeased.

Three families of the tenants (one of them involved in the resistance) affected from demolition are relocated into the Ayazağa social houses. These families were accused from disloyalty of the resistance, having negotiated with municipality, with the expectation of possessing these houses in the future; even though these ones are not in good condition. Another point is the control of the officials from municipality to check whether they dwell in these houses or not.

If working women are relocated in social housing areas outside Güzeltepe or compelled to move, it will create further difficulties related especially to their

employment; since working women prefer to be employed in the workshops as seasonal workers near to their houses and their families in acquainted places, without spending time and money for transportation.

Another dimension of social housing in the urban renewal process is the clustering of all the “gecekondu” in some social housing areas. For instance, the dwellers of Güzeltepe are afraid of being in the same quarter of social housing with a “dweller of Sulukule”, who is stigmatized by “drugging” and other “illegal” activities (the Other of the Other as defined by Erman, 2003) by them.

7.7.1. Gecekondu versus social housing

Tenant of social housing lives in a constructed world. He/she can neither tear down the walls, nor can they leave their residues upon the highway. He/she lives without a trace. The residues left behind are only notches-and there are all washed away. Whatever left behind will be thrown away like garbage. From its designation as a common space for settlements onwards; the environment has started to be perceived as a resource for providing garage for people, goods and cars. Social housing is rendering its tenants “roomlets” to settle down. (Illich, 1992 in: Robert, 1999).

The social housing in terms of urban renewal is critical since it is a forced process, different from “apartmentization” (*apartmanlaşma*) in the gecekondu context, underlining both a will and an upward social mobility. Moreover, it clarifies various tension groups, differences in so-called single resistance. The field study observed three groups that are inhabited in the social housing in Güzeltepe. One group is composed of the most deprived, which is generally inhabited by the municipality. These people do not possess their house and even could not afford the rent or other payments in the early houses with two stages. The second group consists of people who dwell in the relatively recent houses. One part of the second group has also some kinship relations with people who dwell in the gecekondu. The third group is made of the newcomers with the demolition of gecekondu in the name of urban renewal project in Güzeltepe; they are the owners of gecekondu and they are in debt

for twenty years for possessing these social housings. Social housings lead to separation of some families or their sharing of these housing with their large families.

“Forced *apartmentization*” is like a creation of another way of exclusion. The urban renewal has started a new era in the gecekondu quarters, gecekondu’s life and gecekondu studies; since the “apartment” in Turkish sense is defined as a part or sign of upward social mobility. This type of “apartment” is a forced process, not an equivalent of the integration into an urban milieu, social mobility, a new desired way of life, and an escape from all the problems of gecekondu. The “proposed” or more exactly “forced” social housing does not conform to the ideal housing image.

Even though they are relocated in social housing of their quarter, the in-debted situation, the abandonment of their housing which is constructed by their labour, the narrowness of the social housing is some of the negative consequences of relocation. The officials thought that all of the dwellers’ expectations conform to the peculiar standards, which could be supplied by social housing. This does not mean that living conditions should remain as they are. However, social housing as a forced process alienates them from their living areas. People are strolling in the ruins of their houses. This picture is not a fictional one, but the very first reality observed in the study field.

Their will of dwelling is not based on a life in apartment. The new neighborhood (or more exactly lack of neighborhood and a continuous feeling of tension) and the narrowness of the apartments were main points of complaint.

CHAPTER VIII

8. REACTIONS TOWARDS URBAN RESISTANCE: VARIOUS REPRESENTATIONS IN NEWSPAPERS

8.1. Introduction

The newspapers are data resources; however, even this primary characteristic could be criticized. They are critical to understand their various and changing approaches in terms of selections of events and description, representation; in other words, their point of view.

The representation and the interpretation of the media also play critical role in the forming process of zero tolerance, for instance with its representations about gecekondu dwellers as people pursuing economic rents, responsible of urban violence and political unrest, particularly for the thesis subject .

Classical bases of journalism have three faces, investigation of the “reality”, and respect towards people and independence which is prerequisite of the profession. The early property relations within journals changed into -not family journals but- capital holders. Information gained a characteristic of commodity, with capital holders’ positions, publicity’s roles for the economic resource of journals (Morresi, 2006). Media is considered as an independent external force for critical thought and discussion; however, state, political parties and capital or media patrons, people who give publicities, and magazine’s prevalence became determinant in the information transmitted by media. Media’s position as an ideological instrument of state (Althusser), for the establishment of consent in the hegemony (Gramsci) became more visible; however, a public space should be independent from market and state

(Tılıç, referring to Habermas cited in Özsever, 2004) for the formation of accurate public opinion (Özsever, 2004).

The press in Turkey could be analyzed in terms of historical periodization, which could be correlated especially with political and economic changes since it is directed or manipulated mainly with power or capital holders. This picture became visible in recent periods, even though it is began since the 1990s. A big patron presence, in his “media empire” both in the press and in the visual media, forms a monopoly. However, the monopolization and the capital sovereignty became determinant in the 1980s. The 12 of September had affected also press, like everything in Turkey. The 12 of September has settled limits on free expression, leading to the legislation of the 11 November 1983, making press dependant on government (Koloğlu, 2006) and depolitization (Özsever, 2004). Economic decisions of the 24 January 1980 directing Turkey into liberal economic policies (Koloğlu, 2006) played also a determinant role.

Another point was the increase in cost of journal paper, in other words, the regulation of costs according to free market. The publicities, advertisements were becoming main sources for survival and consequently; distribution of advertisement between journals was determining journals’ future lives (Koloğlu, 2006). The publicity directors became the second person after the editors (Özsever, 2004). The period from the end of the 1980s and until the 1990s was signaling another period in journalism; in other words, “coupon” and promotion journalism. However, this trend also had passed its limits and lead journals to make more loss (Koloğlu, 2006).

In the 1990, the group of Uzan which is a capital owner family, had broken the state monopoly and founded a private TV channel, apart from their other investments and finally entered to the written media world with their journal, Star. The figure Cem Uzan has also become a political party leader (Özsever, 2004). However, its rise is prevented by investigations because of his illegal activities. In the beginning of the 1990s, the groups Hürriyet, Medya, İhlas, Doğan, Asil Nadir and Tercüman were apparent in the media sector. Between the 1980s and the 1990s, even journals with a

laic approach were organizing promotions for sending people to “hadj” (Koloğlu, 2006) like a commodity promotion. Religious communities’ media both written and audio-visual, became the most powerful and effective corporations. In the mid 1990s, old traditional press possessors lost their position in the media world since media became a beneficial sector in itself and also for other areas (Özsever, 2004) and capital owners decided to be active in this sector. The 1980s and the 1990s, the relationship between media and politics lead to dealings in that media as a powerful gun making in turn economic opportunities, and consequently, media became a tool for marketing activities in the media centers in İkitelli. From the 2000s, the main remained group was that of Doğan (Özsever, 2004). Leftist journals and other kinds of press were disappearing increasingly because of the expensive costs in a survival position within liberal atmosphere. Cumhuriyet, Aydınlık in the weekly review format and a new journal, Birgün could be mentioned as examples for today’s leftist press. Patrons, owners of the enterprises were increasingly holding determinant roles in the media, with their capital and ownership in the media sector (Koloğlu, 2006).

The journalists have formed alliances with various groups, economic, political, and religious. Especially with the disappearance of some “early owner” patrons because of their various ruins, this monopoly, cartel became defining characteristic of especially visual media, leading to an emergence of Megamedia (in: Tılıç, 2001). However, the press preserves considerably its alternative position. Another aspect is that some legislatures which become an obstacle against freedom of expression and speech prevent critical opinions and emergence of an alternative media. New journalists from upper classes, educated for being suitable for their patrons’ interests, distant from real world, and their mission of giving information (Özsever, 2004). The general atmosphere, especially determined by laws is the restriction of journalists’ freedom of speech and expression, changing their relationship with the state. Their “disappearing” and imprisonment were considerably prevailing in the end of the 90s. Consequently, the role, mission of journalists has shifted from democratic change into preservation of status-quo, from opinion maker to the marketing of luxurious life (Tılıç, 2001). The media atmosphere, its ownership structure leading to a growing monopolization related to other economic sectors,

from cultural production to weapon industry. The journalist as an individual loses his/her ethic codes of its profession which could be defined as telling the truth profession, because of its position as a worker, having a patron. The organization of audience resistance force is critical in this term (Tılıç, in the discussion organized by Sociology Student Association of Middle East Technical University about the legislation 301, on 16 November 2006).

8.2. Theoretical framework

The “social, moral and physical problems” of the city were and partly are correlated to the presence of gecekondu (Aslan, 2004). For the relationship between media and the social movements, the studies of Gamson (in: Neveu, 1996) and Champagne (in: Neveu, 1996) are critical. Gamson (in: Neveu, 1996) developed a systematic comparison of the media, pointing out especially the injustice framework and problematic for the elaboration of the social movements. Champagne (in: Neveu, 1996) attired attention to the stigmatization of the people -especially of the youth- of the banlieues. Media select what it will transmit to the audience; especially with limited reportages which are supposed to be sources of news (Neveu, 1996). The media even could “construct” the “problem” of banlieues, with a “spectacular” approach (Avenel, 2004). Consequently, the press and the television fabricate a representation of the reality going far from the real (Champagne in: Avenel, 2004).

Mass media is important also in terms of the formation of “public discourse” and opinion (Gamson, 2005). Gusfield (1994) attributes “dramatizing” role, more than monitoring to the mass media. It creates vivid images, heightening the sense of conflict and projects a vocabulary which reframes the social movement. In the conceptualization of Lipsky, namely “the Communication Process of Protest” (1965 in Della Porta and Diani, 1999), around his idea that the protest is a political event of powerlessness, he elaborated the mass media’s spreading message role directed at the reference audience of the decision-makers, and the relations of winning sympathy and influencing between the powerless, the leaders and the audience. The

visual symbolism in the media plays a crucial role in the construction of identities and projects. The mass media brings also a revolution in movement tactics. The media provides for Tarrow (1999), a source of consensus formation, information and collective action frames, but not in a neutral way, affecting the movements' forms of action.

8.3. Methodological Tool

Various newspapers with different approaches are studied, for an exact comprehension of interpretation of these movements, especially at the level of discourse. The examination of archives of the newspapers namely Sabah, Evrensel, Zaman, Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Akşam, Vatan, Milliyet, Radikal, Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman are done especially after the period of the demolition in Güzeltepe, July 2005 until September 2006. The study on the representation of gecekondu demolition in the press gave also information for the resistance in Güzeltepe.

Another critical point is the gecekondu's self-evaluation of their self-representations in the media. Their self-representations in the media are important for gecekondu dwellers in two senses. Firstly, they do not want their image in the demolition, in poverty, in TV programmes which "aid" them. However, they want their problems and experiences gain a voice. Sometimes, they are proud of being televised as hero of the struggle in their quarters. In this aspect, there is a danger of misquoting their statements, of stigmatization for instance their protest and reaction⁹⁴ and of being recognized by officials who would consider them as "terrorist".

Van Dijk's discursive analysis (2006), namely Critical Discourse Analysis, is the method for the analysis of the representations in the media, supplying effective and facilitative tools. Underlining manipulation for the social power abuse, cognitive

⁹⁴ As stated by Hall, the media articulates and transforms the ideas, and "reports" the events, but not defining. It also stereotypes reducing people as simple characteristics fixed by nature (Hall, 1997).

mind control and discursive interaction, the analysis possesses three dimensions which could not be reducible to one or two of them. Socially, it is defined as illegitimate domination confirming social inequality. Cognitively, it is a “mind control” involving interference with processes of understanding and the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies. Discursively, the manipulation involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, emphasizing “Our good things” and “Their bad things”, which are mainly used by politicians and media manipulating voters and readers. For Van Dijk (Ibid; 2006), manipulation violates social norms and not only involves power, but it points out the abuse of power which is domination⁹⁵. The social manipulation is defined in terms of social domination and its reproduction in everyday practices, including discourse. It could be defined in terms of social groups, institutions or organizations, since it is a form of domination or power abuse. Manipulation is illegitimate in a democratic society, since it produces and reproduces inequality which could be defined as the best interests of powerful groups and speakers and hurts the interests of less powerful groups and speakers. Illegitimate influence may also be exercised with pictures, photos, movies or other media and manipulation could draw attention to information A rather than B, emphasizing irrelevant details, resulting in understanding partial or biased.

His methodology, especially for the analysis of polarization between “Us” (good, innocent) and “Them” (evil, guilty) is a key to understand the representation (especially for the analyses of the statements) in the media. He also underlines that the mainstream media avoid describing state violence as “terrorism”. According to Van Dijk (ibid, 2006), the real interests and benefits of those in control of the manipulation process could be hidden, obscured or denied. One of the best ways to resist knowledge is the specific knowledge and information. The manipulation could

⁹⁵ It could be discussed in the framework of hegemony of Gramsci. Moreover, Van Dijk, states that the mass media and the public discourse are resource shared by members of symbolic elites, politicians, journalists, scholars, writers. The politicians can exercise their political power through public discourse in which they confirm and reproduce their political power. Manipulation is one of the discursive social practices of dominant groups geared towards the reproduction of their power. It could be an abuse of power because citizens are manipulated into believing that such measures taken for protecting them.

affect norms and values for evaluating events and people by condemning or legitimating the actions, which gives clues for the evaluation of the public idea towards gecekondü for the Istanbul case. Van Dijk exemplifies racist and xenophobic ideologies, manipulated by the elites, which served as a permanent basis for the discrimination and blame for attracting attention away from the policies of the government and other elites. Discourse structures are not manipulative; however, they have functions and effects in specific communicative situations and in the way of interpretation. In other words, the same discourse may be manipulative in one situation and not in another one.

Manipulative discourse occurs, for Van Dijk (Ibid; 2006), in public communication controlled by dominant political, bureaucratic, media, academic or corporate elites. What is critical in the analysis of Van Dijk is his elaboration of manipulation strategy which is based on the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by blaming or stigmatizing the “Others” as immigrants, terrorists, youths for the favor of speaker’s or writer’s own interests. This approach implies also “Our good acts” (values like freedom, democracy) and “Their bad acts” (delinquency, illegality, violence, dictatorship) with accusation and defence, legitimation of their acts. For semantic macrostructures, it could be stated that topic selection becomes a tool for emphasizing or deemphasizing negative or positive topics about “Us” and “Them”, giving many or few details, being general or specific, vague or precise, explicit or implicit. The lexicon changes also by selecting positive words for Us, negative words for Them, with the rhetoric emphasizing Our/Their positive/negative properties, using expressions audiovisual by emphasizing (loud, large or bold) and ordering (first, last, bottom). What is critical is that social-political manipulation involves domination. The lack of relevant information, the conditions, fundamental norms, values and ideologies, social positions, status could lead people to accept the discourses of elite persons, groups and organizations which contribute finally to social inequality. Van Dijk (Ibid. 2006) acknowledges the resistance against the manipulative discourse; however relating it to the rise of citizens’ information.

The critical discourse analysis of Van Dijk (Ibid. 2006) will be the tool for the evaluation of the news for gecekondus, dwellers of gecekondus and their reactions. Ideological polarization Us and Them, positive self-presentation by moral superiority (allowing debate, respect for other opinions, struggling for democracy), emphasizing his power, despite the oppositions and discrediting the opponents, by emotionalizing the arguments could be key for the analysis of the representation of the gecekondus resistance in the print media. The usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, emphasizing “Our good things” and “Their bad things”, the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (by blaming or stigmatizing the “Others” as immigrants, terrorists, youths) for the favor of speaker’s or writer’s own interests are mainly used by politicians and media manipulating voters and readers. This approach implies also “Our good acts” (values like freedom, democracy) and “Their bad acts” (delinquency, illegality, violence, dictatorship) with accusation and defence, legitimation of their acts. The illegitimate influence may also be exercised with pictures, photos, movies or other media. Manipulation could draw attention to information A rather than B, emphasizing irrelevant details, resulting in understanding partial or biased. The polarization between “Us” (good, innocent) and “Them” (evil, guilty) is a key for understanding the representation (especially for the analyses of the statements) in the media. He attracts attention also that the mainstream media avoid describing state violence as “terrorism”. The racist and xenophobic ideologies, manipulated by the elites are served as a permanent basis for the discrimination and blame for attention away from the policies of the government and other elites.

The method of Van Dijk helps especially in the press analysis with Them/Us duality for the discourse analysis. Its critical approach points out not only media, but a more hegemonic system, which insulate into various spheres and manipulating society.

8.4. Analysis

The methodology for the representation of the gecekondü protest/movements in the media rely upon various newspapers with different approaches which are studied, for an exact and objective examination and comprehension of interpretation of these movements, especially at the level of discourse. The examination of archives of the newspapers namely Sabah, Evrensel, Zaman, Birgün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Akşam, Vatan, Milliyet, Radikal, Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman are done especially after the period of the demolition in Güzeltepe, July 2005. However, critical news related to projects in Istanbul is also examined for an objective and comprehensive analysis and in case of the related news are absent in the analysis period. For this reason, because of the absence of concerning issue in this period, the examination is extended to the archive, beginning by the year 2004.

Determining of political orientation of some newspaper and classifying them can be problematic, especially while considering their approach and interpretations. Even though after the examination, the picture has changed -because of their interpretations for this concerning issue-, the main aim was to examine objectively newspapers from different political orientations. Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman and Zaman are examples having rightist approaches. Evrensel, Birgün, Cumhuriyet are chosen for their leftist orientations. Radikal and Milliyet could be into leftist categorization and also be held with their intermediary positions, near to the left. Sabah, Hürriyet, Akşam and Vatan are analyzed for their popular characteristics. The part namely the 'Reflections from "Alternative Media" in the net' elaborates the radical leftist groups' press, for not ignoring the approaches and interpretations of the groups who are involved and even organized the resistance against gecekondü demolition.

The related news is not elaborated in Yeni Şafak, Ortadoğu and Halka ve Olaylara Tercüman newspapers. The newspapers Birgün, Radikal, Zaman, Milliyet, Evrensel, and Cumhuriyet are the ones which elaborate mostly news for urban regeneration/renewal process in Istanbul and Güzeltepe. In the study, it is tried to

make a discursive analysis of these newspapers' related news and articles. It is critical to underline that the style in the elaboration of the newspapers' analysis could be far from academic language since the news selection and their style of representation of gecekondu resistance are analysis aspects.

Zaman could be mentioned as the newspaper which elaborates mostly the issue in a discourse like propaganda of the municipalities which execute urban renewal projects. The "decisiveness" of the mayor and the continuation of the existence of gecekondu are some discourses which could be shown as critical points. The urban renewal projects are proposed and explained as means of having house "ready to disasters". For Küçükçekmece urban regeneration project, the newspaper gave parole to the mayor Aziz Yeniay. It is quoted that urban renewal-transformation does not mean demolishing, but means to live a "healthy life"; from a look by the side of police. It is generally said that it is opened fire on police, criminalizing people. "Awry urbanization", statements like "We will reconstruct Istanbul", quoting the prime minister who says "demolish the illegal buildings", "We want our people live in a healthy environment." are mostly conveyed in related news. It is quoted that the demolition which is necessary for natural catastrophes like flood, earthquake are retarded because of the resistances. "Worker (Proletarian) coordination against demolitions" (*Yıkımlara karşı emekçi halk koordinasyonu*) is mentioned in this newspaper, apart from the radical leftist internet resources and newspapers. Interpretations for the protest underlined that demonstrations were not covering many people, remaining "ineffective".

In the archive of *Milli Gazete*, there is news about the preparation and the reasons of the demonstration of "Stop demolition!" (*Yıkıma Hayır*), organized by "Worker (Proletarian) coordination against demolitions" (*Yıkımlara karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*). Statements and critiques of İsmail Leylek, spokesman of the coordination are elaborated. It is said that the urban regeneration is not urban but "rental", economic one and the displacement of people which is planned by the mayor is for the circulation of the capital and the rental distribution. In the news, stop demolition, by giving right of dwelling are the cited points.

In *Sabah*, firstly, urban renewal projects are explained by quoting speech of the Prime Minister in terms of “gecekondu”; which is resembled to a tumor to be cleaned. Secondly, the demolition atmosphere and resistance are represented like a “war”. The reporter is proposed himself as a “hero” who has survived in the attack of furious group⁹⁶, who are dwellers of gecekondu, using molotov and stones of pavements for attacking journalists and villas o KİPTAŞ. There is a discourse which criminalizes and accuses demonstrators with masks, behind their barricades. The recent project of Sulukule is elaborated as a “new image”, revitalizing Ottoman architecture. The payment of social housing is reported as a “facility”, a “chance” to possess housing from TOKİ, paying like rent, using a governmental discourse which underlines that the “unplanned” construction is a “massacre of the city”. However, this discourse is more objective than *Zaman*’s one since it gives information about also injured dwellers. One of the news is titled as “tear and rebellion/revolt to the demolition”, in a not objective but more “human”, “merciful” view. The statements of Romans are also extensively quoted; however, the Romans are not considered as “ordinary” dweller of gecekondu, both in media and academic milieus. Giving voice to the head of “The Association of Improvement and Solidarity of Sulukule Roman Culture” (*Sulukule Roman Kültürünü Geliştirme ve Dayanışma Derneği*) found after the urban renewal project, underlines the lack of investment, “racism behind the doors”, and the stigmatization as “wreckage” concerning the quarter, supported by the critiques of Korhan Gümüş. For Kagithane demolition, it is said that the dwellers celebrate (“dancing the belly dance”) when they received the price of their house. For instance, as the first practices of urban renewal, Küçükçekmece, the mayor is the figure who informs about the project for the “bleeding wound” of Istanbul. “Istanbul Fairy Tale”, referring the TV series, will be realized due to these projects, according to the mayor. The foreign architects, surprised with problems of the city are proposed as justifying reasons. Differently form Sulukule, demolition of Pendik is represented as a war (resembled to Palestine) because of dwellers attacking harshly (even children supported by a representation/photography of a child with an arm of

⁹⁶ Titled as: “I went, seen and lived the events”. The reporter said that they immediately constructed their houses after the demolition.

stone/stick). They were reported also as people who “fight”, “attack” on police and journalists, set on fire villas the night and compromise even in the daytime.

For some, the demolition for the future of metropolises is reported as realized “without events”. Giving speech to one “durakkonducu”, it is said that housings are allotted to the renters affected by destructions. For the interpretation of the demonstration for “Stop Demolition” (Yıkıma Hayır Mitingi), a more objective tone is reigning, quoting the slogans, without any comment. Giving voice to “complaints” of dwellers, there is a general attitude which supports the spatial regulations of TOKİ, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and other local municipalities, with IMP. The foreign architects are proposed to change (positively) the silhouette of the city. Topbaş’s statements are mentioned in terms of the necessity of projects as savior of the future of Istanbul. In the part of Economy, the towers of Dubai are elaborated with an “economic” (rental) approach and Galataport in the framework of “cultural capital”.

Akşam especially quotes the statements of the mayor for the issue of demolitions. For Pendik demolition which is resembled to a war-Palestine/Israel-, like other newspapers, elaboration has a discourse of criminalization demonstrators. They are considered as people as pre-prepared with Molotov and sling shots. Quoting only an employee from municipality, it is said that there is a constraint for this resistance. For Güzeltepe, there is a tone and discourse more objective, apart from descriptions of the demonstrators with “red” masks and “illegal” slogans who attack police. It is given speech of dweller of gecekondus about the policy of the Prime Minister and about the difficulties of payment for the social housings. For “Stop Demolitions” (*Yıkımlara Hayır*) demonstration organized by “Worker (Proletarian) coordination against demolitions” (*Yıkımlara karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*), there is a style like the newspaper Sabah, more objective if it is compared with other related news, by describing the demonstration and by quoting the slogans as they were, openly. In *Akşam*, there is also news about ethnic origins in Istanbul and about the feeling of being “dweller of Istanbul” (*Istanbullu*).

Vatan has a discourse more critical against demolitions, differently from its similar even in the “Economy” page. The views of the chamber of Architects for the project of Haydarpaşa, the slogans in the demolition of Beyoğlu in a more objective tone (However, talking about “events”, not “resistance”), a documentary film which is not demonstrated in the “Algerian Street” transformed into “French Street” are elaborated in the framework of urban projects in Istanbul. There are some articles critical for the statements of the Prime Minister⁹⁷, apart from the headlines for the migration and the future “visa”⁹⁸, a conversation with Mayor of Eyüp and Prime Minister’s list of projects for the future Istanbul. Another journalist talks about “gecekondu” and “souls” of the middle and upper classes, for the illegal and non-aesthetic regulations.

Hürriyet is one of the newspapers which do not reflect much upon the subject. Its discourse is in some cases, as severe as that of *Zaman*. The demonstrators who attack police, with stones behind the barricades are described as people “from outside Güzeltepe”. It is true that there are demonstrators outside the quarter. However, these demonstrators are said to hinder, stop responsibilities of the officials and demolition equips. The other news for Güzeltepe is the same with his collaborator that of *Akşam* about demonstrators who attack police with molotov. For Pendik demolition, *Hürriyet* praises and explains in detail the operation of the police, like in a terrorist attack. The dwellers, even children are held as “criminal” “masked” people who attack police, journalists and cameramen with stones in the barricades. This tone is supported by photographs. The slogans are transmitted without comment, with an end of the police who makes an assuring statement for the law’s application for people involved in “this kind” of activities, resistance against demolitions.

Another elaborated aspect is the elaboration of the constructions of social housing by TOKİ, titled as “the passage from gecekondu to the social housing”, and represented

⁹⁷ “You can not murder the city.” “Everyone who is burdened by his sack came to Istanbul.”

⁹⁸ “The migration ruined and infamed Istanbul. However, we will reconquer Istanbul.”

as a positive change of way of life of gecekondulu, due to its paying facilities. What is interesting is that in the internet version of the news, it is commented as a distribution of housing to thieves, which make clearer the picture of the tension between gecekondulu (as Others) and the rest, “legal” citizens.

Even though there are some articles for the architectural critiques of projects, the newspaper praising new mixed silhouette of Istanbul (both “historical and contemporary”) becomes generally the voice of the government which supports these projects necessary in the way of being cultural capital in 2010 and municipality with the Directorate of Gecekondu and Accommodation (*Mesken ve Gecekondu Müdürlüğü*) which proposes social housing as a way of possessing home by paying installment. What is critical is their quotation in terms of criminalization even creating camp in lower classes and accusing for polluting and destroying cultural and historical heritage.

The newspaper *Milliyet* shows a diverse approach in the elaboration of these issues. For instance, a demolition of a gecekondu area in Sarıyer is resembled to “war of demolition”. Giving parole to the officials who assume that the barricades in the demolition corrupt the public order, the newspaper sometimes promotes foreign architects who will be recruited in the urban renewal/regeneration project of Istanbul. The barricades are mostly used as representation object, like in atmosphere of war or a conflict in Palestine (titled as “It is Pendik, not Palestine”). The injured employees of municipality are highlighted in the news. Demonstrators are represented as “masked” people who “attack” with bricks and stones. The barricades are shown as means of waylaying terror, supported by the quotation from a policeman who asserts the main aim was the provocation. The duality in the representation of *Milliyet* becomes clearer for Küçükarmutlu. The demolition area is resembled to occupation in the war, a resistance with molotov in Palestine. It is said that there is even transportation facilities for gecekondu neighborhoods. However, there are news about the construction of Techno city in Küçükarmutlu, quoting gecekondu dwellers who assert that they could not have their rights of dwelling. (*Armutlu will be grave to the Istanbul Technical University, like in a Turkish*

expression) This dual and unstable aspect could be seized also in the expressions used in terms of officials who come to demolitions like “army”. However, it said that luxurious (but illegal) apartments are demolished without problem, in opposition to the gecekondu dwellers which use their children as “shield”.

In their articles, the journalist resembles “all which go wrong” to gecekondu (Tuba Akyol, 27 March 2006). The journalist Deniz Sipahi states that it is necessary to be against to gecekondu. Hasan Pulur criticizes the general attitude “not demolishing gecekondu”, but demolishing a day nursery (5 April 2004). However, Ahmet Turhan Altner who is an architect critical for these projects, involving in civil initiatives programmes and discussion milieus, in his part as a information test, namely “Testus Altını Oymaniyus”, he even conceptualizes these projects as “defoliation” like of Jews. In his part based on the test, he criticizes urban renewal/transformation practices in Istanbul, in an ironic and critical tone, especially focusing on the example of Küçükçekmece.

The critical aspects became apparent in the following news. Referring the Economist in the issue of Sulukule resembled to a war with bulldozers, news underlines in-debt situation for a long period. For the projects of foreign architects in Haydarpaşa, Kartal and Küçükçekmece, the news has a critical point emphasizing the displacement and demolition even though the buildings are “legal”, for urban regeneration legislation and projects of these architects described with photos of the models. The journalist Doğan Heper’s statements against Kadir Topbaş accusing architects and engineers are critical which underline municipality’s “real” mission. For an early example Küçükarmutlu, titled as “War of Turk with science”, underlines the project of İTÜ techno city and various interests groups, underlining real conditions of the neighborhood. The “civil protests” in Bodrum which is focused on an environmental issue and other middle, upper-middle class quarters in Istanbul, elaborated as successful examples of protest.

In *Cumhuriyet*, there is an objective approach even giving voice to the Istanbul Metropolitan mayor, and mayor of quarters (For instance, that of Küçükçekmece

who thinks that “illegal housing as a “social problem”), the head of TOKİ, Erdoğan Bayraktar and other officials responsible in the Project (For instance the statement of GYO which proposes the necessity of urban renovation and mortgage’s “positive” effects as titles.), not ignoring dwellers’ situation against demolitions. The statements of the officials are quoted especially in terms of “cultural heritage” or earthquake. It could be pursued the attempts of Topbaş taking advice from foreign architects or urbanists for legalizing himself and his Project. There is a news as a warning of Topbaş for gecekondü dwellers who “could cheaply sell their property”. News giving voice to the “specialists”, it is remarkable that they use legalizing clichés including stigmatization, criminalization, and “social problem” discourse. Giving information from governmental responsible sometimes surpass the boundaries in a contradictory position with their critical point of view (underlining the illegal villas which are not demolished) and leads to a position which could mislead public (For instance, with slogans of mayors which are “social housing instead of gecekondü” and legalizing statements with thread of earthquake.).

Recently, Sulukule example attracts both attentions of media and academic milieus to the renewal/transformation Project. The tone of newspaper related to this example is in the form of various statements’ quotation, of dweller of gecekondü and of the responsible officials. The article of Oktay Ekinçi who is an architect and academician is the most critical face of the newspaper. Other critics especially from academicians like Çağatay Keskinok, Zekai Görgülü underline the “make-up” characteristic of the urban renovation, ignoring social aspect, being far from the “aim”.

For Güzeltepe, using photographs especially of durakkondü (bus station gecekondü), news has a tone emphasizing their “miserable” and “pitiable” situation. Quoting word by word dwellers’ phrases, news underline also renters’ problems based on dislocation, with political critics in headscarf discussion. The protest of Güzeltepe dwellers in front of the Istanbul Municipality is mentioned in the newspaper by quoting openly their slogans⁹⁹. For Güzeltepe, Cumhuriyet reflects the situation of

⁹⁹ “It can not be caught our dwelling right.”

health conditions threat in bus stations. The newspaper's discourse's objectivity could be seized especially by comparing same events, specifically field of demolition, with other newspapers, especially with *Zaman*.

The newspaper inform in detail about protest organized by "Worker (Proletarian) coordination against demolitions" (*Yıkımlara karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*) constituted by The Union of Working Women (*Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği* (EKB)), The Socialist Platform of the Oppressed (*Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu* (ESP)), *Tekstil-Sen*, *Limter-İş* of *DİSK* and *gecekondu* dwellers affected by demolition for Istanbul renewal Project, quoting slogans and discourses emphasizing "capital orienting" – even transnational- dimension of not urban but rental transformation.

The newspaper *Birgün* is the newspaper which attaches the most importance to the urban renewal project in Istanbul. Giving information "objectively",- which became apparent in terms of news for "illegality of the city, for events lived in moments of demolition, even by giving chance of speech criticizing its news-, in its forum page "Kent" (The City) creating an intellectual milieu of discussion. The forum for urban policy and planning is open to thought of everyone; however, it has also a scientific importance since it is organized and edited by urban planners. Apart from *Güzeltepe* and other protests related to this regeneration project, it is possible to inform about the process of the project. It is proper to study in two ways which are firstly, news

"Children will sleep in the streets, at night."

"We will win by resisting."

"They began to demolish the *gecekondus* in order to sell those spaces to international capital. The next plan of the government now left with nothing to sell will be to sell "us" in the slave markets."

"They, leaving already unemployed us; also houseless will produce new villas, golf fields, shopping malls, and entertainment centers."

"Have state and government only recently recognized the reality of "gecekondu" which has emerged with the building of first houses in the 1970s and accelerated with the increasing migration of mid-1990s."

"For instance, how could a place illegal which has a headman's office, a health center, ...a school, a mosque, water, electricity, ...? *Gazi* neighborhood, *Okmeydanı*, *Gülsuyu-Gülensu* mahallesi, *Aydos*, *Nurtepe*, *Bayrampaşa*, *Ayazma*, *Alibeyköy*, *Güzeltepe*... This list could go on. Here dwell hudred thousands of people living together for years in neighborhood and friendship and in poverty as their only crime."

related to the urban renewal project and Güzeltepe and secondly, the forum which evaluates and describes the process, from a scientific critical vision.

As stated above, it is the newspaper which mostly elaborated and commented on Güzeltepe issue, urban renewal projects and other quarters under threat of demolition. Although it is deduced that newspaper's "Us" are dwellers especially by transmitting the thoughts and slogans¹⁰⁰ in times of demolition, the objectivity still dominates the tone, transmitting also governments' statements and information about projects. The parts namely "Kent" (The City) directed by academicians of Mimar Sinan University Urban Planning Department and "Forum", "Güncel" (Actual) are important milieus for the production of critical thought, both academically and not. Furthermore, a supplement of Sunday (April 16, 2006) is dedicated to the urban renewal discussion. The newspaper's examinations are mainly focused on citizens, dweller of cities, as real proprietors. For gecekondu clearance, the target shifts on renters in the gecekondu which are mostly affected by these spatial decisions. Korhan Gümüş's articles in "Forum" and "Kent" (The City) pages are mainly critical for the dislocation and relocation, the rental background of these projects in the framework of cultural capital in 2010, and recently about Sulukule. Article related to gentrification, defined as a new racism, and elaborates increased violence of the dominant classes and the role of intellectuals. However, the ideas are mainly focused on force of NGOs for resisting and changing this picture.

IMP (Istanbul metropolitan Planning), the publicly masked private corporation is mostly and explicitly criticized for its "confidential" decisions, reduced to "technical professional" ones, conducted by hired academicians of universities and young urbanists. The social housing problems, TOKİ's construction of luxurious housing areas and created social housing "ghettos" are criticized in Birgün by questioning discourses justified by earthquake, "cheap" social housing, and decaying quarters issues. News about Sulukule transmits statements of both dwellers and association

¹⁰⁰ "We are not squatters, but we have rights."
"We will defend our dwelling right."

(found after this threat of demolition) and professionals. However, there is also news which underlines “Roman” characteristic of dwellers.

One of the most significant criticisms is about “mortgage” which is used in English, hindering its dangerous meaning, “*ipotek*” in Turkish, especially for gecekondur renters. The critiques for other great projects affecting Istanbul are criticized by various academicians.

For Güzeltepe, the dwellers have mostly opportunity to convey their messages about their situations in the newspaper. In the discourses of dwellers, being ill, “especially for “children” and “old people” ” as the most affected people, because of the new life in bus station is predominant. The right which they defend is identified by the constitutional right, which is the right for dwelling. The everyday life difficulties, in the framework of “demolition of lives” are reflected in Birgün. The protest in a bus station in Taksim is introduced merely by this newspaper. For Güzeltepe, apart from the spokesman who talks in almost all reportages, the statements of other dwellers, of women have taken part.

The titles of news are constituted of encouraging statements-defined as a “victory”, using “resistance” and “importance of organization for resistance” lexicon in Beykoz, Armutlu, Güzeltepe, Gülsuyu cases. The organized protests with their slogans have great importance in news titled as “rental but not urban transformation” (*Kentsel Değil Rantsal Dönüşüm*), which has a poetic tone in Turkish. The transformation is defined as a change of place from gecekondur to the bus station (*Durakkondur*).

There are also news, but not as a headline and as a detailed news in Hürriyet, about middle class or upper middle class quarters’ protests of associations namely The Association of Dweller of Kuzguncuk (*Kuzguncuklular Derneği*), The Solidarity Association of Beylerbeyi (*Beylerbeyi Dayanışma Derneği*), The Public Initiative of Çengelköy (*Çengelköy Halk Girişimi*) gathered in another initiative namely The Common Initiative of Dweller of Anatolian Part of Istanbul (*Anadolu Yakası*

Yaşayanları Ortak Girişimi), for new projects or issues related to noise or environmental pollution.

Radikal is critical for urban renewal projects, mainly in its supplementary, *Radikal 2*. Other news in *Radikal* in general possesses a tone which informs about the projects, criticizing some architects' point of views who consider these projects as making-up and rental sources¹⁰¹ and sometimes, supporting these criticized projects¹⁰². However, articles of Korhan Gümüş in *Radikal* and *Radikal 2* are the most critical statements which turn Us/Them duality upside down¹⁰³. Hence the approach of *Radikal* is inconsistent towards urban renewal project, pursued in Istanbul. It is the newspaper which gives voice, elaborating mostly middle and upper middle classes' protests for urban issues, for instance for Gökkafe (Sky-Cage). A notice/declaration written by The Association of Dweller of Kuzguncuk (*Kuzguncuklular Derneği*), The Civil People Initiative of Çengelköy (*Çengelköy Sivil Halk Girişimi*) for noise pollution in the Bosphorus is merely published in this newspaper.

For gecekondu protest, the gecekondu dwellers, and especially underlining “children and women positions”, are elaborated in a criminalizing tone, as people who attack the officials, the police who are realizing their duties, functions. Gecekondu dwellers are considered as people who attack with stones, the gendarme who does not use truncheon. Specifically for the Güzeltepe case, the approach for description of the demolition area does not show a difference from the general one. The people who manifest are considered as illegal in the barricades attacking police with stones and molotov.

¹⁰¹ The critical news is also for Küçükarmutlu project, Cezayir Sokağı, Okmeydanı, rehabilitation in Tarlaabaşı, discussed in international architectural conference in July, 2005 and Dubai Towers.

¹⁰² With news for the new life of Zaha Hadid in Istanbul and her statements about the city which will be a “mark” and titles like “Istanbul has chosen its architect”, praising the projects

¹⁰³ Especially, its recent article “War with poor, not poverty” for Sulukule demolition is mentioned in the framework of civil resistance.

The newspaper gives particularly to employees of municipality and governorship who evaluate these protests as crimes, or “provocation” independently from situations of dwellers. The statements of the Prime Minister are critical which underline that he will be against illegal construction, for withstanding the murdering of the city even though he lost the future elections.

Evrensel is one of the newspapers which informed about the protests not merely during, but also before and after the demonstration, in detail. It quotes the dwellers’ statements and complaints, giving voice to their requests, and slogans in detail, mentioning the organization “Worker (Proletarian) coordination against demolitions” (*Yıkımlara karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*). It gives its emphasis on the “bus station” demonstration after the demolition. The resistance after the urban clearance is reported to obtain success. Turning the sides of common duality upside down, it considers the “resisting” dwellers as “Us” and the police as “Them” who “attack” harshly to gecekondulu. It mentions also the illnesses (heart attack, difficulties of a handicapped woman, survival struggle in the bus stations during 2 months) caused by the demolition. The choice of vocabulary reflects also this “inverse” contradiction both “resisting” for dwellers, “attack” harshly for the police.

Another critical point is that *Evrensel* has a discourse constructed on being “worker, proletariat” as the common character, giving the chance of speaking to dwellers, giving in detail their slogans, supporting their resistance; for instance Maltepe Başbüyük. Another critical point was a declaration/announcement as a manifesto stating that “it won’t let the living areas” for the commodification of Istanbul by Urban Renewal/regeneration projects written and signed by professional chambers, local beautification associations, both Left and Right opposition parties.

Apart from the newspapers, the articles of the periodicals namely *Post-express*¹⁰⁴, *Gelecek*, *Sol* are held as sources in the elaboration of the urban renewal/regeneration

¹⁰⁴ It gives information about the seminar organized by them in the 9. Istanbul Biennale for the “privatization” of Istanbul. Asu Aksoy, Mustafa Sönmez and Korhan Gümüş were speakers underlining privatization in the public institutions. Jean-François Pérouse and Hamdi Gargin from

in Turkey. The “professional journal” *Yeni Mimar* (New Architect), with its critical professional articles, is another resource significant in the discussions. Especially its critics for practices of urban planning practiced as urban design, the mission of academician turning into a practice of production of urban regeneration/renewal projects are critical since these statements reflect critiques from “inside”, from a “professional journal”. Recently, the discussion for gated communities underlines also the project of urban renewal, based on the constructions of luxurious housings for “imagined” target people. (Number 39, July) Küçükçekmece is hold as an example which would be regenerated, supported by reportage with an ancient dweller.

8. 5. Reflections from “alternative” media in the net

Networks serve to include many groups gathering as communities in the cyber forums and communicate with each other by means of websites. In this respect, the internet is an important aspect in the analysis of social movements, especially for indicating radical point of views. Like imagined communities of Anderson, media creates an important alternative community in virtual dimension. The commitment and the recruitment of the movement in the internet network, the youth organizing the opposing force especially allied to political parties, to the media, to the dwellers and to the so-called adversary Istanbul metropolitan municipality¹⁰⁵ could be more seized in the examination of the internet.

The internet dimension of the movement is also significant, especially for radical left organizations, both for the recruitment and the presentation of the protest and a general source for spreading information since internet is another source for avoiding

IFEA in their reportage emphasized that the local clearances, demolition, new constructions in the north of the city, the international or transnational projects in the framework of the marketing of Istanbul.

¹⁰⁵ The term “free rider” of mainly of Olson and elaborated by Donatella Della Porta is also a crucial point of urban social movements. Since there are always some people who are not involved but are affected, without being a direct participant of the movement. However the sympathizers, not being direct activists are also crucial in different levels of participation.

from prohibition and distribution problems, because of the illegal character. The sympathizers could be informed from these channels. The radical left organizations are the group who used actively the internet especially for giving information and gaining support for “their” resistance.

These were supportive and active in the organization and in the demonstration of *gecekodu* resistance against urban renewal demolition. They are “alternative” since their discourse choice is different from the “mainstream media”, not conforming to the conventional style and propose another choice to inform about the events. They turn the mainstream “Us” and “Them” contradiction, upside down, even being a part of the demonstrators’ discourse, since they are really part of the protest, accomplishing the role of organizing and supporting.

In the literature, two sites namely *Habersitesi* and *sendika.org* are mentioned ones.

Habersitesi (www.habersitesi.net): They defend human rights and freedom of press. The news and articles are crucial references. (Sayurğaç, 2004)

sendika.org: This site includes some news, articles and comments on labour movements, especially trade unions movements. (Sayurğaç, 2004) This site, as an informational channel has a crucial role, especially in the organization and encouragement of the urban protest against urban transformation/renewal project in Istanbul. Especially, the left and radical left groupings use this channel like Özgür Gündem, Proleter Devrimci Köz, Sosyalist Demokrasi, Barikat and Sendika.org. However, the following sites are elaborated to their wide examinations of this issue. The main resources are Sosyalist Barikat and Atılım of leftist groups attaching more importance to the issue and giving support in the demolition resistance, as elaborated in Güzeltepe section. Definitions and overemphasis on the “leftist” characteristic of the *gecekodu* resistance hinder from grasping the various aspects within the resistance; since dwellers do not define in general themselves and their resistance, as political and leftist one.

*Sosyalist Barikat*¹⁰⁶

This site underlines the role of HKM -which was the most supportive group before, during and after demolition, not only in Güzeltepe, but in other affected quarters-in the resistance and installs his discourse on “revolutionary” characteristic of the movement. After a detailed history of resistance, the sub-titles like slogans have a “violent” and “hard” tone¹⁰⁷. Güzeltepe dwellers, represented as affected by the bad conditions, supported by HKM, SODAP, TÖP, and ESP are said to be victorious side of the resistance. Defining the resistance area and used methods in detail, the dwellers are “revolutionaries” together the other groups. In this site, the names mostly mentioned are the responsible ones in the organization of the resistance. The “humanitarian” aspect is another point when the voices of dwellers are quoted. It is mainly proposed as a class conflict and ideological problem. The dwelling right is asserted as a defence of the lives of the workers, which could lead to revolutionary movement. Güzeltepe resistance is shown as a successful, continuous and “patient” resistance. The strategies which should be decided and realized with people, grassroots are suggested as having information about urban renewal/regeneration, determining an attitude towards municipalities, supplying of empowerment of dwellers for the foundation of their own associations, including gecekondur resistance into workers’ other problems –which lead to inclusion gecekondur dwellers other than “political ones” into the resistance, finding new ways of resistance and forming good relationships with media.

From the site of internet, the statements of Güzeltepe dwellers and a letter from Güzeltepe could be read. In the text for their statements, it could be seized that these are of the tenants explaining the demolition process and the attitude of municipality towards them. Their request in the text is the social housing right in the neighborhood. Another point is that the statements are political, involving its jargon,

¹⁰⁶ Please examine the volumes of August, September, October, and November of the year 2005.

¹⁰⁷ “We will demolish the palaces of the ones who demolish our houses!”(“*Evlerimizi Yıkanların Saraylarını Yıkacağız!*”), “What is demolished will be your oligarchic dictatorship, not our houses!” (“*Yıkılan evlerimiz değil oligarşik diktatörlünüz olacak!*”).

especially became apparent in terms of the resistance techniques and the definition of dwellers as “proletarian”, “worker”. Another emphasis is the situation of children and old people after the pepper gas during demolition.

The letter from resistant people in Güzeltepe is available on this site. The text is a political evaluation of Güzeltepe resistance decided, not receding as a laboratory and a path of “public revolutionarist movement”. Another point is the collaboration of “revolutionarist” with Güzeltepe dwellers, in a relationship based on trust.

*Atılım.org*¹⁰⁸

This site is of ESP (*Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu*) and EHK (*Emekçi Halk Kurultayı*), apart from their official site. The new organization namely “Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Kurultayı” for the protest of urban renewal demolitions is the other emphasized association in the related news. The uniting message is dominant in information discourse. Gecekondu dwellers affected by demolitions and active in the protest are mentioned as “workers”. The site gives all of the conversation in the meeting of *Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk İnisiyatifi*, namely “*Emekçi Halk Kurultayı*” which shows respect to the early gecekondu resistance “martyrs” of 1st May neighborhood.

The texts available on the internet site of Atılım are the petition of Güzeltepe dwellers and the declaration as the result of “Council of Working People against Demolitions” (*Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Kurultayı*)¹⁰⁹. Even though the petition explains the existing situation of dwellers, the tone seems not to be written by an “ordinary” dweller. It underlines the “proletarian” position of dwellers; however, there is a “humanitarian” tone highlighting a woman’s experiences. In the declaration, what is underlined is that the assembly gathered many people (“proletarian” emphasis is still present) from various neighborhood undergone

¹⁰⁸ Please examine the volume no: 103, 20 April 2006 and the archive of 26 June 2006.

demolitions. Even though there is a critique of capitalism, the declaration starts with the determination of violation of 57th constitutional right concerning dwelling. In the declaration, it is underlined the necessity of local organizations (at neighborhood level), information meetings, unified public resistance and the organization of platforms against demolitions for a strong resistance.

Alinteri.net

It informs mainly about the importance and increasing significance of gecekondü resistance. It quotes explicitly slogans used in the demonstrations of gecekondü dwellers which are held as “workers from Güzeltepe”, in terms of a class-based representation. The statements of dwellers which are transmitted in detail represent various concerns. Firstly, it is based on the dwelling right as a constitutional right. Secondly, the will of living as a “human” is another aspect. Thirdly, the statements critique the government and municipality’s operations. The emphasis of news is mainly on the renters’ situation and the quotation of their statements.

*Sendika.org*¹¹⁰

This site considers every gecekondü dweller as a class conscious worker. There are statements of some “political” figures who are tenants in the neighborhood and who organize the “resistance”. These figures are most “conscious” than “ordinary” dwellers and the real picture of *gecekondulu* in the resistance remains blurred. It has a romanticizing approach of gecekondü resistance. The target public is the “renters of gecekondü”, this is one aspect of the resistance as a “perfect revolutionary resistance”.

The stations are used metaphorically, as a station, step for the next steps of the “class conflict in the path of revolution”. The struggle of dwelling right is thought to be as a sign for success in the class conflict. It is said that in the reportages, the dwellers

¹¹⁰ Please examine the archive of 08 August 2005.

discuss the usage of the dwelling right, comparing themselves to landless peasants of Latin America. The site gives also a history of resistance and urban clearance in Güzeltepe. It is underlined also the importance of this resistance due to its permanence after the demolition. The dwellers state that they do not want temporary solutions or aids. In the reportage, what is interesting is the mention to the representation in the media. The dwellers say that they were in the TV because of the condition of gecekondü before the demolition. They also criticize the “advices” of the anchorman, Ali Kırca which asked to a child the reason why her father does not choose the “apartment house”, building. Another interesting aspect in their statements is their will of being “televised” in Europe with their resistance, which is proposed like a threat for government. “Sendika.org” critiques the mainstream media because of its “stigmatization” as terrorists and as “provocateurs”. It chooses the “them” or “other” side and make them, “us”. However, it emphasizes the illnesses, creating a “miserable” figure.

Istanbul Indymedia

This site uses as the source Atılım.org. It represents itself as an independent press center with a slogan “Be media, don’t hate media”. The news reported which is related to the demolishment is the demonstrations in front of the Formula 1 complex, namely the urban transformation protests organized by The Coordination of Working People (*Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*) with The Public Committee of Kurtköy (*Kurtköy Halk Komitesi*). The discourse used holds the demonstrators as “Us”, transmitting the slogans in detail.

From press, especially from the net, some organizations which support or which are found for the support of gecekondü resistance against the demolition could be distinguished namely The Public Commission Against Demolitions (*Yıkımlara Karşı Halk Komisyonu*), The Proletarian Public Initiative Against Demolitions (*Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk İnisiyatifi*)-which organized two demonstrations in Okmeydanı and Kadıköy for the protest of urban renewal projects-, Proletarian Public Commission (*Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu*), Fundamental Rights and Liberties

Association of Eyüp (*Eyüp Temel Haklar ve Özgürlükler Derneği*), HKM namely Centers of Public Culture (*Halk Kültür Merkezleri*). Another association, “Not Demolition But Food Collectivity” (*Yıkım Değil Yiyecek Kolektifi*) was another organization which gave support to the renters in the bus stations, *durakkondu* and supplied their needs. This organization collects food from various markets and organized activities namely “Not Bomb, But Food” (*Bomba Değil Yiyecek*) and “Not NATO but Food” (*NATO Değil Yiyecek*). Especially local associations like *gecekondu* beautification associations and associations of environment and culture solidarity associations are considered as “illegal” by the police. This aspect is crucial for differentiation of middle classes urban protests and associations from that of *gecekondu*. However, The Association of Solidarity and Vitalizing Roman Culture (*Sulukule Roman Kültürünü Yaşatma ve Dayanışma Derneği*) which was found because of the threat of demolition has another position. It is supported with sympathy, by various milieus, due to its characteristics.

CHAPTER IX

9. CONCLUSION

“If the urban revolution began in the ghetto streets and through the People’s Park, then we have only ourselves to blame for not carrying the struggle, both utopian and strategic, inside the middle-class privacy of our own neighborhood.” (Gottdiener, 2004: 438, 1988: 291)

This study aims to highlight the *gecekond* resistance which has been conventionally ignored, stigmatized as criminal, deviant, violent or even not elaborated in the studies, with regard to their potential of resistance, in the social movement literature. Another point is that to elaborate urban social movements in Turkey, outside “Western” literature emphasizing on advanced capitalist society characteristic. The examination of discursive construction of “*varoş*” leading to a creation of fear with “exploding *varoş*” discourses, supported by representation in the media is critical in order to understand the revanchist city and zero tolerance. Going beyond marginality theories¹¹¹, “culture of poverty” aims particularly to reveal the potential political consciousness. It is important an intellectual attitude to listen to silence and give voice to the “other part”, to the silent identities, revealing political parole (Bourdieu, 1993, Toker, 2005).

The main aim was to contribute to urban social movement theories from “outside advanced capitalist societies” as underlined in most of the theories. Theories from “other” geographies enlightened my path for Turkish studies and for an entry to everyday life resistance which is examined theoretically, avoiding from overestimating. Sometimes, these theories give a hope with a romantically elaboration in terms of urban revolution. It is critical to think about the reasons why some regulations do not lead to movements, protests in spite of dwellers’

¹¹¹ Perlman (1976) points out the general idea which is that they are not integrated into city and national political life, lacking in organization with little awareness of political events. Going beyond the surface appearances, she points out Residents’ Associations for basic welfare services.

unhappiness and critics and in what extent they are urban social movement. In my opinion, it is significant to underline the peculiar conditions of Turkey. Slum improvement projects and projects aiming to reduce the “urban” poverty are not on the road of a real solution. The social value of the urban land is the most crucial one. However, it is important to realize the thin line between the mega ideas, utopias for social ends legitimated with the urban renaissance and “cultural regeneration”. The social appears as something marginalized, criminalized, illegalized in their gecekondus which should be regular and hygienic. It is tried to limit and specify the analysis merely on the urban issues, to seize the real reasons, by analyzing the movement itself. Every resistance has its peculiarities related to the characteristics of quarters, dwellers and urban renewal project’s application. Urban social movements are keys for the analysis of the relationship and conflict between classes. Even though they are mainly elaborated as middle class, or more exactly new middle class movements in “advanced capitalist societies” and Turkey’s “civil society” discussion, this study particularly emphasizes the gecekondus dwellers’ resistance against urban renewal/regeneration projects.

It is critical to underline that the theories are difficult to be applied to the Turkish case, reflecting different peculiarities for each case of projects, in various neighborhoods. The struggle for urban territory reflects the power relations. This situation could not be explained only by identarian or cultural approaches. The privatization, the tool in the name of “great” aims for inundations or earthquakes, a new period of “work site” like in the constructions is declared by the mayor.

Gecekondus do have a potential for resistance. However; the elaboration and the interpretation of this resistance is critical in terms of being objective. This resistance is elaborated in this study, emerging as a result of a threat through demolition, especially with this current trend of urban regeneration/renewal. This creates some kind of awareness and consciousness rising in these neighborhoods. It is however interesting that not the owners but the tenants engage more intensively in direct actions. This seems to be specifically characteristic for the research area. The owners do get some kind of substitute and future perspective, the tenants however cannot

profit from these measures. They are left to solve their problems individually. On the other, Güzeltepe is known for its “leftist” heritage, which mainly refers to the 1980s and extends actually to the neighboring. Nurtepe. We therefore should be careful to distinguish into new and old owners. Thus, what seems to be observably is that the old owners probably and sometimes even directly referring to their leftist orientations support actually oppositional movements. Whereas the owners whose *gecekondu* are not under a current threat of demolition and those who refer to themselves as “without a strong political affiliation” usually only think of providing support if it directly effects negatively (mainly economically) their personal interests. Their position therefore can be interpreted as individualistic in opposite to the more collective opposition experiences in the “demolition” areas.

Lefebvre’s and Castells’ theories are the ones who inspired and encouraged throughout the formation process of study approach. Stigmatized and labeled with various characteristics, from its presence in the city, the *gecekondu* quarter is a “counter-space”-due to its existence- against the homogenization and fragmentation of the space, escaping the control of the established order in some extent. The counter-space (within the socio-spatial dialectic and the trilogy of conceived, perceived and lived spaces) is the concept which creates the potentiality for the resistance. The revolution for Lefebvre –an “urban revolution”- has to have a “spatial” component and counter-plans, projects have significance in this term. Although the eradication of private property as a means for liberating space, he is for the hope created by the resistance, insinuated, permeated into the privatization of space, for a just city. Everyday life is also another critical component of Lefebvre’s theory.

Differential space, against the homogeneity and the elimination of the existing differences and peculiarities of the abstract space and the contradictions of the fragmented space accentuates the differences, being differential in character (Lefebvre, 1998: 52, 302-303). The social space, playing a role among the forces of production, simply –as a travel, tourism, leisure- or productively consumed in metropolitan areas, politically instrumental facilitating the control of society, as a

means of production, supporting the reproduction of production relations and property relations, as an equivalent of institutional and ideological superstructures, “contains potentialities” of resistance (Lefebvre, 1998: 349). The establishment of a “counter-space” within a particular space runs counter to a given strategy beneath the chaotic surface of the space constituted by the articulations between the market in space and the spaces of the market, between spatial planning and development and the productive forces occupying space, and between political projects and the obstacles (Lefebvre, 1998: 367).

For Lefebvre, when a community fights the construction of urban motorways or housing-developments, when it demands “amenities” or empty spaces for play and encounter, these are the signs for “counter-space” which inserts itself into “spatial reality”, against “quantity and homogeneity”, against “power and the arrogance of power”, against the “endless expansion of the ‘private’ and of industrial profitability”; and against specialized spaces and a narrow localization of function. Counter-space and counter-project can simulate existing space, “parodying it” and “demonstrating its limitations” (Lefebvre, 1998: 382). The role is burdened to the local powers, municipal and regional forces and such resistance, “counter-action” tends to the independency of territorial entities and self-management in a dialectical process with the central state (Lefebvre, 1998: 382). While the state defends class interests, setting itself above society, the ability to intervene in space can and “must” be turned back against it, by “grassroots opposition”, in form of “counter-plans” and “counter-projects” designed against programmes, plans and strategies imposed from above for Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1998: 383).

There were some agents, leaders with their personal or “political” qualifications who organized this opposition. Some people both from the tenants and from political groups were these agents on the front of the opposition and of the media. However, if it is referred to the study of Castells (1983), even though for gecekondu demolition, this is problematic, there was a considerable plurality of different groups with different social bases-intellectual, political-, but united due to urban issues such as housing, planning, and environment. This movement defines the grassroots urban

movement with demands for better urban services, collective consumption. Castells defined a new sphere, called “collective consumption”, which is a second face of conflict, additional to conflict between labour and capital. The state’s intervention in the consumption sphere leads to conflicts. The radical changes of these movements are related to their linkage with trade unions and party political organizations.

However, collective consumption in order to maintain high-quality, publicly supported goods and services provided by the state, such as subsidized housing and parks, has also a “middle-class” connotation in the study. Moreover, the mainly hold approach in Güzeltepe analysis is far from other components of Castells’ study (1983) which are (cultural) identity and local political autonomy in terms of citizen movements. As stated in related part, the critical views of Mingione are also on “collective consumption” analyses for urban problems, contrasting with general economic or industrial problems. The urban conflicts are interpreted as a class confrontation in terms of collective consumption, according to this approach. For Mingione, the consumption process is an aspect of production process and could not be evaluated separately. The “collective” adjective leads also to questions about the difference between individual and collective consumption and the characteristic of the individual one. Even though collective consumption is thought to be a non-class concept with an emphasis on “cross-cultural” characteristic, it is a class-based, however, a class mixing concept around “urban” issues. The gecekondü resistance could be evaluated as a class movement, since even though the resistance and their identities are not defined as “proletarian”, this process and the spatial intervention has directly a class connotation.

The point of view of this thesis mainly holds the early approach of Castells, with classical class-based approach. In his recent studies, the potentiality of urban social movements has been decreased, studied with more “cultural” emphasis. However, the current image of urban resistance in Istanbul has two potentialities in terms of class. Firstly, even though the beginning motive is not the class, it had triggered some hostilities to the “left” for some people, it has raised a “class” consciousness even it did not exist before. The city, the urban land has other characteristics, more

visible with urban renewal projects. The economic aspect experienced harshly by these inhabitants, leads also a class consciousness whose “consciousness level and characteristics” are open to discussion, or more exactly an entering to the consciousness. Secondly, moreover, it gathered people in the neighborhood sharing same problems-which could be defined as “collective consumption” by Castells-, which lead to think about some shared problems, collectively, “creating a new solidarity even fading away in gecekondu neighborhoods”.

However, all grass-roots movements are somehow part of a single worldwide class struggle. In his early studies, Castells underlines that the qualitative transformation of the urban structure could be produced by the articulation of urban movements with other movements, especially with working class movements and the political class struggle, as stated in *The Urban Question* (1977, Lowe, 1986). Urban movements could be urban social movements if they are drawn into the advanced sections of the working-class movements, underlining the importance of organization. They generate new areas of confrontations in the anti-capitalist struggle.

Urban renewal programme is defined as the powerful machine, generally creating new homes in outer suburbs for the tenants. Castells gives examples of protest to urban renewal, for National Tenants’ Association in the Impasse Philippe. The students’ support and their anti-renewal committee’s bulletin are crucial in a situation of individualization of the problem to weaken their resistance in *Urban Question* (1977) For instance, the claims of the struggle in Cité du Peuple are critical since it underlines working class quarters’ resistance creating a revolutionary potential with their struggle through which they break their chains: *Together we shall bring the bourgeoisie down!* In ‘*The Urban Question*’(1977), Castells stated that the urban social movements relate the urban problematic and the way of production and the socio-spatial dimension of the class struggle. The “theme of urban social movements” is defined, by Castells, as protest, dissent by consumers and the converse of the “theme of urban planning”, the demand for an increasingly regulated urban process (1977, Lowe, 1986). Castells points out the articulation of

contradictions and practices as crucial factors in the evaluation of the political effects created within the urban system. Besides the primary class conflict, the secondary contradictions, the urban issues can be into a central role in the anti-capitalist struggle.

For Güzeltepe example, it is critical to discuss the “grassroots” characteristic of the resistance. The process and the forms of opposition can however hardly be differentiated from an ongoing politization the neighborhood, where there has been experienced a strong left oriented activism which originally was however not only directed our even mainly based on the demolition process. Thus, in this neighborhood not only a leftist heritage of the 80s but also a strongly ethnical as well as radical leftist organization in the late 90s is crucial for an understanding of the emergence of opposition in this neighborhood. It seems to be of great importance to emphasize in this context that the oppositional grass roots do actually at least temporarily get into coalitions of some forms for alliances with the existing political organizations and groups. These relationships are mutual but also relative fragile. Thus, in the interviews some of the tenants actually expressed their fear of being stigmatized as political radicals. Some of the activists expressed that these events actually made them think on a more abstract level about their position in society in general, these events initiated a kind of class consciousness, which was expressed in the interviews.

What is critical in this struggle is that this resistance gathered dwellers on a common concern, which was their “natural and constitutional right”. It is acceptable that all of them have gained acquaintance to the class concepts, entered to the world of the consciousness. Left groups and organizations still continue the alliances with tenants without constant accommodation. However, for integration of other gecekondü dwellers in the neighborhood, especially owners, remain insufficient. For some dwellers in the resistance, however, accused from coming to an agreement with municipality are excluded themselves from these alliances. These dwellers, in response, accuse these groups, from excluding them by not giving sufficient information and even expelling them from their decisions. This conclusion points out

a short term inclusion in the left organizations and being aware of their class position. However, the result is an increased exclusion from the associations, from the municipalities (apart from academic world and the press) and so, their own resistance.

It could be mentioned a “short term inclusion” in the left organizations and an entrance to the awareness of class positions. However, the result is an increased exclusion both from the associations and the municipalities (apart from academic world and the press) and as a result, “their own” resistance. The resistance in Güzeltepe was mainly a movement of the tenants. Some gecekondü dwellers have supported or have been involved due to various reasons namely familial (and other acquaintances), political (due to their left position), or simply “humanistic” ones (because of the pity or tenants’ deprivation from their dwelling rights, “unfairly”) Another reason is more related to individual concerns of gecekondü owners, which is a possibility to live same experiences in the future. However; the main tension in the resistance was between gecekondü dwellers whose gecekondü is demolished and their tenants, which have resisted against demolitions.

The grassroots’ relative integration with left groups has changed into hostility, especially towards “political organization”, because of the memories of the day of demolition. Active figures were absent in the resistance, and ignored, excluded them from “political discussion”, behaving unfairly (for people in their groupings) after demolition period. Some dwellers reminding spokesman’s-the front man in the meetings, in the press- absence in the resistance and that he used youth people in active position, he said that he is not as stupid as throwing himself into the fire. The dwellers said that they helped this young people affected by pepper gas. This attitude alienated grassroots from “their” resistance, politics and from the left. The slogans against the police are another factor for this alienation. Since they stated that the police are not their enemy, it is a group who are in charge, who realize their mission.

Even those who receive some form of substitute in material terms do experience problems after their resettlement. The fact that they start to live in apartment flats has major consequences on their life style as well as social relations. Furthermore, the monthly payments for the flats often extend their former expenditures. So, they are living in a qualitatively better housing in material terms, but socially and financially they actually might even experience a kind of deprivation.

While in formers times as a consequence of rural to urban migration and the formation of gecekondu areas, we have observed the emergence of so called hemsehri associations which were mainly seen as a kind of buffer for migrants. A system actually could be also considered as an extension or articulation of existing family or wider kinship networks. In time these associations lost a lot of this original function, because the “integration” of the gecekondu population did not experience an open conflict or crisis for a relatively long time. Most of the gecekondu actually turned into legal housing, which finds its manifestation in the fact that most of the house owners do have title deeds and that the neighborhood has received basic infrastructure and services through the municipality. The demolition process itself has been for a long time the first openly felt threat against the inhabitants. In this context it might be interesting to study the role of the now newly emerging Beautification associations which can be eventually seen as a substitute for the hemsehri organizations, but some of them do also have a more politicized nature, due to the characteristics of the neighborhood. Some of them which already exist before the demolitions, since the establishment of the neighborhood have political characteristics. The beautification associations or associations organized especially for this issue are considered as “illegal” by authorities, because of the early characteristics or of their resistance against “official decisions” and in a differentiated position from that of middle or upper middle class neighborhoods.

The role of social capital having the possibility to mobilize, to get support from different sources does not play a determinant role in the resistance. “*Hemşehri* relations” and solidarity do not play supportive role in the urban protest. The general self-identification of dwellers is based on where they come from, not their

economical situation, and not their “class” in everyday life conversation. However, this urban renewal project and the threat of destruction lead to a consciousness, a new lexicon due to their gathering in this concern which binds them. In this resistance, blurred class positions became apparent. In the end of the field study, other various aspects are revealed, making the case more interesting and instructive.

Güzeltepe is critical with its periods of resistance before-during and after demolition. Moreover, it contains various dimensions of tension within so-thought “one homogenous” aspect, labeling all of the inhabitants as “political”. The field study points out the peculiarity of each example of resistance and heterogeneity within. It is an appropriate example with its various characteristics within an “apparently homogenous” resistance.

Due to its representations in the “bus stations”, which give another definition “durakkonducu”, a combination of words “gecekkondulu” and “durak” (bus station). This was a rich material for attracting attention of media. For Güzeltepe, it is tried to see another face, other characteristics which are invisible in the articles and newspapers. The apparent picture in this study is mainly focused on gecekkonu resistance; however, aiming to give voice to “ordinary” grassroots who are not allied to any “political” organization.

It is tried to underline the resistance in the “urban riot or unrest” discourse. Everyday life could be mentioned as a resistance; however, there is no role played by local community (*hemşehri*) associations in this position. The political groups organized at local level could be proposed as new territorial communities at quarter (local) level. The territoriality and locality are not the common points which gather people around an association, but common interests, problems and approaches are. Local political organizations have power to bargain for the appropriation and the use of the urban space, become the cores in the process of resisting the plans of city governments and corporations and give increasingly importance to these urban aspects in their action plans.

It is clear that the resistance is not constituted of a unified group. However, during and after the resistance, various personal benefits/success in this struggle lead to split in the struggle and consequently, exclusive approach of left groups in these cases lead to jeopardize their claims in terms of representing all of the residents. The internal struggles, confrontations not only in the resistance but also “in neighborhood” life are still permanent. The Güzeltepe resistance differs also in terms of being relatively supported by NGOs, if it is compared with other gecekondü resistances.

The field study has taken shape in time since due to the first impressions and representations in diverse media, especially of the Left; there was a “romantic” feeling of a unique, conscious -revolutionarist resistance. However, as a result of the study aiming to seize the real aspect, the picture has changed. There were in the media, same spokesmen, who was accused by gecekondü dwellers to benefit unfairly in terms of possessing a social housing, even raping their rights for “political”, others who are not dwellers of Güzeltepe. After the examination, it is realized that the resistance has other aspects containing various dimensions of tension within apparently “unified homogenous” aspect. The main approach is neither a romanticizing of the poverty or exaggeration of resistance, nor a claim of passivity or fatality. In the Güzeltepe resistance, what is crucial is that this protest is not a united movement. There are various tensions in terms of different reasons, especially between gecekondü owner and renter, people who lost their gecekondü and not, between some gecekondü owners and political groups having organized and supported the resistance, between some gecekondü dwellers involved in the resistance and political groups, between people who reside in old social housings , relatively new ones and gecekondü dwellers.

The gecekondü owners were blaming the renters for worsening the situation and also for being “political”. The owners were accusing them for profiting more than them since due to their protest; the renters (defined as “Durakkondücü” in the media)

receive from the municipality one-year rent aid and some furniture. The owners stated that because of the gain of the renters, their “possible” benefit decreased and failed in a bad situation between “the renters” and “the municipality”.

For instance, in the protesting part, there are some people who avoid and do not would to define themselves as political. Sometimes, people who think that their houses also will be demolished used the way of petition. Some people, who are involved in protest, went to the municipality for pursuing their rights and they are accused for being terrorists by these employers there. The local officials, movement activists and ordinary residents but who have the potential to be involved in the resistance, especially because of the fear of being accused and considered as terrorist. People involved in resistance, apart from radical left groups are those who think that this project is “unfair”.

In other words, there is a fear of determination of their protest as political. It could be said that there is different sides in the protesting side. There are different recruitment reasons and ways of the movement in Güzeltepe. In general, the renters are a part of the political right claiming. People affected and non-affected by demolition have a political fear. The fear of “considered as political” affect and determine mainly recruitment in the resistance.

A platform for demolition is organized as a mainly left organization, having not a definite place and members. As it could be understood from its name, it is a platform of various groups, organizations, associations, even that of gay-lesbians.

The members of left groups (from ESP) involved in the resistance underlined that they were splits, separations because of the personal decisions, fears, persuasions and personal benefits. They proposed to occupy social houses and to protest on their roofs; however, “ordinary” dwellers did not accept these propositions with reasons

namely the feeling of shame, the fear from official authorities, especially from the withdrawing of the promised help of furniture and land.

State and municipality's approach is critical to understand the reasons, process and interpretations of the resistance. The urban renewal project is perceived and presented as an improvement of the living conditions, housing of the neighborhood. Another point is about why they do not understand these opposition and they easily can address the opponents as radical leftists. The tenants and owners to whom they wanted to provide betterment can be easily seen as ungrateful. The revanchism grow with urban issues, insinuating to the general public opinion which is already present with stigmatizations and supported by the media whose "general" discourse is constituted around words like "radicals", "crime", "war place", "attacks to those who try to fulfill their duties". Another point is that the media representation, even though it has mainly a accusing and stigmatizing tone, raised an awareness in other neighborhoods under threat of demolition and an oppositional thought in some academic and professional milieus.

In Turkey, popular and dominant media's approach towards the social movements and protests are reported generally from state, government's point of view, as disrupting order, by stigmatizing them or emphasizing violence and deprivation sides, instead of mentioning reasons behind. (Köker, Doğanay, 2004) Spatial regulations, from gentrification to urban renewal projects have strong emphasis on social "rehabilitation" or change, increased security from *mobese system* to the police attitude are some signs of zero tolerance, even street clearances (for instance beggars, "street children to "Island"") in conference like Habitat or international activities like Formula. Class and radicalism are concepts which go hand in hand in the elaboration of gecekondu resistance in the representation in the media, besides exaggerated violence representations. Gecekondu dwellers have awareness of their self-representation in the media, sometimes complaining from their labels like "mad", "terrorist", and sometimes mentioning their image as proud reason. Especially in terms of their relations with employees of municipality responsible of

demolition and the police, their representation in the media causes problems, leading to accusations of being “terrorists” in their request for social housing as their right. They are also aware of their mis-representations in the press which quote their original statements, by manipulating and changing. Another lived experience from Güzeltepe is that some families have lived also problems because of name similarity with spokesman in the resistance. The Us/ Them polarization was a tool in the analyses, especially in terms of opportunity to seize differences and inconsistencies in the press. For the newspapers Birgün, Evrensel (with “alternative press in the net”) and Zaman this Us/Them polarization is consistent. (However, Us/them of Birgün and Evrensel is contrary to that of Zaman). The newspapers the most inconsistent in their positions towards gecekondulu and its resistance are Radikal and Milliyet.

Apart from all the evaluations about Güzeltepe resistance for urban land whether it’s a victory or defeat, this local resistance against demolition was starting a new era in the urban area and urban studies. Even though these examples could be evaluated in different aspects, gecekondulu’s relatively consistent struggle encourages for the future. This is also a success in the real self-empowerment process of these neighborhoods.

The urban renewal has started a new era a “forced apartmentization”, in the gecekondulu quarters, gecekondulu’s life and gecekondulu studies; since the “apartment” in Turkish sense is defined as a part or sign of upward social mobility. This type of “apartment” is a forced process, not an equivalent of the integration into an urban milieu, social mobility, a new desired way of life, and an escape from all the problems of gecekondulu. The spatial demolition means particularly demolition of social relationships; urban renewal should be mainly pursued by an interdisciplinary group, aiming mainly the improvement of the inhabitants’ conditions of the cities. However, apart from these aims for an appropriate practice of projects, it is necessary to underline that urban “problems” are spatial representations of the structural problems. In other words, spatial projects merely could not be solutions; but it could help. The examination of the project area and the practice should be

pursued by a professional group mastered in diverse subjects. The qualification of the renewal and its target group should be arranged for neighborhood dwellers. The most appropriate rehousing evaluated with its various aspects should be planned in the beginning of the projects, including particularly tenants. The desires of dwellers should be determinant in the spatial decisions and new milieus of negotiation should be realized where land acquisition process should be discussed clearly. The economic funds should be mainly allocated for dwellers, not ignoring the tenants. The real redevelopment and regeneration should be the main aims of the projects; however, the feasibility is open to discussion in a similar condition of urban planning in Turkey. Moreover, it is clear that urban conditions are not urban in terms of its reasons. The clearance of slum does not solve “urban problems”, on the contrary, creates new and significant ones, eradicating dwellers’ lives (Perlman, 1976).

The city’s importance comes from its characteristic as the place where the interests and the various relations become visible. The basic conflict in the framework of tension between urban projects and city dwellers is the struggle between the use and the exchange value of the city. Sometimes elaborated in the framework of power and conflict, space, the city is a landscape of power, reflecting different interests. Istanbul proposed as “global cultural capital” is under a planning based on urban regeneration, creating prestigious areas and housing. Even though the proposed and visible reason is mainly aesthetic/hygienic characteristic, the analysis of urban renewal-in more theoretical sense, in terms of literature review on the relationship between urban renewal and urban social movement-/regeneration- in practical usage-projects reflect power-class relations hidden in these projects proposed to be “a remedy for social diseases”. These projects primarily social aspect is that they stand as a stark with their adversary consequences on the lives of dwellers, displacing them and creating segregations and inequalities. The economic approach which is that the capital movement and the creation of rent gap constitute mainly the reasons behind these operations could be proposed as explicative for the operations pursued in various districts in Istanbul. Urban renewal becomes the synonym of the urban planning practices in Istanbul, even ignoring legal base for its application outside the “imar plan”. It is realized as a physical, in other words, spatial regulations but

ignoring social and economic standpoints. This ignorance could be a misleading explanation since the economic benefit with various dimensions for instance the increased land values, the creation of free land for the new construction of prestigious areas are the economic standpoint of the projects. The creation of prestigious areas, for housing and for transnational capital is the main point behind the social one. However, the empowerment of the “original” dwellers in the economic and social levels is not the objective of the urban renewal. The transformation remains to be a spatial beautification. The resettlement of the dwellers of the renewed areas into the social housings is another remarkable aspect as the recent and future consequence of the projects. The stigmatization with “illegal” character of gecekondu stands to be a justification in the statements of the government and municipalities. The urban renewal becomes a tool and a new definition for the eradication of the housings since it is a “clear” concept. Urban renewal creates new possibilities, reasons for struggle, reminding something very “old” class struggle. However, it could be always said that this assumption rests on a mystified or romanticized level.

Istanbul became an operation area shaped by the state, Istanbul municipality and local municipalities, social housing organization TOKİ, publicly masked private organization IMP which create a discourse criminalizing these areas, underling an ideal as cultural capital for Istanbul and which justify and legalize their spatial, but more exactly economic decisions in transnational market. The politics behind the planning are open to discussion because it could be said that it is manipulated like the other things in the market. This image is becoming more visible with the new regulations attempts and decisions in Istanbul and so, it is very crucial to analyze or to become aware of the processes since it is a sign and a result of ignoring the reality of the residents, with their so-called rational. Planning ignoring social life in the street, justice, exclusion, segregation, gap between “visions” (commonly used planning term) and realities, in its politicized process (its nature), planners employed in city and state governments, under mayors, governors, legislators, remain inactive contrary to their crucial ethical positions. So-called rationalization, standardization,

visualization, top-down decisions especially economic benefit seeking become dominant in plans.

In the study, it is attempted also to elaborate a categorization of urban resistance in Istanbul. Since in Turkey, there is a tendency in academic milieus, intellectual discussions and representation in the media, to evaluate middle or upper-middle classes' initiations as examples. It is admittedly that their protestations are significant; however, what is critical is that gecekondur resistance is evaluated as madness, rebellion or violence and there is an aspect of middle class protestation which stands against gecekondur and gecekondur dweller that "deteriorate" their city.

The spatial decisions lead to free urban spaces for new constructions seeking mainly economical interests. The social dimension before and after the project is ignored and changed with capital. "Public" (TOKİ) and private construction sector is working on luxurious sites, elite cities. Social houses reserved for displaced people became a forced process, proposed as solutions. The politics of decision making, regulation create new groups benefit from these projects. This thesis has also a characteristic of being a history of the revanchist city which would like to be in the transnational competition, wiping out its hindrance, in other words, its "social". Urban renewal projects with social rehabilitation discourses are proposed for city dwellers, for the renewed quarters' dwellers, yet people who are to be "rehabilitated" and displaced are the same dwellers. The criminalization of people before (Sulukule) and after (with the gecekondur resistance) becomes one of the main reasons which legalize these operations. Kuştepe is a recent example which is discussed in the framework of urban renewal projects. The "tulips" of Istanbul in the spring of the year 2006 are proposed to change, reflect on people's behaviors and psychology. But, in fact, especially gecekondur dwellers were excluded from their environment, from their families, from their memories, from their natural, constitutional right of dwelling. Until 1970s, gecekondus were considered as source of vote for right parties. However, especially due to a new generation born and educated in the city and involved in left groupings, a new period has started in gecekondus of 1970s. The

state was the side which is correlated by demolition, tax and debt of other “urban infrastructure” collection. The tactics of struggle are learned in this period, especially for anti-fascist struggle. Their class position is not generally a worker proletariat because of their employment characteristics (Pekdemir, 1988); yet, their situation, their peculiar class position is conformed to the proletarianisation underlined by Marx.

Even though these operations create a discussion milieu in various spheres, the main attitude towards gecekondü does not change drastically and could not be supported actively, in the protests by different groups of civil society. Moreover, this regeneration debate focuses mainly on subjects related to the “general issues” or “common heritage” of the city, not peripheral areas, which could be evaluated in the framework of the cultural capital of 2010 project. The participation and “governance” dimension is another dimension, whose practice is merely limited to the urban demands, to the technicians and to the discussions about the project. The publicly masked and publicly used private office of planning IMP became an impasse, especially in the processes of information, participation in the planning of especially gecekondü areas, with its strategically decisions from top-down determinacy. (For further information and critical points, please see Yağcıntan, 2006, 2006*) For this period, it could be mentioned an idea of selling, marketing the city at the global level, with foreign global capital. Especially the “prestigious” projects like Haydarpaşa Port, Galata Port, and Dubai Towers (The Arabian and gulf capital attracts attention in these projects (Sönmez, 2006)) are supported by the Municipality and the Prime Minister. Large-scale developers having political and financial power to solve confusing ownership problems in the gecekondü areas (Dündar, in: Davis, 2006, p. 85) The urban renewal/regeneration is discussed around its position as a tool for confiscating and marketing the urban space, in the framework of Istanbul as a “cultural capital of 2010”. In fact, there are two aspects in this cultural city vision. Firstly, it is interpreted as an entering to the transnational capital world, supported by projects Formula 1, Haydarpaşa, Dubai Towers and Galataport. Besides, in this project, there are some figures involved into working team of “cultural city” who are critical to the negative implications of the projects.

The aesthetic dimension is the one mostly considered and the social with various levels is the ignored, raising questions about the possessors of the city. The spring is lived in Istanbul with tulips, choosing the new ships; however, the so-called participation is realized within aesthetic projects, without real information for critical projects affecting directly lives of dwellers, by polluting this process. (Çavuşoğlu, 2006) As replacing solutions for gecekondü, mortgage and social housings are proposed as “legal” ways. Another critical aspect that mortgage is proposed as a magical housing policy especially for the gecekondü dwellers. Mortgage is used as it is in English, hindering its “Turkish” definition; “ipotek”. The urban renewal becomes a tool for the alteration of the use value into exchange value as underlined by Lefebvre especially in his study “The Production of Space” (1998) in the urban space (Çavuşoğlu, www.arkitera.com). Every case has its own peculiarity related to implications of the projects, to its social characteristics, to difference in organization of resistance. However, this issue gathers people around a same concern, leading to some organizations of resistance pursued together.

The “housing question”, the disorder, unhygienic environment, political stigmatizations hinder dilemma of urban planning practices in Istanbul between economic interests and social aims. In other words, the aesthetic and hygienic reasons were proposed ones to be a remedy for social diseases behind urban renewal/regeneration projects. The main aim of the study is to underline these programmes’ main aspect, which is the economic one. Yet these projects in question stand as a stark with adversary consequences on the dwellers, displacing them and creating new segregations and inequalities. Criminalizing the gecekondü neighborhoods and its resistance or protest as madness, from its “illegal” position to the dwellers’ activities, ethnic origin became the determinant of the prevailing atmosphere. It is accurate to highlight an emergence of “class awareness”, and a “new class war” as defined by Mike Davis (2006), beside of the common origin appurtenance, losing its importance particularly in terms of solidarity. However, in this point, apart from various tensions in the resistance, the exclusion of the grassroots from left groups after demolition period is another aspect which breaks the Romanization and the overlook. Although there was exclusion during resistance

organized mainly by left groups, the created resistance and relative awareness could open new ways for new studies and new “utopias”. The gecekondu demolition creates a war like situation in various quarters in Istanbul. Poverty-in-turn even loses its importance in terms of lack of new comers for the turn. Davis mentioned the earthquakes or natural events which mainly affect the slums, poor rural villages, and labeling with conceptualization of Hewitt as “classquake”. (Davis, 2006: 126) It could be adapted this term for Turkey, in the framework of “natural” and urban renewal practices. Participation and street ballet underline a possibility of a peaceful cooperation and elimination of the antagonism. However, the core of the situation lies in the class conflict (Ruggiero, 2001). Even though some people involved or affected in are not aware of their position and the reasons, the reason of the urban project are not spatial, but instead, economical. The so-called urban “solutions” do not solve, but shift the problem elsewhere as mentioned by Engels (Ruggiero, 2001) and making more serious. It could be assumed that like in the title of the article of Yıldırım (2006), urban regeneration itself became an actual “urban problem”, contrarily to its emerging and legitimation reasons, as “a solution for urban problems”.

The future prospects of the study have two aspects. Firstly, academically, this study aims to open a new perspective to the gecekondu studies, in terms of urban resistance, gecekondu resistance and “forced apartmentization” process, differently from its early characteristics related to a will and a social mobility. Secondly, in a more romantically approach, it is crucial to underline the potential of gecekondu quarters, not ignoring or stigmatizing their resistance. For this point, it is critical to underline the importance of the emergence the associations of beautification or other local neighborhood associations because of demolitions. Their first crucial problem, threat of losing their homes, is guaranteed by these organizations, replacing “*hemşehri*” associations losing their emergent and supportive missions. Even though these associations are not evaluated with the same approach towards civil neighborhood initiatives of middle or upper-middle class neighborhoods, they serve to appropriate their own resistance. It is clear that the first resistances and the formations of some of these associations are organized by the leftist groups, now,

these neighborhood associations involve in relationship both with leftist groups and also TMMOB, supported increasingly by academic milieus and media.

In the prevailing urban renewal/regeneration and growing organized resistance atmosphere, this study will open other avenues to explore, leading to long term research goals. It is necessary to work in these areas since it is critical to underline and elaborate the conditions and the potential inherent in these lives.

Even though gecekondu resistance could not be explained as perfect working class revolutionary resistance as promoted by the media of the leftist groups (since in the interviews, they do not agree with this view), urban renewal/regeneration, in itself is a decision which creates class conflict, deterritorializing “working classes”. In what extent is there a possibility of “a utopia” of Istanbul of workers, organized against exploitation? Is there a future of a new creation of hegemony, as a gathering of two camps in the urban protest, in terms of grassroots activism? Do the grassroots consider themselves as potential force? “Others” consider themselves as “conscious” actors? Is there a possibility of an alliance or solidarity for “urban” issues? Are urban issues –problems and spatial decisions-merely urban? Could other “problems” be solved by “urban” decisions and “transformations”? Everyday life dimension revealing the ignored and underrated potential is open to discussion in terms of evaluation as urban resistance and a creation of a new counter-hegemony.

The youth protest in peripheral regions of French metropolises in October of 2005 give some responses to the minds which propose social housing as solutions, with an understanding of urban problems as spatial ones. This relies upon the idea that visible urban problems could be solved by merely spatial solutions, ignoring the economic core. As underlined by Jean-François Pérouse in his reportages, articles and studies, this application experienced in the period between 1945-1950s of France, then enter to demolition period by the 1980s, for being “problematic urban areas”. Community development corporations are very crucial, in participation to a movement to improve housing opportunities especially for low-income households.

However, to “challenge” and “change” the distribution of power and resources in society must be the main aim. The space has a critical role in this objective but attaching importance to the fact that the dominant classes’ ideology is diffused as an urban ideology, which “naturalizes” class contradictions, considering them as “urban”(Castells, 1978).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AKOM:** The Coordination Center of Disaster (*Afet Koordinasyon Merkezi*)
- ESP:** The Socialist Platform of the Oppressed (*Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu*)
- DİSK:** The Confederation of Revolutionarist Labour Unions (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*)
- GEÇAK:** Transition Project from Gecekondu to “Contemporary” Housing (*Gecekondu dan Çağdaş Konuta Geçiş Projesi*)
- GYO:** The Partnership of Real Estate Investment (*Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı*)
- HKM:** Centers of Public Culture (*Halk Kültür Merkezleri*)
- IMP:** Metropolitan Planning (*İstanbul Metropoliten Planlama*)
- KİPTAŞ:** Istanbul Housing, Public Improvement, Plan, Industry and Commerce Incorporated Company (*İstanbul Konut İmar Plan Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş*)
- MGK:** National Security Committee (*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu*)
- NIMBY:** Not In My Back Yard
- TAYAD:** Assistance Association of Families of the Imprisoned and Condemned (*Tutuklu ve Hükümlü Aileleri Yardımlaşma Derneği*)
- TEM:** Trans European Motorway
- TMMOB:** The Turkish Union of the Chamber of Architects and Engineers (*Türkiye Mimar ve Mühendisler Odası Birliği*)
- TOKİ:** Turkish Administration of Social Housing (*Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi*)
- TÖP:** The Platform of Social Liberty *Toplumsal Özgürlük Platformu*
- SODAP:** The Platform of Socialist Solidarity (*Sosyalist Dayanışma Platformu*)

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APPENDICES

A. Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun

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Amaç ve kapsam

MADDE 1. — Bu Kanunun amacı, büyükşehir belediyeleri, büyükşehir belediyeleri sınırları içindeki ilçe ve ilk kademe belediyeleri, il, ilçe belediyeleri ve nüfusu 50.000'in üzerindeki belediyelerce ve bu belediyelerin yetki alanı dışında il özel idarelerince, yıpranan ve özelliğini kaybetmeye yüz tutmuş; kültür ve tabiat varlıklarını koruma kurullarınca sit alanı olarak tescil ve ilan edilen bölgeler ile bu bölgelere ait koruma alanlarının, bölgenin gelişimine uygun olarak yeniden inşa ve restore edilerek, bu bölgelerde konut, ticaret, kültür, turizm ve sosyal donatı alanları oluşturulması, tabii afet risklerine karşı tedbirler alınması, tarihi ve kültürel taşınmaz varlıkların yenilenerek korunması ve yaşatılarak kullanılmasıdır.

Bu Kanun, yukarıda belirtilen amaçlar doğrultusunda oluşturulacak olan yenileme alanlarının tespitine, teknik altyapı ve yapısal standartlarının belirlenmesine, projelerinin oluşturulmasına, uygulama, örgütlenme, yönetim, denetim, katılım ve kullanımına ilişkin usûl ve esasları kapsar.

Alanların belirlenmesi

MADDE 2. — Yenileme alanları, il özel idarelerinde il genel meclisi, belediyelerde belediye meclisi üye tam sayısının salt çoğunluğunun kararı ile belirlenir. İl özel idaresinde il genel meclisince, büyükşehirler dışındaki belediyelerde belediye meclisince alınan kararlar Bakanlar Kuruluna sunulur. Büyükşehirlerde ise ilçe ve ilk kademe belediye meclislerince alınan bu kararlar, büyükşehir belediye meclisince onaylanması halinde Bakanlar Kuruluna sunulur. Bakanlar Kurulu projenin uygulanıp uygulanmamasına üç ay içinde karar verir.

Bakanlar Kurulunca kabul edilen alanlardaki uygulama bir program dahilinde etap etap projelendirilebilir.

Etap proje ve programları, meclis üye tam sayısının salt çoğunluğunun kararı ve belediyelerde belediye başkanının, il özel idarelerinde valinin onayı ile uygulamaya konulur.

Belirlenen alan sınırları içindeki tüm taşınmazlar, belediyece ve il özel idaresince hazırlanacak yenileme projelerinin kültür ve tabiat varlıklarını koruma kurulunca karara bağlanmasını müteakip bu Kanuna göre yapılacak yenileme projesi hükümlerine tâbi olurlar. Büyükşehir belediye sınırları içinde büyükşehir belediyelerinin yapacaklarının dışında kalan yenileme projeleri, ilçe ve ilk kademe belediyelerince hazırlanması ve meclislerinde kabulünden sonra büyükşehir belediye başkanınca onaylanarak yürürlüğe girer. Buna göre kamulaştırma ve uygulama yapılır.

Yenileme alanlarının teknik altyapı ve yapısal standartların oluşturulması, bu alanların yönetimi ile örgütlenme ve uygulama alanlarında bulunan hak sahiplerinin veya bölge halkının katılımına dair usûl ve esaslar yönetmelikte belirlenir.

Uygulama

MADDE 3. — Yenileme alanları olarak belirlenen bölgelerde il özel idaresi ve belediye tarafından hazırlanan veya hazırlatılan yenileme projeleri ve uygulamaları ilgili il özel idareleri ve belediyeler eliyle yapılır veya kamu kurum ve kuruluşları veya gerçek ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerine yaptırılarak uygulanır.

Bu alanlarda Toplu Konut İdaresi ile ortak uygulama yapılabileceği gibi, Toplu Konut İdaresine de uygulama yaptırılabilir.

Büyükşehirlerde, büyükşehir belediyeleri tarafından başlatılmayan uygulamalar ilçe ve ilk kademe belediyelerince tek başına veya müşterek olarak yapılır veya yaptırılır.

Yenileme alanı içinde yapı parsellerindeki uygulamalarda kendi parseli ve yapısı aynen korunarak yenilenecek yapılar, projenin bütünlüğünü bozmamak şartıyla belediyece kabul edilen projeye bağlı kalmak ve il özel idaresi ve belediyenin belirleyeceği amaçta kullanılmak kaydıyla parsel sahibince yapılabilir. Bu durumlarda uygulamanın projeye eş zamanlı olarak başlatılması ve tamamlanması esastır. Aksi takdirde il özel idaresi ve belediyece bu Kanun hükümleri uygulanır.

Yenileme alanlarında yenileme projelerinin uygulanması sırasında tabii afet riski taşıdığı Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığınca belirlenen bölgelerde gerekli tedbirleri almak üzere il özel idareleri ve belediyeler yenileme projelerinde tasfiye de dahil olmak üzere gerekli düzenlemeleri yapabilir, yasaklar koyabilir. Bu konudaki esas ve usûller yönetmelikte belirlenir.

Uygulama esnasında her türlü kontrol, denetim ve takip işlemleri, ilgili il özel idaresi ve belediyece yapılır veya yaptırılarak sonuçlandırılır. Bu işlemler, projenin özelliğine göre konuyla ilgili uzman kişi, kurum ve ekiplere yaptırılır.

Yenileme alanlarındaki uygulamalar her türlü vergi, resim, harç ve ücretlerden muaftır.

Yenileme projelerini onaylamak üzere 2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanununun 51 inci maddesine göre gerektiği kadar Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu oluşturulur. Kurulca onaylanan projeler, il özel idaresi veya belediyece uygulanır.

Yenileme alanlarında yapılacak uygulamalarda her türlü mal ve hizmet alımları ile yapım işleri, ceza ve ihalelerden yasaklama hükümleri hariç olmak üzere 4734 sayılı Kamu İhale Kanunu hükümlerinden muaftır.

Yenileme projeleri, uygulama alanı içerisinde bulunan taşınmaz kültür ve tabiat varlıklarının rölöve, restitüsyon, restorasyon projeleri ile onarılacak veya yeniden

inşa edilecek yapıların imar mevzuatında öngörülen projelerinden oluşur.

Taşınmaz tasarruflarının kısıtlanması ve kamulaştırma

MADDE 4. — İl özel idaresi ve belediye, yenileme alanı ilan edilen yerlerdeki taşınmazlar üzerinde, her türlü yapılaşma, kullanım ve işletme konularında proje tamamlanıncaya kadar geçici kısıtlamalar uygulayabilir.

Yenileme alanlarında bulunan yapıların boşaltılması, yıkımı ve kamulaştırılmasında anlaşma yolu esastır. Anlaşma sağlanamayan hallerde gerçek ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerinin mülkiyetinde bulunan taşınmazlar ilgili il özel idaresi ve belediye tarafından kamulaştırılabilir. Bu Kanun uyarınca yapılacak kamulaştırmalar 2942 sayılı Kamulaştırma Kanununun 3 üncü maddesinin ikinci fıkrasındaki iskân projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesi amaçlı kamulaştırma sayılır.

Tapuda mülkiyet hanesi açık olan taşınmazlar ile varisi belli olmayan, kayyım tayin edilmiş, ihtilafı, davalı ve üzerinde her türlü mülkiyet ve mülkiyetin gayri aynî hak tesis edilmiş olan taşınmazlar için de aynı madde hükümlerine göre kamulaştırma işlemleri yürütülür. Kamulaştırma işlemlerinin yürütülmesinde il özel idareleri ve belediyeler veraset ilamı çıkarttırmaya, kayyım tayin ettirmeye veya tapuda kayıtlı son malike göre işlem yapmaya yetkilidir.

İl özel idareleri ve belediyeler taşınmaz mülkiyetinin kamulaştırılması yerine, uygun gördükleri takdirde satın alma, kat karşılığı ve 4721 sayılı Türk Medeni Kanununun ilgili maddelerinde düzenlenen intifa hakkı veya üst hakkı kurulması yolu ile sınırlı aynî hak tesis edebilirler.

Yenileme alanı içerisinde kalan Hazineye ait taşınmazlar başka bir işleme gerek kalmaksızın projeyi yürüten il özel idaresine ve belediyeye bedelsiz devredilir. Satış ve gelir getirici bir işe dönüştürüldüğünde proje ve uygulama giderleri çıktıktan sonraki gelirin yüzde yirmibeşi Hazineye verilir. Devre ait işlemler il özel idaresi ve belediyenin talebi üzerine ilgili tapu sicil müdürlüğünce resen yapılır. Bu işlemler her türlü vergi, resim ve harçtan muaftır. Yenileme alanı ilan edilen yerlerde, yenileme projesi kapsamında kalan taşınmazlar Hazinece satılamaz, kiraya verilemez, tahsis edilemez.

Yenileme alanlarında uygulanacak projelerin kamulaştırma, plân, proje ve yapım işlerinde kullanılmak üzere, 2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanununun 12 nci maddesine göre oluşturulan Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına Katkı Payı hesabından belediyelere aktarma yapılır.

Millî Savunma Bakanlığına tahsisli arsa, arazi, yapı ve tesisler, 2565 sayılı Askeri Yasak Bölgeler ve Güvenlik Bölgeleri Kanunu kapsamında bulunan yerler, sivil ve askeri hava alanları ve mania plânları kapsamında kalan yerler, mülkiyeti Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına ait bulunan okullar, mülkiyeti veya idaresi Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğüne ait bulunan taşınmazlar ile tapu kayıtlarında vakıf şerhi bulunan taşınmazlarda bu Kanun hükümlerinin nasıl uygulanacağı Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, ilgili bakanlık veya Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü ve il özel idaresi veya belediyece müştereken belirlenir.

Sınırlı aynı hak tesisi

MADDE 5. — Kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının ellerinde bulunan tarihi eser niteliğini haiz bina ve müstemilatı, tarihi özelliklerine uygun olarak restore ettirmek ve/veya tarihi özellikleri korunmak ve mülkiyeti ilgili kamu kurum ve kuruluşunda kalmak suretiyle; eğitim, sağlık, kültür ve sosyal amaçlı olmak üzere kamu yararına çalışan dernekler, vakıflar, kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşları ve diğer kamu kurum ve kuruluşları ile üniversiteler ile ticarî faaliyetlerde kullanılmak üzere gerçek ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerine sınırlı aynı hak olarak tesis edilebilir.

Sınırlı aynı hak tesisi ile ilgili esas ve usuller ile bedeli ve kullanma süresi, ilgili belediye veya ilgili kamu kurum ve kuruluşları tarafından Türk Medeni Kanunu, İl Özel İdaresi Kanunu, Belediye Kanunu ve ilgili diğer mevzuat çerçevesinde belirlenir.

Yönetmelik

MADDE 6. — Bu Kanunun uygulanmasına ilişkin yönetmelik, İçişleri Bakanlığının teklifi üzerine Bakanlar Kurulunca Kanunun yayımı tarihinden itibaren üç ay içinde yürürlüğe konulur.

Uygulanmayacak hükümler

MADDE 7. — Bu Kanun kapsamında yer alan yenileme alanlarında, uluslararası hukuktan doğan yükümlülükler saklı kalmak kaydıyla, diğer kanunların bu Kanuna aykırı hükümleri uygulanmaz.

Yürürlük

MADDE 8. — Bu Kanun yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

Yürütme

MADDE 9. — Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

B. TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesinin “İstanbul Kentsel Dönüşüm Kanunu Tasarısı” Hakkında Görüşü

10 Nisan 2006

Şube Adına Hazırlayan:

Yrd. Doç. Dr. P. Pınar ÖZDEN, Erhan DEMİRDİZEN

Türkiye’de gündem, yeni bir Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı üzerinde odaklanmış durumdadır. Bu seferki Tasarı, her ne kadar İstanbul’a özel olarak hazırlanmış ise de, aslında doğrudan tüm kentlere örnek olacak ve yeni parçacıl yasaların önünü açacak bir mantığa sahip olması nedeniyle, yalnızca İstanbul’u değil, tüm kentlerimizi ilgilendirmektedir. Tasarıya ilişkin görüşlerimiz aşağıdaki gibidir:

1- Yeni tasarı mantığı açısından ele alındığında, yukarıda da söz edildiği gibi, ülkenin bütüncül planlama yaklaşımını parçalayan ve özelleştiren niteliği nedeniyle temelden hatalı bir anlayışa sahiptir. Odamız, yıllardan beri planlamanın bütüncül bir yaklaşım olduğunu, yasal sistemin de bunu destekleyen ve besleyen bir içeriğe ve mantığa kavuşturulması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Oysa ki bu tasarı, yalnızca “Dönüşüm Yasası” gibi bir içerikle zaten karmaşık olan planlama mevzuatına ek bir yük getirmekle kalmamakta, aynı zamanda “İstanbul’a özel” olması itibariyle de parçalanmışlığı artırmaktadır. Bunun da ötesinde, genel yaklaşımı itibariyle değerlendirildiğinde, tasarıda kamucu bir yaklaşımla değil, özel sektör yaklaşımı ile hareket edildiği temel bir eleştiri olarak vurgulanmalıdır.

2- Yine her fırsatta dile getirdiğimiz ve planlama sistemimiz açısından sakıncalı bulduğumuz Amaçlı Plan kavramı, bu tasarı ile bir kez daha karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bütüncül bir planlama anlayışı içinde odamız “amaçlı plan” kavramını reddetmektedir. Planlama, zaten içinde koruma, yenileme, geliştirme, dönüştürme, iyileştirme gibi amaçları içeren bir kavramdır; bunların dışında bir planlama kavramı yoktur. Dolayısıyla, üst ölçekten alt ölçeğe doğru giden planlama kademelenmesi içinde, bu amaçların her biri, genel planın birer parçası olarak, kapsamlı bir şekilde detaylandırılmalıdır. Bununla birlikte, bunların adı “koruma amaçlı imar planı” ya da “dönüşüm amaçlı imar planı”, vb. olmamalıdır. Bu tasarıda yer alan “Dönüşüm Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı”, “amaçlı imar planı” kavramına yeni bir örnek daha getirmektedir. Zaten yarattığı tanım karmaşasını aşamayan plansız planlama sistemimiz yeni plan türleriyle .

3- Tasarının 4 üncü maddesi yenileme alanlarının belirlenmesi ile ilgili düzenlemeleri içermektedir. Maddeye göre, yenileme alanlarının belirlenmesi için belediye görüşü alınacak, ardından Büyükşehir belediye meclisinde onaylanacaktır. Ancak, yenileme alanı, yalnızca belediye görüşüyle belirlenecek bir konu değildir. Kentsel dönüşüm konusunda deneyimli ülkelerdeki örneklerden de bildiğimiz gibi, belediye görüşü ve kararlardan önce, bir alanın yenileme alanı olarak belirlenmesi için bilimsel kriterler saptanmaktadır. Bu son derece ciddi bir iştir ve uzmanlarca yapılır. Büyükşehir ve belediye Yasalarından gelen 50 bin metrekare sınırına itirazımız, bilimsel kriterlere dayanmadığı gerekçesiyle deva etmektedir.

4- Eski tasarıda, proje ortaklıkları tanımlanmakta ve yabancı sermayenin dönüşüm alanlarına girmesi konusu düzenlenmekteydi. Bu madde, tasarıya getirmiş olduğumuz temel eleştirilerin başında yer alıyordu. Bu madde ile yeni Dubai Towers’ların, yeni Galataport’ların, yeni Haydarpaşa’ların önünün açılacağını vurguluyorduk. Yeni tasarıda bu madde kaldırılmış olmakla birlikte, tanımlar bölümünde proje ortaklıkları kavramının halen duruyor olması; ancak maddelerin içinde bu tanımın yer almaması, halen bir soru işaretine neden olmaktadır.

5- Aynı maddede, dönüşüm alanı sınırlarının askıya çıkarılma sürecinden söz edilmektedir. Burada bir kavram kargaşası bulunmaktadır. Yenileme alanları değil, planlar askıya çıkarılabilir. Oysa bu tasarıda planların askıya çıkarılması ve itiraz sürecine yönelik herhangi bir düzenleme bulunmamaktadır.

6- Dönüşüm alanlarında mülkiyet haklarını düzenlemek üzere, anlaşma, kamulaştırma ve gayrimenkul sertifikası gibi araçlar belirlenmiştir. Gayrimenkul sertifikasının idare ya da proje ortaklığınca verilmesi proje uygulamaları sırasında bazı hukuksal tartışmaların oluşmasına yol açabilecek bir düzenlemedir.

7- Beşinci madde ile 12.10.2004 tarihinden önce yapılan ruhsatsız yapı ve gecekonduların sahipleri hak sahibi olarak ilan edilerek sosyal konutlardan faydalanmalarının yolu açılmaktadır. Bu kullanıcılara cezai ve yasal yükümlülüklerini yerine getirmek şartıyla bir tür ödüllendirme getirilmektedir. Oysa ki sosyal konuttan faydalanmanın farklı kriterleri olmak durumundadır. Yasa dışı yapı sahiplerinin tamamı sosyal konuttan faydalanacak kadar düşük ekonomik gelir grubuna dahil değildirler.

8- Madde 6 ile tüm yetkilerin İBB tarafından kullanılacağı belirtilmektedir. Toplu Konut İdaresi ile ilgili olarak son dönemde getirilen yasal düzenlemeler ise, İdareye bu konuda önemli yetkiler vermektedir. Bu madde, yeni yetki karmaşalarına sebebiyet verecektir.

9- Dönüşüm alanlarında bireysel uygulamaları teşvik etmek amacıyla vergi düzenlemeleri olumlu bir yaklaşımdır. Bununla birlikte, bu uygulamaların yasadışı yapıların sahiplerini ödüllendirecek bir noktaya çekilmesi de kolay kabul edilebilir bir politika olmayacaktır. Bu nedenle, bu alanlardaki vergi, resim, harç ve ücretler, yapıların hukuki durumu ve yapılacak müdahale türüne göre ayrı ayrı tanımlanmalıdır. Bu bazı durumlarda muafiyet, bazı durumlarda indirim şeklinde olmalıdır.

Sonuç olarak, İstanbul'un ülkemiz içindeki önemi ve beklenen büyük deprem karşısındaki dayanıksızlığı yöneticileri acil çözümler bulmaya ne kadar itiyor olsa da, Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı'nı bağımsız bir yasa olarak kabul etme düşüncesi, bütüncül planlama anlayışı ile örtüşmemektedir. Kaldı ki İstanbul'a özel bir yasa, hiç kabul edilebilir bir yaklaşım değildir. 2004 yılında yapılan yasal düzenlemeler, gerek belediye ve Büyükşehir belediyelerinin, gerekse Toplu Konut İdaresi'nin dönüşüme ilişkin görev ve yetkilerinin sınırlarını çizmiş bulunmaktadır.

Dönüşümü genel planlama kurgusunun bir parçası olarak benimsemek, yasal işleyişini ise yönetmelikle oluşturmak, bütüncül planlama mentalitesi içinde çok daha rasyonel bir yaklaşım olarak görülmektedir.

C. Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu Açılış Konuşması - 18 Kasım 2006

Sayın TMMOB Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı, Değerli Oda Üyelerimiz ve Değerli Katılımcılar; Hepinizi TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası adına saygıyla selamlıyor ve hoş geldiniz diyorum. Son dönemde Kentsel Dönüşüm adı altında gerçekleştirilen uygulamalar ile kentsel mekanda yaşanan yıkımlar bu alanlarda yaşayanlar için sosyal bir yıkıma dönüşmektedir. Kentler ve kentsel mekan neoliberal politikaların benimsendiği ve bu politikaların yol açtığı küreselleşme süreçleri ile şekillenirken, demokrasi, kamu yararı ve sosyal adalet gibi temel evrensel haklar üzerinde de tahripkar sonuçlar üretmektedir.

Sağlıklı ve yaşanabilir kentsel mekan üretimi açısından oldukça sorunlu bir kentsel tarihinin sahip olan ülkemiz için dönüşüm ya da yenileme yoluyla kentsel mekanın/yaşam alanlarının yeniden düzenlenmesi önemli bir ihtiyaca denk düşmektedir. Ancak bu ihtiyacın çözümüne yanıt olarak geliştirilecek gerçekçi yasal düzenleme ve uygulamaların sağlıklı ve yaşanılabilir kentsel mekan sorununu tüm yönleriyle ele alması ve belirli bir mekansal bütün içerisinde düzenlemeler getirmesi gerekmektedir.

Ne var ki, son yıllarda yapılan kentsel dönüşüm uygulamaları ve bir süredir meclisin gündeminde olan bu uygulamalara yasal dayanak oluşturmaya dönük olan Dönüşüm Alanları Hakkında Yasa Tasarısı kamu yararı ve toplumsal adalet kaygılarının oldukça uzağındadır. Son günlerde basına da yansıdığı gibi başta İstanbul olmak üzere büyük kentlerimizde yaşanan kentsel dönüşüm uygulamaları bu bölgelerde yaşayan halkın yerinden edilmesine ve belirli çevrelerin kentsel rantlara el koymasına yol açmaktadır.

TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası olarak kentlerimizin yenileme yoluyla yeniden düzenlenmesine dönük olan ihtiyacını 2003 yılında bu konuda çalışma yapan kişi ve kurumların temsilcilerinin katılımı ile düzenlemiş olduğumuz Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumunda bildirmiştik. Ancak aradan geçen zaman içerisinde yerel ve merkezin yönetimin kentlerimizin ve kentlilerimizin bu yöndeki ihtiyacını yatırım aracına dönüştürdüğünü ve kentsel dönüşüm söylemi adı altında yoksulların ve mağdurların yaşam alanlarından tasfiye edilmesine yol açtığı ve bu süreci planlama geleneğimize bir saldırı biçimine dönüştürdüğünü gözlemliyoruz.

Toplumsal yarar ve sosyal adaleti dışlayan yeni bir kentleşme sürecini ve planlama değil proje temelli kentsel gelişime yol açacağını düşündüğümüz bu uygulamalara ve bu yöndeki yasal düzenlemelere karşı güçlü bir muhalefet odağının oluşturulmasının gerekliliğine inanıyoruz. Geçtiğimiz hafta kamuoyu ile paylaştığımız açıklamada da belirttiğimiz gibi kentsel dönüşüm uygulamaları artık rant amaçlı tasfiye uygulamalarına dönüşmüş durumdadır. Bu çerçevede TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası olarak kentsel dönüşüm proje alanlarında yaşayan ve projelerin nesnesi haline getirilmiş olan yerel halkın sesine kulak vermeyi rant amaçlı dönüşüm projelerine karşı bitlikte mücadele etmeyi ve bu mücadeleye bilimsel ve teknik bilgiyi taşımayı önümüze temel bir hedef olarak koyuyoruz. Sempozyumun içeriği ve kapsamını oluşturan bu fikrin örgütümüz, birlikte mücadele ettiğimiz meslek odaları, sivil toplum örgütleri ve yerel halkın katkıları ile gelişeceğini ve sözünü ettiğimiz karşı bir muhalefet odağı oluşturacağını düşünüyoruz.

Bunun yanı sıra Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı'na Hayır diyen meclise sunulmak üzere tüm kentlilerin, yurttaşların ve şehir plancılarının katılımına açık bir imza kampanyası başlattık. Ve Sempozyumumuzun öğle arasında saat 13:00'te Sakarya Caddesi'nde Ankara İKK tarafından yapılacak basın açıklamasına katılımınızı bekliyoruz.

Sempozyumumuzun bu yöndeki çalışmalara katkı sağlaması ve hız kazandırması dileğiyle hepinizi saygıyla selamlıyor ve başarılı bir sempozyum olmasını diliyorum.

Ve açılış konuşmasını yapmak üzere sözü TMMOB Yönetim Kurulu Başkanımız Mehmet Soğancı'ya bırakıyorum.

Özlem Çelik
TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Genel Sekreter

D. Declarations

BASINA VE KAMUOYUNA (Sosyalist Barikat)

Biz Güzeltepe Mahallesi'nde oturan gecekondu kiracıları, günlerdir evlerimizin yıkılmasına karşı sesimizi duyurmaya çalıştık. Durumumuzu Eyüp Belediyesi, Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne dilekçeler vererek, basına açıklamalar yaparak anlattık. Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı ile görüşme talebimiz reddedildi. Çoğu işsiz olan ve asgari ücretlerle çalışan bizler fahiş kiralari ödeyecek durumda değiliz. İsteğimiz, mahallemizdeki sosyal konutlardan uygun kira karşılığı yer gösterilmesidir, işsizliğin ve yoksulluğun had safhaya ulaştığı bu süreçte devlet bizi çocuklarımızla sokağa terk ederek başınızın çaresine bakın, diyor. Bize sosyal konutlardan yer gösterilmesine ilişkin bir güvence verilmeden evlerimizi terk etmeyeceğimizi defalarca haykırdık. Ancak bu talebimizin karşılığı devlet şiddeti ve terör olmuştur.

Dün saat 19.30 dolaylarında mahallemize gelen güvenlik güçleri boş evlere girerek aramalar yaptı. Bir grup kiracı ve mahalleli ne yapmak istediklerini sorduklarında da hakaret ve tehditleriyle yanıt verdi. Konuşmaya giden insanlarımızı vatan haini diyerek hakaret eden polis amiri 'evlerinizi boşaltın, burası sizin değil bizim, istediğimizi yaparız' sözleriyle göz dağı vererek niyetini ortaya koydu. Yıkıma geleceklerini anlayınca bizde kiracılar ve Güzeltepe Halkı olarak direniş hakkımızın verdiği meşrulukla barikatlarımızı kurduk. Bugün saat 11:30 dolaylarında panzerlerle ve gaz bombalarıyla gelen güvenlik güçleri kiracılarla konuşarak barikatın kaldırılması durumunda gideceklerini söylediler. Bunun üzerine barikat kaldırılmaya çalışılırken sözlerini tutmayan güvenlik güçleri panzerle Güzeltepe halkının üzerine yürüdü. Sayılamayacak kadar çok miktarda gaz bombası atıldılar. Üstelik bu gaz bombaları sadece gecekonduların bulunduğu yere değil diğer sokaklara da atıldı. Bu durumdan çocuklar, yaşlılar son derece olumsuz etkilendi ve zehirlenmeler yaşandı. Bu saldırıda hedef olarak devrimciler gösterilmiştir. Ancak durum son derece açıkça ortadadır ki hedef Güzeltepe halkının kendisidir. Amaç halkın, demokratik kurumların birleşik direnişini engellemektir.

Devlet, son yıkım politikalarıyla meşru direniş hakkını kullanan emekçi halkı provokatör ilan ederken asıl provokatörlüğü kendisinin yaptığını bugün yaşanan olaylarla bir kez daha göstermiştir.

Soruyoruz, "kentsel dönüşüm projesi"yle İstanbul'u güzelleştireceğini iddia eden AKP Hükümeti emekçi halkı hiçe sayarak evsiz, işsiz, aşsız insanlarla mı İstanbul'u güzelleştirmeyi düşünüyor. ,

Oyları kaybetmek pahasına yıkımların olacağını söyleyen Başbakan çocuk yaşlı demeden atılan gaz bombalarının hesabını vermelidir. Devlet, Anayasal bir hak olan barınma hakkını gasp etmeyi terk etmelidir.

Biz Güzeltepe halkı olarak talebimize ilişkin bir güvence verinceye kadar

evlerimizi terk etmeyeceğiz. Son olaylarla ilgili olarak herkesi duyarlı olmaya çağırıyoruz.

**HERKESE KONUT, HERKESE İNSANCA YAŞAM!
BARINMA HAKKIMIZ GASP EDİLEMEZ!
YIKIMLARA KARŞI TEK YUMRUK TEK BARİKAT
GECEKONDU YIKIMLARINA İZİN VERMEYECEĞİZ!**

22 Temmuz 2005 / GÜZELTEPE HALKI

Güzeltepe'den Mektup... (Sosyalist Barikat)

Devrimci Sosyalizm Güzeltepe'de Neler Kazandı?

Aylar süren çabanın ve direnişlerin ardından sürece baktığımızda, Güzeltepe direnişinin özgün yanlarını ve bize kazandırdıklarını şöyle özetleyebiliriz:

* Herşeyden önce Güzeltepe direnişi, devrimci sosyalistlerin kararlı ve savaşçı tutumlarının bir kez daha dosta düşmana gösterildiği bir alan olmuştur. Direnişin hiçbir aşamasında geri bir tutum ya da "düşmana şöyle bir görünüp kaçma" tutumu görülmemiş, her aşamada soğukkanlı, panikten uzak ve çatışmadan geri çekilmeyen direnişçi bir tavır gösterilmiştir. Devrimci sosyalistler böylece, Güzeltepe halkına olduğu kadar gelecekte birlikte direniş örgütleyecekleri dostlarına da güvenilir bir yapı oldukları konusunda tam bir güven vermişlerdir.

* Hızlı karar verip uygulamaktan fiziksel manevralara ve düşmanı şaşırta uygulamalara kadar birçok konuda devrimci sosyalistler bu direniş boyunca iyi örnekler sergilemişler ve kuşkusuz çok şey de öğrenmişlerdir. Ayrıca disiplinli davranış, örgütlü tutumlar konusunda da direniş bir laboratuvar gibi işlev görmüştür. Militan bir devrimci halk hareketinin ancak tek bir yerde, sokakta inşa edilebileceğine inanan devrimci sosyalizm, bir anlamda bu inşanın en önemli aşamalarından birini Güzeltepe'de gerçekleştirmiş, bu inşanın çok önemli bir eşik noktasını an be an yaşayarak aşmışlardır. Militan bir halk hareketi örmemizin yolu açıktır; Güzeltepe, yeni süreçte böylesi bir hareketi yaratma yolundaki ilk köşe taşlarından biridir. Gelecekte, militan halk hareketimizin tarihi tartışılırken, hiç şüphesiz Güzeltepe direnişi bu eşik noktası olma durumu açısından her zaman anımsanacaktır.

* Sürecin başından beri Politik Kültürel Odaklar üzerine ısrarla yaptığımız vurguların neredeyse tümü, bu direniş sırasında olumlu yönden doğrulanmıştır. Kitlelerle birlikte, onların içinde kök salarak yürüme perspektifi, kurumlarımızı emekçi halkın hayatının bir parçası yapma, bireyciliğin yerine emekçi dayanışmasını inşa etme yaklaşımı, vb. vb. gibi anlayışlarımızın tümü bu direnişte somut görünümelerini ortaya koymuşlardır. Bütün bunlar, kurumlarımızın tümü için bir moral kaynağı da olmuştur.

* Devrimci sosyalizm, kendi siyaset yapma anlayışını, kitlelerle ilişki kurma ölçütlerini, etik yaklaşımını bu olayda birkaç yönden ortaya koymuş ve genel olarak doğru tutum örnekleri göstermiştir. Devrimci sosyalistlerin halkla olan ilişkilerinde sürekli olarak sabır ve ikna yolunu seçmeleri, bütün aşamalarda halkla defalarca ve defalarca tartışarak kararlar vermeleri, çevre esnafa ve evlere zarar vermemek, onları da direnişe katmak için özel çaba göstermeleri ve bu arada direniş saflarında

kendileriyle birlikte yer alan diğerk devrimcilerle saygılı bir ilişki kurmaları kuşkusuz rastlantı değildir. Emek vererek hak sahibi olmak, emek vererek direniş örgütlemek devrimci sosyalizmin politik kültürünün içkin bir parçasıdır ve bize yol gösteren kriterlerdir. Güzeltepe direnişi, bütün bu özelliklerin de yeniden teyit edildiği bir zemin olmuştur.

Kısacası, derslerle dolu bir süreç olarak Güzeltepe direnişi, devrimci sosyalist hareketin tarihine malolacak önemli kilometre taşlarından biridir.

Devrimci bir halk hareketi yaratmak yolunda yürüyoruz ve yeni Güzeltepe'lerle ilerleyeceğiz.

Güzeltepe Direnişçileri

Güzeltepe'li kiracılardan Belediye'ye dilekçe(ATılım.org)

Güzeltepe'de yıkım tehdidi altında bulunan gecekondulu kiracıları, 20 Haziran'da Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne barınma hakları için dilekçe verdi. Güzeltepe Yenibayır Sokak'ta bulunan 11 aile, Eyüp Belediyesi tarafından sokağa atılıyor. Gecekondulu sahipleriyle anlaşan Belediye, oturabilecekleri bir alan göstermediği kiracıları evden çıkmaya zorluyor. Kiracılardan asker annesi Kader Elitaş, eşyalarıyla kapı dışarı edilmiş. 11 gündür sokakta tek başına yaşamak zorunda bırakılan Elitaş, 2 defa cinsel tacize uğradığını ve intihar girişiminde bulunduğunu anlatıyor. Oğlunu askere gönderdiğini belirten Elitaş, "asker annesi olmanın karşılığı bu muydu?" diye tepkisini gösteriyor.

Diğerk 10 kiracının durumu da Elitaş'dan farklı değil. Buldukları gecekondulara, 125-190 milyon arasında kira ödediklerini belirten kiracılar, yeni bir ev kiralamanın 400-500 milyondan azolmayacağını ve bu bedeli karşılayamayacaklarını belirtiyorlar. Yenibayır emekçiler, iki hafta önce de Belediye'ye gelerek dilekçe verdiklerini fakat Belediye tarafından ciddiye alınmadıklarını söylüyorlar. Haklarından vazgeçmeyeceklerini belirten kiracılara Belediye, 15 gün içinde yıkım yapılacak bölge için 1 ay sonra yanıt vereceğini söyledi. Yenibayır emekçiler Belediye'nin yanıtına şu yanıtı veriyor: "Millet olmadan devlet olmaz. Bizi unutarak orda kalamazlar

(Atılım.org)

Kurultay'dan çıkan sonuç bildirgesinin tam metni ise şu şekilde:

SONUÇ BİLDİRGESİ(Atılım.org)

Biz Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Kurultayı'nda buluşan; Derbent, Poligon, Sarıyer, İkitelli-Ayazma, Avcılar Yeşilkent, Aydos, Kurtköy, Sülüntepe, Tokatlıköy, Alibeyköy, Güzeltepe, Okmeydanı, Ferahevler, Gülsuyu ve Gülensu mahallelerinden 500 emekçi, "Kentsel Dönüşüm" adı altında gündeme getirilen yıkım saldırısına karşı ellerimizi birleştirdik.

AKP Hükümeti ve belediyeleri, sermayenin hizmetinde, Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi adı altında evlerimizi başımıza yıkmaya çalışıyor. Emlak spekülatoörlerine ve müteahhitlere arsa rantı sağlamak için emekçiler sokakta yaşamaya mahkum ediliyor.

Bunun adı Kentsel Dönüşüm değil, Kentsel Bölüşüm projesidir, Rantsal Bölüşüm projesidir, yıkım projesidir. Evlerimizin yıkılmasına dayalı hiçbir sözde çözüm kabul etmiyoruz.

Anayasa'nın 57. maddesinde, tüm vatandaşların ücretsiz konut hakkına sahip olduğu yazılıdır. Ama sadece parası olana konut hakkı tanınmıyor. Biz yoksul, emekçi halka kirada oturmak dışında bir şans tanınmıyor. Gecekondu, bu koşullar altında yoksul, emekçi halkımızın barınma sorununa bulduğu çözümdür. Gecekondu, bu koşullar altında emekçinin hakkıdır.

Milyonlarca emekçinin kentlere yığılmasının da, çarpık kentleşmenin de sorumlusu emekçiler değildir. Emekçi milyonların konut sorununa çözüm getiremeyen kapitalist düzen, emekçilere gecekonduyu bile çok görüyor.

Kapitalizmin kentleri zenginlerin hizmetindedir. Kent hizmetleri zengin mahallelerine gider. Villalar, gökdelenler, ticaret merkezleri, kentin en güzel mekanlarını işgal eder. Kent nüfusunun çoğunluğunu oluşturan emekçi mahallelerine ise hizmetler hep en son gelir. Ülkemizin zenginliklerine burjuvazinin el koyması gibi, kent hizmetleri de burjuva mahallelerin hizmetindedir. Biz, böyle bir kente karşı çıkıyoruz. İnsanın temel alındığı yeni bir kent istiyoruz. Herkese parasız konut hakkının sağlandığı, kent hizmetlerinin öncelikle yoksul, emekçi semtlere yöneltildiği bir kent istiyoruz.

Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi, sermayenin çözümüdür, sermayenin çıkarları için bir çözümdür. Biz de emekçi halkın çıkarları için bir çözüm istiyoruz.

Bunun için;

- a- Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi ve aynı adlı yasa tasarısı iptal edilsin. Emekçi mahallelerin yıkımına dayalı hiçbir çözümü kabul etmiyoruz.
- b- Emekçi mahallelerin imar izinleri verilsin. Gecekondu sahiplerinin tapu sorunları çözülsün. Yıkım değil tapu ve imar izni istiyoruz.
- c- Semt halkına karşılıksız kredi sağlanarak emekçi mahallelerin rehabilitasyonu sağlansın, sağlıksız barınma koşulları bu biçimde ortadan kaldırılsın. Halkın iradesi temel alınmak kaydıyla, imar ıslah planları da bunun bir aracı olarak uygulanabilir.
- d- Belediyeler emekçi mahallelere kent hizmetlerini eksiksiz götürsün. Dozer değil; yol, otobüs, elektrik, metro, su, çocuk parkı, spor sahası, kültür merkezi ... istiyoruz.
- e- Ev sahibi olmayan, kirada yaşayan her emekçinin ücretsiz ve insanca yaşanabilecek konut hakkı devlet tarafından sağlanmalıdır.
- f- Depremzedelere insanca yaşanacak konutlar sağlanmalı, bu sağlanana kadar, prefabrikleri boşaltma kararları iptal edilmelidir.
- g- Emekçilerin gecekondu hakkını "suç" ilan eden, yeni Türk Ceza Kanunu'nun 185. maddesi ve kamuoyunda "Gecekondu Yasası" olarak bilinen "Kaçak Yapı Kanunu" iptal edilmelidir.
- h- Emekçi köylülüğü yıkıma uğratan ve kentlere sürgün eden IMF ve Avrupa Birliği tarım politikalarına son verilmelidir.

Bu taleplerin kazanılmasının ancak emekçi halkın mücadelesiyle mümkün olacağından hareketle Kurultay'ımız şu kararları aldı:

- a- Kurultayımız Aydos ve Avcılar-Yeşilkent mahallelerindeki halkın, yıkım saldırılarına karşı direnişlerini selamlar ve kazanmanın ancak böylesi bir kararlı mücadele çizgisiyle mümkün olduğunun altını çizer.
- b- Yıkımlara karşı her mahallede sokak sokak örgütlenmeliyiz. Mahalle komisyonları, kadın komisyonları, gençlik komisyonları kurmalıyız. Her mahallede

yıkıma karşı halkın toplanabileceği dernekler kurmalıyız. Yıkımları ancak örgütlü olursak durdurabiliriz.

c- Birimizin mahallesi, hepimizin mahallesidir. Biz, Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Kurultayı'nda buluşan emekçiler ve temsil ettiğimiz mahalle komisyonları olarak, buradan ilan ediyoruz: İstanbul'un hangi mahallesine yıkım saldırısı yönelirse, biz kendi mahallemizde bunu durdurmak için sokağa çıkacağız. Mahallelerimizi birlikte savunacağız.

d- Yıkım karşıtı mücadeleleri ortaklaştırmak amacıyla, her mahalle komisyonundan birer temsilcinin katılımıyla İSTANBUL YIKIMLARA KARŞI EMEKÇİ HALK KOORDİNASYONU'nu oluşturduğumuzu ilan ediyoruz.

e- Yıkım saldırısının tüm emekçi halkın sorunu olduğuna ve ancak BİRLEŞİK HALK DİRENİŞİ'yle durdurulabileceğine inanıyoruz. Bu amaçla gerek mahallemizde, gerekse il çapında YIKIM KARŞITI PLATFORMLAR kurulmasını önümüze koyuyoruz. Mimar ve mühendis odalarıyla yakın ilişki ve işbirliğini hedefliyoruz.

f- Kurultayımız, yıkımlara karşı İstanbul merkezli bir miting düzenlenmesini kararlaştırdı. Ayrıca yıkımlara karşı imza kampanyası başlatılmasını karar altına aldı. Toplanan imzaların, başkent Ankara'ya, Meclis'e götürülmesini önüne hedef olarak koydu.

g- Her mahallede halkın yıkımlara karşı aydınlatılması için paneller, seminerler, halk toplantıları düzenlemeyi kararlaştırdı.

h- Kurultay'ın sonuç bildirgesini bir basın toplantısıyla ilan etmeyi ve bildiri haline getirerek dağıtmayı kararlaştırdı.

i- Belediyeler ve AKP binaları önünde eylemler düzenlemeyi önüne koydu.

j- Farklı illerden yıkım karşıtı örgütlenmelerle irtibat ve koordinasyon kurulmasını hedef olarak koydu.

Yıkımlara karşı birleşik halk direnişi!

Herkese parasız konut hakkı!

Yıkım değil tapu, dozer değil hizmet!

Kurtuluş yok tek başına, ya hep beraber, ya hiç birimiz!

26 Haziran 2005

Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Kurultayı

E. SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Hürriyet

28 Temmuz 2005 Eyüp'te Gecekondu Yıkımında Çatışma

Eyüp'te gecekonducuların yıkımı öncesi yola barikat kurup taş ve molotofkokteyli atan gruba polis müdahale etti.

Güzeltepe Mahallesi Yenibayır Sokak'ta bulunan 11 kaçak gecekonduyunun yıkımı için İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne bağlı çok sayıda zabıta ekibi ile iş makinesi, ambulans ve panzer desteğindeki çevik kuvvet ekipleri mahalleye gönderildi.

Bu sırada yüzleri maskeli, ellerinde taş, sapan ve molotofkokteyli olan bir grup, çöp bidonları ve ağaç dalları ile yola kurdukları barikatı ateşe verdi.

Polisin “dağılmaları” yönünde uyardığı grup, çevik kuvvet ekiplerine molotofkokteylinin yanı sıra ellerindeki sapanlarla taş attı. Polis, gruba panzerden su sıkarak ve göz yaşartıcı gaz kullanarak müdahale etti. Bunun üzerine ara sokaklara kaçan gruptan 1 kişi gözaltına alındı. Bu arada, göz yaşartıcı gazdan gruptan bazı kişilerin yanı sıra bazı polisler ile basın mensupları da etkilendi. Grubun ateşe verdiği barikat ise panzer tarafından su sıkılıp söndürüldükten sonra kaldırıldı. Daha sonra zabıta ekipleri ile iş makineleri çalışmalarına başladı. Çoğu boş olan gecekonduların birindeki bazı kişilerin burayı boşaltmak istemediği ve bu sırada bir kadının baygınlık geçirdiği görüldü. Bu kadın ile olay sırasında baygınlık geçiren bir başka kadına, buradaki ambulansta bulunan sağlık görevlilerince müdahale edildi. Önceden boşaltılmayan 2 gecekondudaki eşyaların belediye ekiplerince boşaltılmasının ardından iş makineleri yardımıyla yıkıma başlandı.

29 Temmuz 2005 Gecekondu’da Maskeli Direniş Eyüp Serbest Eyüp Güzeltepe’de, yıkım kararı çıkartılan gecekondu bölgesindeki faaliyetleri engellemeye çalışan 20 kişilik maskeli gruba polis müdahale etti. Sokaklara barikat kurup ateşe veren, polise taşla saldıran grup, panzerler eşliğindeki Çevik Kuvvet polislerince biber gazı kullanılarak dağıtıldı. Müdahale sırasında 2’si ev sahibi kadın, 3 kişi gözaltına alındı. Göstericilerin taşlar atarak savaş alanına çevirdikleri yıkım bölgesinden çekilmesinin ardından belediye ekipleri 8 gecekonduyu, içindeki eşyaları boşaltıp yıktı.

Sabah

28-07-2005

Eyüp'te taşlı sopalı yıkım

Eyüp'te bazı gecekonduların yıkımı öncesi yola barikat kurup taş ve molotofkokteyli atan gruba polis müdahale etti.

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Bunun üzerine ara sokaklara kaçan gruptan 1 kişi gözaltına alındı. Bu arada, gözyaşartıcı gazdan gruptan bazı kişilerin yanı sıra bazı polisler ile basın mensupları da etkilendi. Grubun ateşe verdiği barikat ise panzer tarafından su sıkılıp söndürüldükten sonra kaldırıldı.

Daha sonra zabıta ekipleri ile iş makineleri çalışmalarına başladı. Çoğu boş olan gecekonduların birindeki bazı kişilerin burayı boşaltmak istemediği ve bu sırada bir kadının baygınlık geçirdiği görüldü.

Bu kadın ile olay sırasında baygınlık geçiren bir başka kadına, buradaki ambulansta

bulunan sađlık grevlilerince mdahale edildi. nceden bořaltılmayan 2 gecekondudaki eřyaların belediye ekiplerince bořaltılmasının ardından iř makineleri yardımıyla yıkıma bařlandı.

29-07-2005

Gzeltepe Yıkım Savařı

Eyp'te kaçak binaların yıkımına giden belediye ekiplerini maskeli gençler molotof kokteylleri ile karřıladı. Polis, panzer ve gaz bombası ile gstericileri dađıttıktan sonra yıkım gerçekteřirildi.

İstanbul'un deđiřik noktalarında bulunan kaçak ve tapusuz binalarla ilgili hukuksal sreci tamamlayan belediye, yıkım çalıřmalarına devam ediyor. Dn sabah saatlerinde Eyp Gzeltepe Mahallesi'ne de belediyeye ait araziler zerindeki gecekonduların yıkımı iin giden ekipler, maskeli bir grubun direniři ile karřılařtı. Ve getiđimiz hafta da birok olayın meydana geldiđi Gzeltepe Mahallesi yine tařlı sopalı bir yıkım gn geirdi.

11 GECEKONU YIKILDI

Belediye ekipleri, yıkım iin sabahın erken saatlerinde panzer destekli evik Kuvvet ekipleriyle birlikte nceden tebligat yaptıkları gecekonduların bulunduđu mahallede yerini aldı. Ancak yıkım çalıřmalarını engellemek iin gece mahalleye gelen ve sokak giriřine barikat kuran yaklaşık30 kiřilik maskeli eylemci, barikatları ateře verip slogan atmaya bařladı. Sokađa girmek isteyen grevlilerle polisler tař ve řiře fırlatan eylemcilerin zerine evik Kuvvet polisleri gz yařartıcı gaz bombası attı. Grubun eylemini srdrmesi zerine, olay yerindeki bir emniyet mdr, megafonla anons yaparak yol kapatmanın yasadıřı olduđu konusunda eylemcileri uyardı. Daha sonra evik Kuvvet ekipleri, sıkın panzerler eřliđinde gazın etkisiyle sersemleyen grubun zerine yrd. Eylemci grup, ara sokaklara katı. Bir gsterici eylemci yakalanarak gz altına alındı. Grubun dađıtılmasının ardından yıkım faaliyeti bařladı. İř makinaları, nceden bořaltılan on bir gecekonduyu yıktı.

04-08-2005

Yıkım mađdurları artık 'durak-ev'lerde yařıyor

Eyp Gzeltepe'deki gecekonduları yıkıldıktan sonra sokakta kalan aileler belediyenin otobs duraklarına sıđındı.

İstanbul'da kentsel dnřm projesi kapsamında gerekteřtirilen yıkımlar zaman zaman aile dramlarına yol aıyor. Őehrin çeřitli blgelerinde gerekteřtirilen yıkımlar sonrası, mađdur olan vatandaşlar çeřitli eylemlerle belediyeden taleplerde bulunuyor. Bunlardan birisi de getiđimiz gnlerde Eyp Gzeltepe'de 11 evin yıkımının ardından yařandı. Belediye arazisi zerinde olduđu gerekesiyle yıkılan 11 gecekonduda kiracı olarak yařayan aileler, sokakta kaldıklarını belirterek otobs duraklarına yerleřti. Otobs durađına adır kuran ve gnlk yařamını srdrmeye alıřın gecekondulu mađdurlarından Blent Kanmaz, "Bizler yıllardır bu evlerde yařıyorduk. Ev sahiplerine daire verilirken kiracılara yer gsterilmedi. Eřyalarımızla birlikte sokađa atıldık. Sokakta kaldıđımız iin otobs duraklarına yerleřtik" dedi.

20-08-2005

Yıkım mađdurlarına ev umudu dođdu.

Kentsel Dnřm Projesi kapsamında gerekteřtirilen yıkımlar sonrasında kiracı oldukları iin sokakta kalan ve otobs duraklarına sıđınan aileler iin ev tahsis

edileceği öğrenildi. Eyüp Güzeltepe Mahallesi'nde 11 gecekondunun yıkımı sonrasında otobüs duraklarına sığınan aileler, birkaç gün önce yağın sağanak yağmur nedeniyle perişan olduklarını ifade ederek, "Belediyeye yazı yazdık. Mağdur olmamak için ödeyebileceğimiz şartlarda bize kiralık bir yer gösterilmesini istedik. Tapu tahsisi olmayan yerlere daireler verilirken, bizi sokağa attılar. Biz de bu nedenle otobüs duraklarına sığındık. Ancak mağduriyetimizi gören yetkililerin bize başımızı sokabileceğimiz evler vereceklerini öğrendik" dediler.

Mustafa KAYA/MERKEZ

29-08-2005

Gecekondu sakinlerinden 'Yıkıma Hayır' mitingi

İstanbul'daki gecekondu yıkımlarını protesto etmek için yaklaşık 700 gecekondu sakini Kadıköy'de toplandı. Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu'nun düzenlediği "Yıkıma Hayır" mitingi dün saat 14.00'de başladı. İstanbul'un gecekondu semtlerinde yaşayan protestocular Haydarpaşa Numune Hastanesi önünde toplanarak yürüyüşe başladı. Rıhtım Caddesi boyunca polis kurduğu güvenlik barikatının içinden yürüyen grup "Yıkımlara karşı birleşen halk direnişi", "İş birlikçi AKP kondulardan defol", "Barınma hakkımız engellenemez" gibi sloganlar attı.

09. 04. 2006 'Şehri ur gibi sardılar niye zavallı oluyorlar'

Başbakan Erdoğan, gecekondu sakinleri ur gibi sardığını söyleyerek, "Kaçak yapılar yıkılırken acındırmak isteyenler var. Neden zavallı oluyorlar? Orada vatandaşlık hakkı değil, ihlali var. Gitsin 200 YTL taksitle ev alsın. Gettolar oluşturuluyor" dedi.

Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, kaçak yapıların yıkılması sırasında acındırma gayreti içinde olanların bulunduğunu belirterek, "Zavallıların bir evi vardı, bak onu da yıktılar... Nereden zavallı oluyor. Orada bir işgal var. Zavallı dediğiniz, 200 YTL taksitle daire satılıyor, gitsin oradan bir daire alsın. Yok. Gettolar oluşturuluyor ve bu gettolarda nelerin olduğunu düşünün" dedi. Erdoğan, Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) tarafından düzenlenen 1'inci Konut Kurultayı'nın açılışında yaptığı konuşmada, yoksulları peşinat alınmadan 100 YTL taksit 20 yıl vade ile konut sahibi yapacaklarını dile getirerek, "Zaten hiçbir imkanı, geliri yok ki, tamamen yoksul ne yapacak" denildiğine değinerek, şöyle dedi: "Ona da bizim çözümümüz var. İmkani olmayan Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Fonu'ndan aylık yardım alacak, 100 YTL taksitini ödeyecek" diye konuştu. Bedavacılığa da alıştırmamak için iş imkanı yaratabilmek gerektiğini belirten Erdoğan, Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Fonu'nun meslek edindirme fonu bulunduğunu söyleyerek, "Meslek sahibi ol, alınterini dök, alınterinle kazan ve kazandığınla da al. Tembelliğe alıştırmak yok" dedi.

HAK İHLALİ VAR

Erdoğan, büyükşehirlerin sadece belli merkezlerini ya da tam aksi olarak arka mahallelerini fotoğrafta göstererek dünyayı aldatmamak gerektiğini ifade etti. Erdoğan, şöyle konuştu: "İstanbul'da ben kalkıp da Ataköy'ü göstererek, 'İstanbul budur' diyemem. İstanbul'un bütünü nedir, bunu demek zorundayız. Kalkıp da bir at arabasının çektiği, taşıdığı tuğlalarla biriketlerle hemen oraya bir şey buldum, kondurayım. Ondan sonra 'burası benim, ben vatandaşım.' Olmaz. Bu bir vatandaşlık hakkı değildir. Bu vatandaşlık hakkını ihlaldir."

ŞİKÂYET ETMEK LAZIM

Ankara'ya geçmişte gecekonduların arasından geçilerek girildiğini ifade eden Erdoğan, şöyle devam etti: " Hepsi yıkıldı. Biz hakkı olanı değil hak etmediği halde oranın işgalcisi olan insanların ikna yoluyla, hem de yaptıkları yanlışlara rağmen enkaz bedeli vererek farklı yerde çağdaş ve modern konutlar içinde yer almalarına zemin hazırladık. Şehirlerimizi bir ur gibi saran gecekondular düzenini ortadan kaldırmak bizim en büyük idealimizdi, bunu Türkiye genelinde başarmak zorundayız." Erdoğan, bir tarafta kolundaki bileziğe varıncaya kadar bütün gayretini ortaya koyup borçlanarak daire alan vatandaşlar varken, milletin hak sahibi olduğu araziye işgal ederek "Burası benim" demenin haksızlık olduğunu vurgulayarak, "Çözüm şehrin insanlar üzerinde hakkı olduğuna inanmaktır. Birisi bir yerde kaçak inşaat mı yapıyor, işgal mi var, uyarılmak lazım. Anlamıyor, ilgili yerlere şikayet etmek lazım. Ben istiyorum ki, duyarlı olan kesimlerle dayanışma içinde olalım" dedi.

Şenol BAŞTAKAR - MERKEZ/İSTANBUL

Akşam

29 Temmuz 2005 Topbaş Kazmayı Vurdu

Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında Tavukçu Deresi'nin çevresindeki imara aykırı ev ve işyerlerinin yıkımına başlandı. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Kadir Topbaş, binalardaki kiracıların mağdur olmaması için bir yıllık kira bedeli ve depozito paralarını peşin vereceklerini bildirdi.

Tevfik Fikret Caddesi'ndeki yıkım çalışmalarına Başkan Kadir Topbaş ve Bahçelievler Belediye Başkanı Osman Develioğlu da katıldı. Yıkım kararı verilen 22 binadaki toplam 243 daire ve işyerinden anlaşma sağlanan 178'inin yıkılmasına dün başlandı. Yıkım öncesi Show TV'de bir dönem yayınlanan 'İkinci Bahar' yarışmasının birincisi olan İnşaat Mühendisi Yakup Erkan ile Başkan arasında kısa süreli gerginlik yaşandı. Erkan, yıkımların usule uymadığını belirtirken, Topbaş da, 'Sel baskınlarında 5 trilyona yakın para harcadık. Böyle felaketlerin olmaması, insanların ölmemesi için bu kararı aldık' dedi.

Gazetecilerin 'İstanbul'da 85 bin konutun yıkılacağı' söylentilerinin doğru olup olmadığını sorması üzerine Topbaş, bunun kesinlikle söz konusu olmadığını kaydetti.

Ercan ÖZTÜRK

15 Temmuz 2005 Yıkım Savaşı

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Pendik Kurtköy'de baraj havzası içinde bulunan Cambaztepe Mahallesi'nde yapılan 180 konuttan 44 bina ve gecekondunun yıkılmasına karar verdi.

Yıkımı gerçekleştirmek üzere dün saat 04.30'da bölgeye çok sayıda zabıta ekibi gitti. Zırhlı araçlarla birlikte jandarma ekipleri ve ambulanslar da önlem aldı.

Saat 05.00 sıralarında iş makineleriyle kaçak yapıların yıkımına başladı. Bu sırada bazı kişiler, jandarma ve zabıtalara saldırdı. Saldırganlar, önceden hazırlandığı anlaşılan molotofkokteyli, taş ve sapan kullanmaları dikkati çekti. Jandarma da saldırganlara gözyaşartıcı bombayla karşılık verdi. Olaylar sırasında belediye zabıtalrı, jandarma ve gecekondular arasında yaralananlar oldu. Evleri yıkılan

bazı kişiler baygınlık geçirdi. Filistinlilerin İsrail'e karşı sürdürdükleri intifadayı (ayaklanma) andıran olaylar iki saatte bastırıldı. Olaylarda altı kişi gözaltına alındı. Jandarmanın kaçak yapı sahiplerini bölgeden uzaklaştırmasının ardından belediye ekipleri yıkımı sürdürdü. Altı dozerin çalıştığı yıkım alanında 40 konut yıkıldı. Kalan konutların daha sonra yıkılacağı açıklandı.

Belediye: Direnmeleri için baskı görüyorlar

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden bir yetkili, konut sahiplerinden 22'sine arsa bedeli ödendikten sonra Kiptaş bloklarında daire verildiğini söyledi. Yetkili, diğer kişilere ise devlet görevlilerine karşı direnmeleri için bazı kesimler tarafından baskı uygulandığını öne sürdü. Mahalle sakinleri ise arsa tapularının bulunduğunu, belediye evlerine biçtiği değer yarısını kendilerine ödediğini, diğer yarısını ise işgaliye adı altında kestiğini öne sürdü. Mahalle halkı, Kiptaş'tan verilen dairelerin aylık ödemelerinin 400 YTL olduğunu ancak bu parayı ödeyecek güçlerinin bulunmadığını kaydetti.

Levent ALBAYRAK / İSTANBUL

29 Temmuz 2005 Yine Savaş Gibi

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ekipleri, Eyüp'teki 11 gecekonduyunun yıkımı sırasında zor anlar yaşadı. Yıkım kararını uygulamak için sabah saatlerinde Güzeltepe Mahallesi Yenibayır Sokağı'na gelen ekip, barikatlarla karşılaştı. Eylem istihbaratını alan polis ve Çevik Kuvvet ekiplerinin yanı sıra ambulanslar da sokakta konuşlandırıldı.

Yıkımı engellemeye çalışan 15 -20 kişilik kızılmaskeli grup, polisin uyarısına rağmen dağılmadı. Ellerindeki sapanlarla polisler taş atan grup, ardından molotofkokteyleriyle ortalığı savaş alanına çevirdi. Çöp bidonları ve ağaç dalları ile yola kurdukları barikatı ateşe verdi. Yasadışı sloganlar atan gruba polis panzerle müdahale etti ve barikatları yıktı. Göstericiler polisin müdahalesi sonrası ara sokaklara kaçarak gözden kayboldular.

Mezarlıkta gecekondu

Belediye ekipleri Kağıthane'nin yanı sıra Eyüp Mezarlığı'ndaki içinde kurulan 32 gecekonduyu yıktı. Burada da gerginlik yaşandı. Gecekonduyunun camından çıkardığı piknik tüpüyle tehditler savuran Halil Karaçaylıoğlu adlı vatandaş, yıkım ekiplerini uzun süre engelledi. Evleri yıkılan kadınlar da gözyaşları içinde hükümeti eleştirdi. Evi yıkılan bir kadın, 'Hapisteyken Başbakan Erdoğan için gözyaşı döktüm. O ise şimdi evimizi yıkıyor' diye konuştu.

40 yıldır aynı yerde oturduğunu söyleyen Karaçaylıoğlu, 'Bize 10 milyar veriyorlar. Kalan parayı taksitlerle ödeyecekmışiz. Biz 5 aile bir eve nasıl sığacağız? Elimde tapu belgelerim var. Neye dayanarak evimi yıkıyorlar? Yıkma gerekçe olarak da buranın 3'üncü derece SİT alanı olduğunu, Haliç'in çevre düzenlemesi için yıkıldığını belirtiyorlar. Avukatım gelsin 'çık' desin, ben de çıkayım' sözleri de yıkımı engellemeye yetmedi.

Hasan YAYAN-İSTANBUL

29 Ağustos 2005 Yıkımlara karşı miting yaptılar

İstanbul'da bir süredir devam eden yıkımları protesto ederek durdurulmasını isteyen 'Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu' adı altında toplanan grup, dün Kadıköy İskele Meydanı'nda miting düzenledi.

'Yıkıma Hayır' mitingine, İstanbul'un değişik semtlerinden yaklaşık 700 gecekondu

sakini katıldı. Haydarpaşa Numune Hastanesi önünde toplanan grup, Kadıköy Meydanı'na doğru yürüyüşe geçti. Rıhtım Caddesi boyunca polis kurduğu barikatın içinden yürüyen göstericiler, miting alanına tek tek üst araması yapılarak alındı. Çeşitli örgütlerin de destek verdiği mitingde, gecekonduların iktidarın oyuncağı haline geldiği öne sürüldü. AKP hükümetinin, ABD'nin sözcüsü gibi davrandığı iddia edilen mitingde, 'Yıkımlara karşı birleşin', 'İşbirlikçi AKP kondulardan defol', 'Barınma hakkımız engellenemez' gibi sloganlar atıldı. Geniş güvenlik önlemlerinin alındığı miting, olaysız sona erdi.

Milliyet

23 Temmuz 2005 Yıkım çatışması otoyola taşı!

İstanbul Kâğıthane'de, yıkıma karşı çıkan 200 kişi, molotofkokteylleri, taş ve sopalarla polisle çatıştı. Bir grup gösterici, otoyola çıkarak araçları durdurdu HALUK ATALAY İstanbul

İstanbul Kâğıthane'de, yıkımı bahane eden bir grup polisle çatıştı. Barikat kurarak, sapan, molotofkokteyli, taş ve sopalarla yıkım ekibini bekleyen maskeli gruba, polis panzer desteğiyle müdahalesiyle ortalık savaşa alanına döndü. Güzeltepe Meydanı'nda bulunan kaçak binalar hakkında verilen yıkım kararı üzerine, yaklaşık 200 kişilik bir grup dün sabah erken saatlerden itibaren yol girişlerinde toplandı. Polis, taşlardan barikat kuran gruba, yolu açmaları için uyardı. Gergin bekleyişin ardından polis, gaz bombası ve biber gazıyla müdahale etti. Göstericilerin de sapan, taş ve molotofkokteylleriyle karşılık vermesi üzerine meydan bir anda savaşa alanına dönüştü.

Barikatları yaktılar

İki gruba ayrılan göstericiler ara sokaklara doğru kaçmaya başladılar. Bu sırada barikatları da ateşe verdiler. Molotofkokteyli isabet eden bir panzer bir ara alev alırken, gözyaşartıcı gazdan çevredekiler de etkilendi. Küçük yangınlar itfaiye müdahalesiyle söndürüldü. Kapalı yollar iş makineleriyle açıldı, gerginlik sona erdi. Olaylar sırasında yaralanan olmadı.

YOL KESME TERÖRÜ

Kâğıthane'de yıkım kararının üzerine, yaklaşık 200 kişilik bir grubun polisle çatışması otoyola da taşı. Elleri molotofkokteyli, sopa ve taş bulunan maskeli 6 kişi, Okmeydanı O - 2 Otoyolu bağlantısında güpegündüz yol kesti. Sadabad Viyadüğü'ne yaklaşık 100 metre kala her iki yönden trafiği durduran maskeli kişiler, sloganlar atarak zafer işareti yaptı. Sürücülerin korkuyla izlediği göstericilerden bazılarının molotofkokteyllerini ateşe verme tehditleri savurması dikkat çekti. Bazı göstericiler de

çevredeki ağaçlardan kopardıkları dalları yol ortasında ateşe vermek istedi. Yaklaşık 20 dakika trafiği kapatan eylemciler, polis gelmesi üzerine kaçtı.

Polise göre asıl amaç provokasyon

Bölgedeki ruhsatsız gecekondulardan bazılarının bir süre önce yıkıldığını belirten yetkililer, polisle çatışan grubun mahalleli olmadığını, yıkımı bahane ederek vatandaşları provoke etmeye çalışanlar olduğunu öne sürdü. Çoğunluğu maskeli olan grubun birçok yıkıma katıldığı ve örgüt propagandası yaptığı iddia edildi.

28 Ekim 2004 Filistin değil Pendik

Pendik, okul arazisine yapılan 14 kaçak binanın yıkımı sırasında savaş alanına döndü. Yıkımı engellemeye çalışan yüzleri maskeli gruplar, polise taş ve tuğlalarla saldırdılar

GÖKHAN KARAKAŞ

Pendik Ertuğrul Gazi Mahallesi'nde ilköğretim okuluna ek bina yapılması amacıyla ayrılan 4290 metrekare arazideki 14 kaçak konutun yıkımı için aylarca süren bekleyişin ardından dün sabah düğmeye basıldı. Yazın yıkım ekiplerini mahalleye sokmayan gecekondu sakinleri, 07.00'de işlerine gitmek üzere sokağa çıktıklarında Çevik Kuvvet'e bağlı 1500 polis, panzer ve belediye ekipleriyle karşılaştı.

İstanbul Valiliği, Pendik Kaymakamlığı ve İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü'nün talebi doğrultusunda yıkıma başlandı. Belediye ekipleri, polisle eylemciler arasında çatışma yaşanırken yıkıma devam etti. Okula tahsis edilen arazi üzerindeki 14 gecekondu, 4 saat sonra tamamen yıkıldı. Önce belediye ekipleri, daha sonra polis mahalleden ayrıldı. Bu sırada ara sokaklardan çıkan gruplar polise saldırdı.

'Şafak operasyonu'

Daha önce sokaklarda lastik yakıp çöp konteynerleri ile barikat kurarak günlerce nöbet tutan gecekondu sakinleri, yıkım ekiplerini beklemedikleri bir anda karşılarında buldu. "Yıkım başladı" haberinin mahalleye yayılırken panzerler desteğinde ilerleyen polis, sokaklarda güvenlik noktaları oluşturdu.

İş makineleriyle yıkım sürerken, bazı kişiler Ertuğrul Gazi Caddesi ve yıkım alanı çevresindeki sokaklara barikat kurarak yıkımı engellemeye çalıştı. Ancak barikatlar panzerlerle yıkıldı.

Taşa karşı biber gazı

Bu sırada bazı evlerin araları ve çatılardan yüzleri maskeli ve çoğunluğu mahallede oturmayanların oluşturduğu öne sürülen bazı gruplar, polis ve panzerlere taş ve tuğla gibi cisimler attı. Polis ekipleri, biber gazı ve sis bombası atarak göstericileri etkisiz hale getirmeye çalıştı.

Polis, biber gazı ve sis bombası atarak saldırganları uzaklaştırmaya çalışırken, çok sayıda güvenlik görevlisi, basın mensubu ve mahalleli de rüzgârın yön değiştirmesi sonucu gazlardan etkilendi. Panzerler de, ara sokaklara kaçan eylemcileri tazyikli su sıkarak dağıtmaya çalıştı.

Yıkılan evleri tekrar yapıyorlar

Evleri yıkılan aileler ekiplerin çekilmesinden sonra komşularının da yardımıyla inşaa faaliyetine girişti. Gecekonducular, harç yapma, duvar örme, malzeme taşıma gibi işleri imece usulü bölüşerek, yapmaya başladı. Mahalle sakinleri, diğer evleri de inşa edeceklerini söylerken, tuğla bulamayanlar yıkılan evlerinin yerine tahtadan ev yaptı. İstanbul Emniyet Müdürlüğü'nden yapılan açıklamada toplam 29 polis memurunun atılan taşlardan yaralandığı bildirildi. Yaralı polislerin Pendik ve Kartal Devlet hastanelerinde ayakta tedavi edildiği kaydedildi.

Florya'da lüks kaçak katlar olaysız yıkıldı

TAHSİN AKSU İstanbul

Florya Avcılar Sokak'ta bulunan Fly Inn Residence 2 adlı lüks site inşaatında 5 katlı 8 adet blokun 2 katının imar izni olmadığı belirlendi. Bakırköy Belediyesi yıkım ekipleri ise defalarca yapılan uyarıları dikkate almayan siteye dün gelerek kaçak katların yıkımına başladı. Bakırköy Belediyesi Başkan Yardımcısı Mehmet Başaran, "Sitedeki belediyeye ait yeşil alanlara da tecavüz edilerek yüzme havuzu yapılmış. Defalarca zabıt tuttuğumuz halde kaçak katların inşaatına devam edildi. 10 gün

içinde kaçak katları yıkağız" diye konuştu. Bu arada yıkım sırasında herhangi bir olay yaşanmazken, güvenliğin de polis yerine zabıta tarafından sağlanması dikkat çekti.

26 Ekim 2004 'Armutlu kimin olacak?'

İTÜ'nün "teknokent" projesi nedeniyle evleri için yıkım kararı alınan Küçükarmutlu sakinleri, Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne itiraz dilekçesi verdi
İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi'nin (İTÜ) teknokent yapacağı arazisinde evleri olan Küçükarmutlu sakinleri, mahkemelerde alınan yıkım kararının ardından başlattıkları protestolarına İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi önünde devam etti.

Polis engelledi

Geçen hafta Sarıyer Belediyesi'ne yürüyen Küçükarmutlu sakinleri, dün sabah mahallelerinde toplandı. Geniş güvenlik önlemi alan polis, grubun yürütmesine izin vermeyince tartışma çıktı. Daha sonra Küçükarmutlu sakinlerinin çoğu İETT ve halk otobüslerine binerek Saraçhane'ye gitti.

Saraçhane Parkı'nda buluşan grup, yıkım kararını protesto etti. Polisin çembere aldığı grup, belediyenin önündeki ana caddeyi kapatarak, "Armutlu bizimdir bizim olacak", "Armutlu burada devlet nerede", "Armutlu, İTÜ'ye mezar olacak" sloganı attı.

'Destekliyoruz ama...'

Belediye Başkanı Kadir Topbaş'la görüşmek isteyen grup, yaklaşık 4 saatlik bekleyişinin ardından ellerindeki itiraz dilekçelerini belediye yetkililerine bırakarak olaysız dağıldı. Bölgenin fiilen yerleşim bölgesi olduğu ve 40 bin insan yaşadığının belirtildiği dilekçelerde, "teknokent" projesinin gönülden desteklendiği, ancak başka bir alanda uygulanmasının istenildiği kaydedildi. Belediye yetkilileri, eylemcilere otobüs tahsis etmediklerini, polisin 8 İETT otobüsüne el koyup bu kişileri bindirdiğini belirtti.

12 Ekim 2004 Yıkıma 'ordu' geldi

Alibeyköy'de su taşkınlarına yol açan 19 binanın yıkımında, 1500'ü polis 2000'den fazla kişi görev aldı. Yıkım sırasında ambulans ve itfaiye de bölgeye geldi. Polis, evlerinden çıkmamakta direnen 3 kişiyi gözaltına aldı

ŞENOL DEMİRCİ

Su baskınlarının yaşandığı Alibeyköy'de, 19 gecekonduyunun ertelenen yıkımı dün başladı. 1500'ü polis 2000'den fazla kişinin görev aldığı yıkım sırasında bazı gecekondu sahipleri tepki gösterdi. Binalardan çıkmayarak yıkıma direnen 3 kişi gözaltına alındı, fenalaşan 2 kişi de hastaneye kaldırıldı.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin, su taşkınlarına neden oldukları gerekçesiyle yıkımını kararlaştırdığı Çırçır ve Karadolap Mahallesi'nde dün 08.30 sıralarında, 1000'i Çevik Kuvvet Şube Müdürlüğü'ne bağlı polisler ve 400 zabıta tarafından geniş çaplı güvenlik önlemleri alındı. 110 işçi, 6 iş makinesi, çok sayıda kamyonet, ambulans ve itfaiye ekibi de bölgeye geldi. Güvenlik önlemlerinin alınmasının ardından, geçen hafta yağış nedeniyle ertelenen 52 dairenin bulunduğu 19 binanın yıkımına başlandı.

Yıkım sırasında, görevlilere direnmeye çalışan gecekondu sahipleri, ilçe ve büyükşehir belediye başkanlarını alkışlarla protesto ederken gazetecilere de taş attı. Yıkım çalışmaları sürerken, evlerini boşaltmayanlar için belediye kamyonu tahsis

edildi.

Yıkım sırasında evlerinden çıkmamakta direnen 3 kişi, polis tarafından gözaltına alındı. Fenalık geçiren 2 kişi de yıkım bölgesinde bekletilen ambulansla Eyüp SSK Hastanesi'ne götürüldü.

'Hakkımızı vermediler'

Gecekondu sahipleri, belediyenin haklarını vermediğini ve çok düşük bedeller önerdiğini öne sürdüler. 3 katlı binaları için belediyenin kendilerine 98 milyar lira verdiğini belirten Vahide Güneş (54), bu parayla 3 daire almalarının mümkün olmadığını söyledi. Nurtepe'de kendilerine önerilen daireye de 45 milyar lira değer biçildiğini ve sadece bir tane verildiğini belirten Güneş, "Kiralık ev arıyoruz bulamıyoruz. 350 - 400 milyon lira kira verecek gücümüz de yok. Belediye hakkımız olan birer daireyi versin, biz de güle oynaya çikalım" dedi.

Büyükşehir Belediyesi Mesken ve Gecekondu İşleri Müdürü Mehmet Sert, betonarme yapılara metrekaresi 283 milyon lira, yığma yapılara da 173 milyon lira enkaz bedeli ödediklerini belirterek, buradaki konut sahiplerine Güzeltepe'de 38.5 milyar liraya 108 metrekare daire verdiklerini söyledi. Sert, şimdiye kadar bir kişinin başvuruda bulunduğunu bildirdi.

7 bina için yürütmeyi durdurma istemiyle açılan dava için, bir hâkim başkanlığındaki heyet de tespit yaptı.

Avukat Fatma Atanur Feyzioğlu, yıkılacak binaların tapu tahsisli ve ruhsatlı olduğunu belirterek, "Bunlar gecekondu değil. Belediyenin elinde yıkıma ilişkin mahkeme kararı yok. Hukuka aykırı bir idari karar var. Açılan dava sonuçlanmadan yıkıma başlandı. Derhal durdurulmalı" diye konuştu.

03 Temmuz 2004 Savaş gibi

Okul için 14 gecekondu yıkılacağı Pendik'te halkın direnişi sürüyor. Yıkım ekibine izin vermeyen mahalleli, barikat kurup caddeyi trafiğe kapattı

GÖKHAN KARAKAŞ

Pendik'te yıkım gerginliği... Okul ihtiyacını karşılamak için gecekondu yıkılacak olan mahalleli, ortalığı savaş alanına çevirdi. Yıkım ekibine direnen, lastikleri yakıp barikat kuran halk, sopalarla nöbet tutmaya başladı. Belediye başkanının seçim öncesi 'yıkılmayacak' sözü verdiğini belirten mahalleli, sorunun çözülmesi için toplantı yapılması önerisini kabul etti.

Ertuğrul Gazi Mahallesi'ndeki 14 gecekondu yıkılmak istenmesi nedeniyle önceki gün başlayan gerginlik, dün de sürdü. Yıkım ekiplerinin olay yerine gelmesi üzerine mahalle sakinleri, kurdukları barikatın önünde lastikler yakarak, caddeyi trafiğe kapattı.

AKP'ye saldırı

Ellerinde taşlar, sopalar ve demir çubuklarla slogan atarak yürüyüşe geçen gruptakiler, AKP'nin seçim bürosu olarak kullandığı bir dükkânı da tahrip etti. Pendik Belediye Başkan Yardımcısı Nurettin Beşinci, mahalle temsilcileriyle görüşerek, sorunun çözümü için toplantı önerdi. Önerinin kabul edilmesi üzerine iş makineleri ve güvenlik önlemi alan polis, olay yerinden ayrıldı. Kurulan barikatları kaldırmayan mahalle sakinleri, sopa ve taşlarla caddede dolaştı.

Pendik Belediyesi, gecekonduların bölge halkının okul ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla Hazine tarafından Milli Eğitim'e okul yapımı için tahsis edildiğini,

Kaymakamlığın da yıkım için kendilerinden ekipman talebinde bulunduğunu yineledi. Yıkımı, villalarda oturanların istediğini öne süren halk, okul için boş arazi gösterdiklerini ve belediye başkanının seçim öncesinde yıkım yapılmayacağına dair söz verdiğini iddia etti.

10 Eylül 2003 Yine yıkım, yine olay

Beykoz'daki gecekondu yıkımı sırasında yine zabıtalarla vatandaşlar arasında kavga çıktı. 3'ü zabıta, 5 kişi yaralandı

Beykoz'a bağlı Poyrazköy'de bir gecekonduyun yıkımı sırasında çıkan arbedede, üçü zabıta memuru beş kişi yaralandı.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Boğaziçi İmar Müdürlüğü ekipleri, Poyrazköy'de Mustafa Kalafat (45) adlı kişinin, dedesinin uzun yıllar kullandığı araziye yaptığı gecekonduyu dün yıkmak istedi. Ancak, Kalafat ve ailesi yıkıma direnerek gecekondundan çıkmadılar. Bir süre sonra ailenin dışarı çıkmaları üzerine gecekonduyun bir kısmı zabıta ekiplerince yıkıldı. Ancak, gecekonduyun tamamının yıkılmak istenmesi üzerine Kalafat ailesi ile komşuları direnerek, ekiplere taş attılar ve sopalarla saldırdılar.

Zabıtanın kolu kırıldı

Jandarmanın da katıldığı yıkım sırasında çıkan arbedede, Nadim Dabanlı, Ahmet Gündüz ve Osman Çamyar adlı zabıta memurları ile Selver Şen ve Mustafa Kalafat'ın akrabası Esmâ Kalafat adlı kadınlar yaralandı.

Dabanlı ve Gündüz'ün sağ ellerinin, Çamyar'ın ise kolunun kırıldığı, taşlar nedeniyle ezikler ve ısırlıklar bulunduğu bildirildi.

Olaylar jandarma ekiplerince güçlükle yatıştırılırken, üç kişi gözaltına alındı. Ortalığın yatışmasından sonra gecekonduyun yıkımı tamamlandı.

23 Nisan 2004 Kaçak yapıların hepsi yıkılacak

Başkan Topbaş, seçim döneminde yapılan kaçak yapıların uydudan belirlendiğini ve yıkıma başlayacaklarını söyledi.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Kadir Topbaş, İstanbul genelinde seçim döneminde yapılan bütün kaçak yapıların uydudan takibe alındığını belirterek, "İstanbul'da bu dönemde yapılan yüzlerce kaçak bina var. Bu yapılarla ilgili ciddi müdahale başlayacak" dedi.

Topbaş, kendisini makamında ziyaret eden İstanbul Sanayi Odası Meclis Başkanı Hüsamettin Kavi ile bir süre görüştü. Kavi, Topbaş'a yeni görevinde başarılar diledi. Topbaş, daha sonra "kaçak yapılarla" ilgili gazetecilerin sorularını cevapladı.

'Yıkım için destek istendi'

İSKİ'nin havzalardaki kaçak yapıların tespitine ilişkin uydu takip projesini İstanbul genelinde oluşturduklarını anlatan Topbaş, yeni uydu görüntüleri için bir çalışma yürüttüğünü kaydetti. Topbaş, iki görüntü arasındaki farklarla kaçak yapıların tespitinin yapılacağını belirtti. Kaçak yapılarla mücadele için Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın seçim döneminde açıklamaları bulunduğunu hatırlatan Topbaş, ciddi mücadele için Ankara'da yasal çalışmalar yapıldığını ifade etti. Bakırköy Belediye Başkanı Ateş Ünal Erzen'in kendisini telefonla aradığını ve kaçak inşaatların yıkılması için Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden ekipman desteği istediğini de vurgulayan Topbaş, şunları söyledi: "Bu konuda her türlü desteği bütün belediyelere vereceğimizi söylemiştik. Hazırlığımızı yaptık, destek konusunda bir problem olmayacak."

Topbaş, kaçak yapıların tapularına "satılamaz şerhi" konulmasının etkili olacağını kaydetti. Topbaş, "Kaçak binaların yapılmasına göz yumanlar hakkında dava açılacak mı?" sorusu üzerine de "Tabii" karşılığını verdi. Topbaş, insanların kurallı bir şehre ve hak ettiklerine razı olması gerektiğini ifade etti.

14 Nisan 2004 Yeni başkanları uyardı: Kaçak yapıları yıkın!
İçişleri Bakanı Abdülkadir Aksu, gecekonduların yıkılmasını ve kadrosuz atama yapılmamasını istedi.

İçişleri Bakanı Abdülkadir Aksu, belediye başkanlarının uygulayacağı politikalarla ilgili 12 ayrı başlıktan oluşan genelgeyi 81 il valiliğine gönderdi. Genelgede personel, ihale, belediye gelirleri, harcamalar ve imar konularına değinilirken, özetle şu mesajlar verildi:

- Ruhsatsız veya ruhsat ve eklerine aykırı yapılan inşaatlar hakkında yıkım ve para cezası verilecek, gecekondulu niteliğindeki yapılar yıktırılacak, toplu konut alanları oluşturulacak.
- Başta atama olmak üzere personel işlemlerinde 657 sayılı yasaya göre hareket edilecek. İşçi statüsündeki personel, özellikle yönetici kadroları olmak üzere memur kadrolarında çalıştırılmayacak.
- İhaleler kamu ihale yasasına göre yapılacak. Taşınmazların satışı ve üç yıldan fazla kiralanması için mutlaka belediye meclisi kararı alınacak.
- Belediye gelirlerinin azami düzeyde tahakkuk ve tahsili için önlemler alınacak.

24 Mart 2006 Sarıyer'de 'yıkım' savaşı
Sarıyer Derbent'te bir dernek binasını yıkan belediye ekiplerinin 'Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında evlerini yıkacağını sanan mahalle sakinleri, kömür çuvallarıyla barikat kurdu. 4 polis yaralandığı olaylarda 38 kişi gözaltına alındı
MUTLU BOZDAĞ, HALUK ATALAY

İstanbul Sarıyer Derbent Mahallesi'nde dernek binası yıkımı sonrasında çıkan olaylarda ortalık savaş alanına döndü. Polis, barikat kurup taşlı saldırılarda bulunan grupları her defasında biber gazı ve göz yaşartıcı bombayla dağıttı. Mahalle sakinlerinin, 'Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında evlerinin yıkılacağı söylentisi üzerine tepki gösterdikleri öğrenildi.

Belediye ekipleri, dün sabah 05.00'te polis desteğiyle Derbent Mahallesi'ne gelerek, Derbentliler Dayanışma Derneği binasını kısa sürede yıktı. Yıkım sonrası mahalle sakinleri, belediye ekipleri ve polise saldırdı. Polis, göz yaşartıcı gaz kullanarak kalabalığı dağıttı.

15 ton kömür

Gün boyu süren çatışmalarda bazıları maskeli olan göstericilerin, Hatemoğlu İlköğretim Okulu'nun bahçesinden zorla aldıkları kömürleri de barikat kurmak için kullandıkları ortaya çıktı. Okul yöneticileri, 25 kiloluk çuvallar halinde 15 ton kömürün alındığını öne sürdüler.

Fahrettin Aslan İlköğretim Okulu öğrencilerinden bazıları, okula geldikten sonra mide bulantısı, baş ağrısı ve göz yaşarması şikâyeti görüldü. Olay yerinin yakınından geçtikleri ve biber gazından etkilendikleri anlaşılan 16 öğrenci hastaneye kaldırıldı.

'Evlerimiz yıkılmasın'

Derbent Mahallesi'nde oturan vatandaşların, 40 yıldır oturdukları evlerinin Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında yıkılacağı söylentisi üzerine yıkıma tepki gösterdikleri

öğrenildi. Bu arada mahalleye gelen CHP İstanbul İl Başkanı Şinasi Öktem, sabah yıkım yapılmasını eleştirdi. Öktem'e, çekilmeleri talebinde bulunduğu bir polis yetkilisi, "Barikat kurularak kamu düzeni bozuldu. Onlar bize çiçek, biz onlara gaz bombası atmış değiliz" karşılığını verdi.

4 polis yaralandı

Bütün gün süren olaylarda, 4 polis memuru yaralanırken, bazı göstericiler ile basın mensupları da gazdan etkilendi. 38 kişi gözaltına alındı. Sarıyer Belediyesi yetkilileri, kaçak dernek binası için 1.5 ay önce tebligat yapıldığını söylediler.

Çuvallarla barikat kurdular

Olaylar sırasında atılan taşlarla 1'i başından olmak üzere 4 polis memuru yaralanırken, bazı göstericiler ile basın mensupları da biber gazlarından etkilendi. Polis, kömür çuvalları, araba lastikleri ve kasalarla barikat kuran mahalle sakinlerine panzerle su sıktı. Göz yaşartıcı gaz kullanan polis kalabalığı dağıttı. Polise taşla saldıran ve direniş gösteren 38 kişi gözaltına alındı.

15 Temmuz 2005 Filistin gibi

Kurtköy'de ruhsatsız 44 gecekondunun yıkımında halk barikatları yaktı, taşla sapanla direndi. Bir tabur jandarma karşılık verince, ortalık savaş alanına döndü

Mustafa Kurtaran - İstanbul

Pendik Kurtköy'de ruhsatsız yapılan 44 gecekondunun yıkımı için belediye ekipleri şafak vakti harekete geçti. Bina sahipleri, yıkımı engellemek için kurdukları barikatları ateşe vererek, görevlileri taş yağmuruna tuttu.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Kurtköy Cambaztepe mevkiindeki ruhsatsız inşa edildikleri belirlenen 44 bina ve gecekondunun yıkılmasını kararlaştırdı.

Yıkım için dün sabah saat 05.00 sıralarında, bölgeye çok sayıda zabıta ekibi, iş makinesi, kamyonlar, gerekli güvenlik önlemlerinin alınması için de 1500 jandarmadan oluşan güvenlik güçleri ile zırhlı askeri araçlar ve ambulans gönderildi. Ardından zabıta ekipleri, iş makineleri ile yıkıma başladı.

Molotofkokteylli direniş

Bu sırada evlerini boşaltmak istemeyen bazı kişiler, jandarma ve zabıtalara taş atarak direniş başlattı.

Tahta, lastik ve hurda eşyalarla oluşturdukları barikatları da ateşe veren gecekonduculara, jandarma da gözyaşartıcı gaz bombasıyla karşılık verince ortalık savaş alanına döndü. Kısa süre devam eden olaylar sırasında, jandarmanın müdahale ettiği gruptan bazı kişiler ile zabıta ve askerlerden yaralananlar oldu.

Zabıta memurlarından Numan Kalafat'ın bacağı kırıldı. Arbede sırasında gruptakilerin bazılarının elindeki molotofkokteylleri dikkat çekti.

25'i evini tahliye etmişti

Jandarmanın kaçak yapı sahiplerini bölgeden uzaklaştırmasının ardından belediye ekipleri 20'yi aşkın kaçak yapıyı yıktı.

Bu arada basın mensubu olduklarını söyleyerek yıkım sırasında çekim yapan, ancak üzerlerinde basın kartları bulunmayan 2 genç kız ile ekiplere direnen bazı kişiler de jandarma tarafından gözaltına alındı.

Belediye yetkilileri, söz konusu kaçak yapıların sahiplerine konut vermeyi önerdiklerini ve bunlardan 25'inin teklifi kabul ederek evlerini boşalttığını, 19'unun ise teklifi geri çevirip kaçak yapılarından ayrılmadığını belirtti.

14 Temmuz 2005 24 saat yıkım nöbeti

Küçükçekmece'de tahliye tebligatı alan Bayramtepeliler, yollara Filistin benzeri barikatlar kurdu. Yıkım korkusuyla halk, bu yasadışı eylemde barikatları taşlı - sapanlı çocuklara emanet etti

Şenol Demirci

Küçükçekmece Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü, Bayramtepe, Tunca Caddesi'ndeki 48 gecekonduya tahliye tebligatı gönderince, bölge halkı ayaklandı.

Vatandaşlar, her an gelmesini bekledikleri yıkım ekiplerine karşı, ilk olarak, çöp konteyneri, hurda otomobiller, taş ve tahta gibi buldukları eşyalarla yola barikat kurdular.

Gecekondular ayrıca, tahliyeye gelecek ekibi ve polis müdahalesini püskürtmek amacıyla, yasadışı barikatlara bol miktarda taş yığıldı. Bu barikatlara destek olma görevi de, mahallenin gençlerine düştü. Onlar da elde sapanlarla, barikatlarda gün boyu nöbet tutmaya başladılar.

'Sokağa atmayacağız'

"Bize sosyal konut vereceklermiş. Alibeyköy'de olduğu gibi bizi de ödeyemeyeceğimiz borçların altına sokup evsiz - yurtsuz bırakacaklar" diyerek tahliye kararına tepki gösteren gecekondulu sakinleri, 1986 yılında çıkan imar affi sırasında para ödemelerine rağmen, tapu alamadıklarını da ileri sürdüler.

Belediye'den yapılan açıklamada ise, gecekonduların kısıktıldığı, mahalleyle ilgili herhangi bir yıkım kararı olmadığı bildirildi. Açıklamada, özetle şöyle denildi:

"Bu bölge Küçükçekmece Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında. Kendilerine yasal zorunluluk olarak yalnızca tahliye kararı gönderilmiştir. Burada bir proje uygulanacak, kimse sokağa atılmayacak. Dileyene kira yardımı yaptığımız gibi, sorunu barışçı bir şekilde çözmeye taraftarız."

10 Kasım 2004 Çocukları, kalkan olarak kullandılar

BURSA

Bursa Yıldırım Belediyesi'nin kaçak yapılara yönelik yıkım operasyonunda, görevliler zor anlar yaşadı. Görevlilere taş ve sopalarla saldıran mahalle sakinlerinden 4'ü gözaltına alındı. Yıkım için gelen belediyeye ait dozeri gören gecekondulu sakinleri, taş ve sopalarla saldırıya geçti. Çocukları kendilerine kalkan olarak kullanan gecekondular güçlükle sakinleştirilirken, ekipler mahalleye girerek söz konusu yapıları yıktı.

23 Nisan 2006 Kentsel "yaprak-döktürme"

Kentsel dönüşümü yerinde izlediğim bir tura çıktım. Buyur ola şimdi benimle siz de aynı tura...Ahmet Turhan Altın

Geçen çarşamba Fransız Anadolu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü üyesi ve İstanbul Şehri Gözlem Merkezi sorumlusu, şehir ve bölge plancısı Dr. Jean François Perouse'un sürdürdüğü kırmızı "kenti keşif" minibüsünün konuklarından biriydim. Sabah saat 9'da yola koyulan Küçükçekmece destinasyonlu minibüsteki çalışma grubu içinde Le Monde gazetesi İstanbul muhabiri Sophie Shihab ile şehir plancısı ve mimar arkadaşlar da bulunuyordu. Hedef, İkitelli, Ayazma Mahallesi ve Küçükçekmece sahili...

Şehrini daha iyi tanımak için misafirden al haberi, derler ya; Dr. Perouse'un 2000'den beri gözlemlediği Ayazma mahallesi sakinlerine uygulanan bir "kentsel dönüşüm" projesini yerinde görmeyi gezinin amacı. Ayazma'nın Muşlu sakinlerinden, evi tapulu ama biri epileptik beş çocuklu işsiz Menekşe Şahin ile gecekondusu tapusuz,

okul taşıma servisi yapan yarı "işli" Bitlisli Maşallah Karacar beni özellikle etkiledi. Batı İstanbul'un gelişim alanlarının tam ortasında fiziki, ekolojik ve tarihsel kalıntı olan mahallenin sakinlerine bakın ne önerilmişti: Olimpiyat Köyü'nün manzarasını "tehdit" eden bir "çöküntü bölgesi" kabul edildiğinden bu mahalleliye oturdukları gecekondular karşılığında Halkalı'daki bir toplu konut projesinden yeni daireler verilecekti. Oturulan gecekondular genelde iki katlı, 100 metrekareden büyük, bahçeli ve ağaçlı idi. Gidip baktık, verilecek dairelerin büyüklüğü ve mimari düzeni yetersizdi. Anladığım kadarıyla, 51 milyar bedelli 80 metrekarelik bir betonarme daire için gecekonduya enkaz bedeli 10 milyar sayılarak (41 milyara düşüyor) ve 15 yılda TÜFE faiziyle borçlanma karşılığında ödeme planlanmıştı. Yeni konutların inşaatı bitmek üzereydi. Maşallah'ın onlarca ağaçlı bahçesi için 21 milyarlık bir ecir misil vergisi de gelmişti. Neticede yaklaşık 100 milyarlık bir borç yüküyle yerinden edilecek olan Maşallah, çarıncaur belediyeyle bir sözleşme imzalamıştı. Duyurmamı istemişti. "Ben bu parayı nasıl öderim, kazancım yeterli değil, her şeye razıyım bari faiz alınmasa!" Gördüğüm, orada bu fakir insanları bilgilendirecek, fısıltı gazetesinin dışında yol ve yordam gösterecek ne merkezi, ne yerel, ne de bir sivil mahalle örgütü vardı...

Buyur ola bugün çok tepeden bastıran bir takas uygulaması olarak algıladığım "kentsel dönüşüm" projeleri hakkındaki gözlem ve düşünceler testusuna bu kez...

1- İnsanın mutluluğu ve sağlığı değil de birkaç kişinin rantını ön plana alan bazı "dönüştürümcülerin" uygulamaya soktukları ürkütücü bir yöntem var. Teslim alınması istenen bir bölgenin yeşilini, ağacını, havasını ve güvenliğini adeta yaprak yaprak sıyrarak orasını yaşanmaz hale getirmenin adına batıda "defoliation" deniyor. Yani:

- a. Kentsel bölüşüm
- b. Kentsel ölüşüm
- c. Yaprak döktürme (başlıktaki)
- d. Ciğer söktürme

2- Küçükçekmece Belediyesi'nin uyguladığı kentsel dönüşüm projelerinden birinin hedefi Ayazma Mahallesi. 1980'lerde oluşmaya başlamış bir gecekondular yerleşimi. Tapusuzlardan başlayarak tapulu hanelere kadar kademe kademe temizlenecek olan Ayazma'nın bugün içinde bulunduğu olağanüstü çevre kirliliği, zehirli varillerle gündemdeki Tuzla-Orhanlı'dan beter. Çünkü:

- a. Sık sık taşan ve lağımlaşmış Haramdere mahallenin ortasından geçiyor.
- b. Organize sanayi bölgesinin bütün çöplü buraya boşaltılıyor. Mahallede şaibeli variller görülüyor.
- c. Bebek ve çocuk ölümleri yaygın. Kolera, astım, bağırsak enfeksiyonları gırla!
- d. Yukarıdaki hiç de "şık" olmayan şıkların hepsi!

3- Bakırköy'den ayrılarak 1987'de resmen kurulmuş olan Küçükçekmece ilçesinde resmi sayımlara göre saptanmış 46 bin binanın kaç kaç kaçmış?

- a. Çoğu
- b. Yarısı
- c. 40 bin adedi
- d. Hepsi. Küçükçekmece mi, "Kaçakçekmece" mi?

4- Dünyanın ender lagünlerinden olan ve korunmasında çok geç kalınan

Küçükçekmece gölüne yılda kaç metre küp atık su ve kanalizasyon suyu atılıyor?

- a. 5 milyon
- b. 10 milyon
- c. 15 milyon
- d. 25 milyon

5- Skandal! Küçükçekmece'deki 80 bin kişilik Atatürk Olimpiyat Stadyumu'nun inşaatı sırasında bulunan ve betonla doldurulan şey neydi?

- a. Fay çatlağı
- b. Kleopatra'nın Mısır'dan İstanbul'a hediye olarak gönderdiği palmye ağaçları
- c. 300 bin yıl öncesinde kadim İstanbulluların yaşadığı Yarımburgaz mağaraları
- d. Daha önce aynı bölgede "yaprak-döktürme" uygulanmış kadim Roma gettosu

6- İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından düzenlenen Küçükçekmece kentsel dönüşüm projesini kazanan Malezyalı mimar Ken Yeang'ın bin bir oyunlu tasarımı MS 4. yüzyılda yaratılmış "Reghio" adlı tarihi SİT alanını hiç dikkate almıyor. Bu ihmal ve tarihe karşı körlük ile unutulmuş Reghio içinden geçen Via Egnatia adlı yol ki bugün İstanbul yolu ya da E-5 olarak devam ediyor, nereyi nereye bağlıyordu? Hatırlatalım:

- a. Malezya'yı Magdeburg'a
- b. Karskapı'yı Edirnekapı'ya
- c. Bağcılar'ı Avcılar'a
- d. Bizans'ı Roma'ya

7- Belediye reisinin geçenlerde "Miami olacak" diye müjdelediği Küçükçekmece'nin Osmanlı'daki adı neydi?

- a. Çekmece-i palmye
- b. Çekmece-i venedikiyye
- c. Çekmece-i ekabir
- d. Çekmece-i sagir

8- Bütün insanlar için önerilecek kentsel iyileştirme projelerinde hangisi dikkate alınmalı?

- a. Sakinlerin beklentileri
- b. Sakinlerin fiili durumlarının bilinmesi
- c. Tabandan yukarıya yöntem
- d. Diyaloga dayalı demokratik yönetim
- e. Hepsi. Ve hülasa, gerçeklerin göz ardı edilmemesi.

Yanıtlar: 1) c, 2) d, 3) c, 4) c, 5) c, 6) d, 7) d, 8) e.

Radikal

Belediye: Provokasyon

15/07/2005

RADİKAL - İSTANBUL - İstanbul'un çeşitli semtlerinde, imar kanunlarına aykırı oldukları için hakkında yıkım kararı çıkarılan 600 bina bulunuyor. Kentsel dönüşüm projesi kapsamında, Hazine arazisi, su havzası ve sahil şeridindeki kaçak yapıların

yıkıldığını anlatan İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (İBB) İmar Müdürü Şimşek Deniz, sorunu kimseyi mağdur etmeden çözmeye çalıştıklarını belirtiyor:

"Kurtköy ve diğer yerlerde kaçak yapı olmasına rağmen, belediye herhangi bir anarşi olmasın, karışıklık çıkmasın diye yapı sahiplerine enkaz bedeli ödemek veya sosyal konutlardan ev verme teklifinde bulunuyor. Buna rağmen yapı sahipleri siyasi angajmanlarla provoke ediliyor. Pendik, Tuzla, Sarıyer, Eyüp, Küçükçekmece, Kâğıthane'de bu şekilde 600 yapı var. Bu provokasyonlara karşı halkı yıkım konusunda bilgilendirmeye çalışıyoruz."

'Aslında ev sahipleriyle anlaştık'

Belediyeden yapılan açıklamaya göre, yıkım öncesi Canbazbayır'da 44 yapının 33'üyle konut karşılığı, 11 ile de yıkım bedeli olarak evlerini boşaltma konusunda anlaşıldı. 38 ev yıkım öncesinde boşaltıldı. Belediye, kaçak yapı sahiplerine metrekare başına betonarme yapılarda 315 YTL, yığma yapılarda 193 YTL yıkım bedeli ödemeyi veya her bina başına sosyal konutlardan indirimli konut vermeyi öneriyor.

Gecekondu sahipleri, yıkım karşılığı sosyal konutlara taşınmaya yönlendiriyor. Belediyeden yapılan açıklamada, Eyüp Güzeltepe ya da Pendik Dolayoba'da 300 kadar belediyeye ait sosyal konut bulunduğu, buradaki 100 metrekaresiz konutların piyasa değerinin 70-80 bin YTL olduğu, ancak kentsel dönüşüm projesi çerçevesinde kaçak yapı sahiplerine 30-40 bin YTL'ye 20 yıla varan taksitle tahsis edildiği belirtildi.

Gecekondu toplu konuta...

Toplu Konut İdaresi, deprem riski ve çarpık yapılaşma sorunu yaşayan İstanbul'da 40 bin yeni konut yaptıracak. Konutlar, uzun dönemli düşük faizli ödeme ya da açık artırmayla satılacak

26/09/2004

SELİM EFE ERDEM

İSTANBUL - Başbakanlığa bağlı Toplu Konut İdaresi'nin (TOKİ), Türkiye genelinde başlattığı 100 bin konut projesi kapsamında İstanbul'da hangi ilçede ne kadar konut yapılacağı ve bunun modelleri belli oldu. Buna göre dokuz ilçede 'gecekondu dönüşüm', beş ilçede ise 'hasılat paylaşımı' modeliyle yaklaşık 40 bin konut yapılacak. Konutlar, bulunduğu yere ve metrekaresine göre uzun dönemli düşük faizli ya da açık arttırma yöntemiyle satışa sunulacak.

TOKİ, İstanbul'un rant getiren bölgelerinde bulunan arazilerini 'hasılat paylaşımı' yöntemiyle özel inşaat firmaları aracılığıyla değerlendirecek. Çarpık yapılaşma bölgelerinde ise arsa karşılığı uzun vadeli krediyle gecekondu önleme amaçlı kentsel dönüşüm projeleri hayata geçirecek.

TOKİ evleri sosyal konutlar olduğu için 150 metrekaresi aşıyor. Gecekondu önleme alanında yapılan evler genelde 70-80 metrekaresiz arasında, 2+1 odadan oluşuyor. Hasılat paylaşımı yöntemiyle yapılan konutlarsa, genelde 115-120 metrekaresiz büyüklüğünde oluyor. TOKİ konutlarından almak isteyenler, TOKİ'nin www.toki.gov.tr adresindeki duyurular, gazetelerdeki TOKİ ihale ilanlarını, yetkili bankalar olan Ziraat Bankası ya da Halk Bankası ve yerel belediyeler aracılığıyla konu hakkında bilgi edinebilecek.

Ödeme koşulları

TOKİ'nin hasılat paylaşım modeline göre, Bahçeşehir Merkez'de 4 bin 500 ve T1 Bölgesi'nde 235, Ataşehir Batı'da konut artı ticari alanında 3 bin 578, Ataşehir Batı

1. bölgede 2 bin 322, 2. bölge de 1865, Kozyatağı'nda 800, Ataköy 6. Mahalle'de 1200 ve Halkalı'da çeşitli etaplarla toplam 9 bin 700 konut yapılacak. TOKİ arsalarına özel firmalarca yapılacak toplu konutlarda, 91 ve 312 milyar liradan açık artırmayla satış yapılacak. Fiyat artırımları 2 milyar üzerinden olacak ve artırmayı kazanan yüzde 30'u peşin, kalanı 60 ay vadeyle ödeme yapacak.

120 ya da 140 ay vadeli ödeme

Gecekondu dönüşüm projelerinde ise, mevcut gecekondu alanları yıkılarak düzenli toplu konutlar üretilecek. Arsa sahiplerinden artakalan konutlar da satışa sunulacak. Geri ödemeler konut kredisinin kullanımı sona erdikten üç ay sonra, 120 ya da 140 ay vadeyle yapılacak. Faizler, TÜFE ile memur maaş artış oranı göz önünde bulundurularak 12 aylık sürelerin sonunda belirlenecek.

TOKİ'nin İstanbul'daki gecekondu önleme projesi kapsamında Küçükçekmece'de 1800, İkitelli'de 2 bin 800, Pendik'te bin 250, Ümraniye Taşdelen'de 400, Sultançiftliği'nde 400, Avcılar İspartakule'de 5 bin ve Halkalı'da 2 bin 600, Zeytinburnu ve Gaziosmanpaşa ilçelerinde de 3 ile 5 bin arasında toplu konutun yapılması bekleniyor.

Kondudan toplu konuta

İstanbul'da naklen yaşanan sel felaketinin ardından dere ıslahı için ilk yıkım yapıldı. Feriköy'de 40 yıldır 'Dozer gelecekmiş' korkusuyla yaşayan aileler, birer birer toplu konutlara taşınıyor

30/09/2004

İSMAİL SAYMAZ

İSTANBUL - Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin olası bir sel felaketini önlemek ve Şişli trafiğini rahatlatmak için geliştirdiği Baruthane Deresi'nin ıslahı projesi kapsamında istimlak edilen gecekondu yıkıldı. Belediye ile anlaşmaya vararak 40 yıllık kondularından ayrılan vatandaşlar Alibeyköy'deki Güzeltepe Toplu Konutları'nda ev sahibi oldu. Kondudan toplu konuta geçenlerin kimi mutlu, kimi mutlu ama endişeli, kimi buruktu...

Feriköy Halide Edip Mahallesi'de ilk gecekondu bundan 40 yıl önce kuruldu. Baruthane Deresi kenarındaki onlarca gecekondu kat kat yükselerek, apartmanlar halini aldı. Yıllarca yıkılması gündeme gelen gecekondu, kentin herhangi bir sokağından farksız, varlığını korudu. Mahalleli, arada bir dilden dile yayılan 'Dozerler gelecekmiş' dedikodusu kimi zaman uykularını kaçırsa da yaşamını sürdürdü. Yıkımı planlanan 70 gecekondu 50'sinin istimlakı tamamlandı.

Süre yarın sona eriyor

Ve 40 yılın dedikodusu önceki gün gerçek oldu. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin anlaşmaya vardığı gecekondu sahipleri, Alibeyköy'deki Güzeltepe Toplu Konutları'nda kendilerine daire verilmesine karşılık kondularından ayrılmayı kabul etti. Mahalleye giren dozerler 20 gecekonduyu yerle bir etti. Evleri boşaltmayanlara ise yarına kadar süre tanındı.

'Evim 100 milyar lira ederdi'

Amir Kandemir, yeni evinden memnun olsa da, üç katlı konusuna biçilen 60 milyar liralık değeri az buluyor. 63 yaşındaki Kandemir, "Mahallemizde bir evin değeri, 100 milyar lira. Şimdi 40 milyarlık bir daire katıyla yetindik" dedi. Kandemir, buna karşın kaloriferli ve doğalgazlı bir apartman dairesinde oturmaktan memnun.

Kandemir, bir hafta önce yerleştiği evinde, taksitlerini ödeyebildiği takdirde mutlu olabileceğini düşünüyor. 66 yaşındaki Hüseyin Güngör'ün konusuna 37 milyar lira

değer biçilmiş. Yeni evine aylık 550 milyon lira ödemesi gerektiğini belirterek, "Ben bir emekli maaşıyla bunun altından nasıl kalkacağım, bilmiyorum" dedi.

Kuşbakışı Alibeyköy manzarası

Konducuların yerleştiği, Alibeyköy Güzeltepe Sosyal Konutları'nın 5. Bloku semte tepeden bakıyor. Doğalgazlı, asansörlü, üç odalı evler konducular için 'ikinci bahar' anlamına geliyor. Kondusundan bir hafta önce ayrılarak yeni evine yerleşen Bayram Gürçar, dozer korkusu olmadan yaşadığı için mutlu. Oğlu, gelini ve iki torunuyla yaşayan Gürçar, evin taksitlerini ödeyememekten korkuyor. Gürçar, "Bir de aniden ortada kalmak, yeniden konduya dönmek var" diye konuştu.

Yıkım takvimi

Ağustos ayında meydana gelen ve 'naklen' yayımlanan sel felaketinin ardından, İstanbul'da altı ilçede 345 binanın istimlakına karar verilmişti. Felaket sonrasında Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Kadir Topbaş'ın başkanlığında bir araya gelen Gaziosmanpaşa, Eyüp, Maltepe, Güngören, Bahçelievler, Bağcılar ve Esenler belediye başkanları, Esenler'de 30, Güngören'de 40, Gaziosmanpaşa'da 40, Bahçelievler'de 30, Eyüp'te 170 ve Maltepe'de 35 yapının istimlak edilmesine karar vermişti.

Ayrıca Çırpıcı, Çinçin, Küçükköy, Esenyurt ve Büyükyalı derelerinin ıslahı ve periyodik bakımı kararlaştırılmıştı. Alibeyköy'de yıkılmasına karar verilen 20 gecekondur, Emniyet Müdürlüğü'ne bağlı çevik kuvvet ekiplerinin 4-5 Ekim'de İstanbul'da yapılacağı açıklanan İKÖ-AB Ortak Forumu'nda görevlendirilecek olması nedeniyle ertelenmişti.

Boğaz'da yıkım yapmak zor!

Bu arada, Boğaziçi İmar Müdürlüğü'nün imkânlarının yetersizliği yüzünden, Boğaziçi'nde yıkım kararı alınan 1135 binadan 10 yıl içinde ancak 109'u yıkılabildi. İçişleri Bakanı Abdülkadir Aksu, İstanbul Bağımsız Milletvekili Emin Şirin'in soru önergesine verdiği yanıtta, müdürlüğün eleman sayısının az, ekipmanın yetersiz, bölgenin topografik yapısının elverişsiz olduğunu belirterek yıkım kararlarının uygulanamadığını söylemişti.

Gecekondu yık, krediyi al

AKP'lilerden yasa teklifi: Gecekondu yıkıranlara Toplu Konut İdaresi bitmiş ya da bitmek üzere bir ev ile faizsiz kredi versin

17/04/2005

YURDAGÜL ŞİMŞEK

ANKARA - AKP'liler, çarpık kentleşme sorununun önüne geçilmesi için gecekondu yıkıma Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) tarafından ev ve faizsiz kredi verilmesini istedi. AKP'den Bursa milletvekilleri Abdülmecit Alp, Mustafa Dünder, Şevket Orhan, Aksaray Milletvekili Ahmet Yaşar, Erzurum Milletvekili Mustafa Nuri Akbulut ile Kocaeli Milletvekili Muzaffer Baştopçu, Toplu Konut Kanunu'na geçici bir madde eklenmesini öngören yasa teklifini TBMM Başkanlığı'na sundu. Yasa teklifinin gerekçesinde, özellikle büyükşehirlerde gecekonduların şehir merkezinin içinde kaldığı ve buldukları yerlerde çirkin bir görüntü oluşturdukları vurgulandı. Gecekonduların bulunduğu arazilerin büyük bir rant haline geldiğine de dikkat çekilen gerekçede, şöyle denildi: "İlgili belediyelerimiz ve TOKİ işbirliği yaparak, gecekondu yıkılıp, yerlerine apartmanlar yapılarak hak sahiplerine konut verilmektedir. Ancak bu uygulamada gecekonduyan başka evi olmayan hak sahipleri mağdur olmaktadır. Gecekonduyan yerine yapılacak olan binanın yapımı süresince

açıkta kalmaktadırlar. TOKİ'nin bitmiş veya bitmekte olan konutlarından söz konusu hak sahiplerine öncelik tanınarak verilmesi durumunda bu mağduriyet ortadan kalkacaktır."

'Gecekonducu kurayı beklemesin'

Teklif göre, gecekondu sahipleri yıkılanlara iki ay içinde başvurularını halinde TOKİ tarafından konut sahibi olmaları için öncelik tanınacak. Hak sahibi olmalarını belgelemeleri durumunda gecekondu sahipleri TOKİ'nin kurasına da girmeden öncelikle ev sahibi olabilecekler. Teklif, yasanın yürürlük tarihinden önce gecekondu sahiplerine de aynı haktan yararlanma olanağı veriyor. Bu kişilere TOKİ tarafından faizsiz kredi de verilecek. Bu kredinin miktarı ve ödeme esasları ile ilgili hususlar ise Yüksek Planlama Kurulu tarafından belirlenecek.

Cumhuriyet

02.09.2005 Kentsel dönüşüm manzaraları

"Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi" kapsamında kiracısı oldukları evleri yıkılan 9 aile, Eyüp Güzeltepe'deki İETT'ye ait otobüs duraklarında yaşam savaşımı veriyor. Çoluk çocuk, ellerinde kalan eşyayla kendi kurdukları derme çatma çadırlarda hayatlarını sürdürme çabası veren aileler, tek isteklerinin gelirlerine uygun kiralarla kendilerine ev gösterilmesi olduğunu belirttiler.

'Kentsel Dönüşüm' kapsamında kiracı olarak oturdukları evleri yıkılan 9 aile ortada kaldı

02.09.2005 Otobüs durağında yaşam

İstanbul Haber Servisi - İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ekiplerince Eyüp Güzeltepe Yenibayır Sokak'ta bulunan evlerin yıkılmasının ardından kiracılar, 28 Temmuz'dan bu yana sığındıkları İETT durağında kendilerine yaşam alanı gösterilmesini bekliyorlar.

Bir ayı aşkın süredir derme çatma, çadıra benzeyen mekânlarda susuz, elektriksiz ve sağlığa aykırı koşullarda gelecek arayan ailelerin tek isteği ise başvurdukları idari mercilerde muhatap bulabilmek. Belediyeye yaptıkları başvurulardan hiçbir yanıt alamadıklarını anlatan Filiz Yön , "Adeta insan ayırımı yapıyorlar. Bizi yurttaş olarak bile görmüyorlar. AKP'li belediyenin bu tavrının altında belki de türbanlı olmamız yatıyordur. Ev sahiplerine hemen yer gösterildi. Biz ise kaderimize terk edildik" dedi.

Filiz Yön yıkım sırasında kullanılan gaz bombalarından küçük çocukların etkilendiğini ve şu andaki yaşam koşulları nedeniyle de sık sık hastalandıklarını söyledi.En küçüğü 1.5, en büyüğü 10 yaşında 15 çocukla birlikte, çevresi naylonlarla çevrili, çadır bile denemeyecek barınaklarda yaşayan 9 aile ekonomik açıdan da çok zor durumda. Oğlunun asgari ücretle çalıştığını anlatan 65 yaşındaki Nazlı Yön , "Aldığı maaşla biz en çok 100 milyon lira kira verebiliriz. Ancak bu bedelle ev bulamıyoruz. Bu nedenle de burada yaşamaya mahkûmuz. Tek isteğimiz, belediyenin biz kiracılara da kesemize uygun bir yer göstermesi" dedi.

Tuvalet ve temizlik ihtiyaçlarını da gideremediklerini anlatan Yön , "Tüm yaşadıklarımız yetmezmiş gibi, belediye emriyle su ihtiyacımızı sağladığımız bize en yakın çeşmenin de suyu kesildi. Buradan gitmemiz için ellerinden geleni yapıyorlar. Biz de gitmek istiyoruz, ancak gidecek yerimiz yok" diye konuştu.

05.12.2004 ÇED KÖŞESİ

OKTAY EKİNCİ

Kentsel Dönüşüm

Birkaç yıl önce Amerika'daki "Any" mimarları Ankara ve İstanbul'da toplantılar yapmışlardı. İngilizcedeki "herhangi" nin karşılığı olan "any" nin sonuna "where" i ekleyerek "herhangi bir yer" de mimarlığı; ya da "time" ı ekleyerek "herhangi bir zaman" da mimarlığı tartışan bu grup, Türkiye'deki meslektaşlarına şunu önermişti: "Yapılar da giysiler gibidir; mutlu ve çağdaş olabilmek için eskiyince atmak, yenisini alıp kullanmak gerekir..."

Tüketim imparatorluğu mimarlarının bu düşüncelerine karşı hepimizin yüreğine su serpen en özlü yanıtı ise yıllarını mimarlık tarihine ve kentsel korumaya adanmış hocamız Doğan Kuban şöyle vermişti:

"Bunca araştırmadan sonra vardığınız sonuç bu ise doğrusu geç kalmışsınız. Çünkü bizdeki müteahhitler zaten 50 yıldır binaları yıkıp yıkıp yeniden yapıyorlar."

Son zamanlarda "kentsel yenileme" ve "kentsel dönüşüm" pek revaçta.

Hükümetin gündemindeki yeni yasalar arasında "Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı" da var.

Her yıl kasım ayının ilk haftasında düzenlenen "Dünya Şehircilik Günü" etkinlikleri bu kez ODTÜ ve Şehir Plancıları Odası tarafından 8-10 Kasım 2004 tarihlerinde Ankara'da "Değişen-Dönüşen Kent ve Bölge" temasıyla yapıldı.

İstanbul'da da Büyükşehir Belediyesi desteğinde Küçükçekmece Belediyesi ile yine Şehir Plancıları Odası'nca düzenlenen 27-30 Kasım 2004'teki 4 günlük uluslararası toplantının adı ve amacı "Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları" ydı.

Öyle görünüyor ki artık imar ve şehircilik gündemimizde bu kavramlar en önde yer alacak...

Aynı kavramların neden böylesine ilgi çekmeye başladığını düşündüğümüzde ise konunun gündemdeki "öncelikleri" ve bundan sezilen "hedefleri" aklımıza soru işaretleri getiriyor.

Çünkü, kenti plansızlıktan ve talandan kurtarmak adına öngörülen ketsel yenileme ve kentsel dönüşüm, nedense "tarihi kent dokuları" nı yaşatmak ile "yasal ama bakımsız" semtleri ihya etmek için değil, sadece imar talanı bölgelerini yeniden yapılandırmak için tartışılıyor.

Örneğin, yasa tasarısını inceleyen hemen tüm uzmanlar, bu düzenlemenin temelinde "kaçak yapılaşma" nın şimdi de yeni bir şehircilik söylemiyle affedilmiş olacağını söylüyorlar. Hem de sorumlulara ceza yerine "yenilenmiş kent" armağan edilerek; yani yıllardır imar suçu işleyenlere para karşılığında modern binalar ve tapu sunularak...

Acaba aynı hükümet, yıkıma ve yok oluşa terk edilmiş kenti "kent" yapan değerlerin kurtarılması ve yeniden yaşama kavuşturulması için de böylesine özel yasalar neden hazırlamıyor? Böyle olunca da yasadışı yapılaşma bölgelerini "çağdaş kente dönüştüreceğiz" diyerek ortaya çıkmak uygarlık adına inandırıcı olmuyor.

Şimdi soralım: Yağmalanmış bölgelerdeki yeni imar ve inşaat olanaklarını hedefleyen bir "yenileme ve dönüşüm" ün göz kamaştırıcı kazanç potansiyeli, sakın egemen siyasetteki bu tercihin "belirleyici neden" i olmasın?

Nitekim aynı süreç imar planlama alanında da "bereketli" günler vaat ediyor olmalı.

Baksanıza şehircilerimiz, yeni Koruma Yasası'ndaki tarihsel mimariyi koruma planlarında, mimarların yetkisiz bırakılması için militanca çalıştılar. Ne var ki kentsel yenilemedeki öncelikleri, tarihi kent merkezleri yerine talan bölgeleri...

İstanbul'daki sempozyumun, Tarihi Yarımada 'ya, Galata 'ya, hatta Boğaziçi 'ne ne yararı olacağını bildiri konularında arayın ki bulasınız... Ama aynı toplantıda "atölye çalışmaları" alanı Küçükçekmece Gölü ve Sazlıdere Barajı çevresindeki "imar yasaklı su havzaları" ...

Buralar için üretilecek "dönüşüm planları" nın aynı bölgedeki talana bu kez de "şehirciliğe uygun imar rantı" kazandıracığı ortada değil mi?

09.09.2005Durakta yaşam hasta etti

İstanbul'un Eyüp ilçesine bağlı Güzeltepe semtinde iki buçuk ay önce kiracı olarak yaşadıkları evleri belediye tarafından "Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi" kapsamında yıkıldıktan sonra yakınlardaki bir otobüs durağında yaşam mücadelesi veren 9 aile sağlıksız koşullar nedeniyle hastalık tehditi altında. Durakta yaşayanlardan ve yaşlılık maaşıyla yetim torunlarına bakan 78 yaşındaki Fatma Durmuş, 5 Ekim Çarşamba günü enfeksiyon teşhisiyle Okmeydanı Hastanesi'ne kaldırıldı. Hastane önünde mağdur ailelerin dün yaptığı basın açıklamasında sağlıksız koşulların sorumlusu olarak Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ni gösteren Leyla Güzel, "Afet yaşamaktayız, ancak bu afet doğadan değil, sizlerden gelmektedir. Yıllarca kiracı olarak oturduğumuz, suyunu, elektriğini ödediğimiz evlerimiz yıkıldı. Bizler asgari ücretle geçici işlerde çalışan aileleriz. Fahiş kiralar ve depozitolar ödeyecek durumda değiliz" dedi. (SİBEL BAL)

07.09.2005Durakta yaşayanlara ev verilsin

İstanbul Haber Servisi - Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği (TMMOB) İstanbul İl Koordinasyon Kurulu, Eyüp'te evleri yıkıldığı için 43 gündür durakta yaşam savaşı veren 9 aileye, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin (İBB) kiralık ev vermesini istedi.

TMMOB İl Koordinasyon Kurulu Sekreteri Meftun Gürdallar ve beraberindeki grup, Güzeltepe'deki otobüs duraklarında hayatlarını sürdürmeye çalışan 32 kişiden oluşan 9 aileyle ilgili olarak İBB Emlak İstimlak Dairesi Başkanı Mahmut Kocameşe ile görüştü. Görüşmenin ardından, aile temsilcilerinin katılımıyla basın açıklaması yapan Gürdallar, "Belediye yönetimi hiç bu kadar zalim olmamıştı" dedi. Belediyenin 9 aileye, kiralık ev bulurlarsa süresiz kira yardımı önerdiğini, ancak bu önerinin aileleri rencide ettiğini anlatan Gürdallar, "Onlar sadece kamu binalarında makul fiyatlarla kiracı olmak istiyor" dedi. Gürdallar, aileleri salı günü ziyaret edeceklerini, o güne dek sorunun çözülmesini umduklarını dile getirdi.

14.06.2004 İSTANBUL'DA GECEKONDU YERİNE TOPLU KONUT

İstanbul Haber Servisi - İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Sosyal Rehabilitasyon Projeleri'nin ilk adımı atıldı. "İkitelli, Ayazma ve Tepeüstü Bölgeleri Kentsel Yenileme (Gecekondu Dönüşüm) Projesi' ne ilişkin protokol, İBB Başkanı Kadir Topbaş ve Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) Başkanı Erdoğan Bayraktar ve Küçükçekmece Belediye Başkanı Aziz Yeniay tarafından imzalandı. Proje kapsamında İstanbul'daki gecekondu yıkılarak yerine sosyal konutlar inşa edilecek.

Saraçhane'deki protokol töreninde konuşan Topbaş, projenin imzalanmasını, "İstanbul'un çehresinin değişmesi için tarihi bir gün" olarak tanımladı. Bayraktar da "İstanbul'da 700 bin kadar binanın ya yenilenmesi, ya değiştirilmesi ya da güçlendirilmesi gerek. Bu nedenle insanca yaşamın gerekleri olan konutları

üreteceğiz" diye konuştu. Proje kapsamında, ilk aşamada Halkalı Bezirgan Mahallesi'nde, 1800 konutluk "Çağdaş Kent" inşa edilecek. Yurttaşlar, bu konutlara yüzde 10 ile 25 arasında peşinat vererek ortalama 120 ay vadeli taksitlerle sahip olabilecek.

Mahalleli, fazla rant getiren bölgelerin kentsel dönüşüm planına alındığını savunuyor

20.08.2005 İlçede yıkım gerginliği

Küçükçekmece Belediye Başkanı Aziz Yeniay, evlerin yıkılacağı, yurttaşların mağdur edileceği gibi iddiaların asılsız olduğunu savunurken Yeşilova Mahallesi sakinleri, topladıkları 3800 imzalı dilekçe ile imar planlarının ve kentsel dönüşüm projesinin iptali için suç duyurusunda bulunmaya hazırlanıyor.

İstanbul Haber Servisi - "Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Rehabilitasyon Projesi" kapsamında Küçükçekmece ilçesinde hazırlanan imar planları ve bazı söylentiler ilçe halkını tedirgin ediyor.

Küçükçekmece Belediye Başkanı Aziz Yeniay , evlerin yıkılacağı, yurttaşların mağdur edileceği gibi iddiaların asılsız olduğunu savunurken Yeşilova Mahallesi sakinleri, topladıkları 3800 imzalı dilekçe ile imar planlarının ve kentsel dönüşüm projesinin iptali için suç duyurusunda bulunmaya hazırlanıyor.

Küçükçekmece ilçesi, son günlerde yıkım söylentileri nedeniyle sıkıntılı günler yaşıyor. Yaptığı yazılı açıklama ile yıkım söylentilerini yalanlayan Küçükçekmece Belediye Başkanı Aziz Yeniay , "Olimpiyat Köyü çevresinde ve kentsel dönüşüm alanlarını içerisinde yaşayan yurttaşlarımızın hiçbir şekilde endişelenmelerine gerek olmadığı gibi kimliğini gösteren görevlilerin dışında kimseye itibar etmemeleri gerekmektedir" dedi.

BAŞKAN YALANLADI

Yeniay, ilçede yapılan çalışmalar sonucunda kentsel dönüşüm alanlarının tespit edildiğini bu alanların etaplanarak uygulamaya başlandığını anlattı.

1. etap olarak İkitelli Ziya Gökalp Mahallesi-Ayazma ve Mehmet Akif Mahallesi-Tepeüstü bölgesinde çalışmaların başladığını belirten Yeniay, burada yaklaşık 1570 yapının tespit edildiğini ifade etti.

Kentsel dönüşümün sadece yıkım anlamına gelmediğini savunan Yeniay, "Halkalı ve Sefaköy'de kentsel dönüşüm alanları belirlendi. Tüm bölge sakinlerinin ortalıkta dolaşan söylentilere kulak asmadan soru ve görüşleri yetkili ağızlardan öğrenmeleri gerekmektedir. Zaten Sefaköy ve Halkalı bölgesinin imarı var. Burada yıkım ve tasfiye yapılmayacak" dedi.

Küçükçekmece ilçesinin Yeşilova Mahallesi sakinleri ise Yeniay'ın yalanlamalarına karşın imar planlarına ve mahallenin kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alınmasına karşı harekete geçti. 3800 kişinin imzaladığı dilekçelerde, 03.08.2005 tarihinde yürürlüğe giren ve askıya alınan imar planları ile Yeşilova Mahallesi'nin kentsel dönüşüm alanı içinde kaldığı belirtildi.

Kentsel dönüşüm içine alınan bu bölgenin yüzde 98'inin yapılaşmasını tamamladığına dikkat çekilen dilekçelerde, "Yalnızca birkaç müteahhiti zengin etme hırsı içinde olmayan hiçbir belediye başkanının, gayrimenkul maliklerine sormadan, böylesine bir hukuksuzluğa teşebbüs etmesi mümkün değildir. Askıya çıkarılan imar planlarında her mahallenin en çok rant getiren kısımlarını kentsel dönüşüm kapsamına alan bu hukuksuzluğa karşı Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi dahil tüm yargı organlarında hakkımızı arayacağız" denildi.

Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'na suç duyuruları yapılacağı ifade edilen dilekçede imar planlarının iptali, bölgenin kentsel dönüşüm kapsamından çıkarılması istendi.

TOKİ BAŞKANI BAYRAKTAR:

21.11.2005 Gecekondu büyük sorun

İSTANBUL (AA) - Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) Başkanı Erdoğan Bayraktar , Türkiye'de dış borç ve terörden sonra en büyük problemi gecekondu sorununun oluşturduğunu bildirdi.

Bayraktar, 1950'de göçlerle başlayan hızlı kentleşme sürecinin çarpık yapılaşmayı beraberinde getirdiğini, büyük şehirlerde görülen gecekondulaşmanın imar aflarıyla 50 vilayete kadar yaygınlaştığını belirtti.

İmarsız, ruhsatsız konut sayısına dikkat çeken Bayraktar, "Şehirlerdeki mevcut konutların yarıdan fazlasını yenilemek gerekiyorsa, oturup düşünmemiz gerekir" dedi.

Bayraktar, kentsel dönüşüm için 66 belediye ile ön anlaşma yaptıklarını, Erzincan'da 2 bin gecekonduyu yıkıp modern bir yerleşim yeri kurduklarını da söyledi.

ALARKO GYO GENEL MÜDÜRÜ HARUN MORENO:

26.09.2005 Mortgage olumlu etkileyecek

Enflasyonun düşmesi ve buna bağlı olarak mevduat, Hazine bonosu ve kredi faizlerinin düşmesi, artmış olan konut talebinin devam etmesini sağlayacaktır.

Kent eteklerinde hemen hemen her gelir grubuna hitap etmekte olan alternatif konut projeleri arz yönünü kuvvetlendirmektedir. Bu yeni projelerin pazarı rahatlatması nedeni ile bundan sonra çok yüksek fiyat artışları beklenmemelidir.

Mortgage enstrümanının tam olarak tüm yasal değişiklikleri ile devreye girmesi sonrası sistemin işlerlik kazanması, talebi olumlu etkilemeye devam edecektir.

Özellikle deprem endişesi yaşanan konutlardan ayrılmak için fırsat kollayan aileler için konut kredileri çok iyi birer imkân olmuş ve olmaya devam edecektir.

Daha alt gelir grupları, taşıdığı risklere rağmen boşalmakta olan deprem riski taşıyan konutlara yerleşmeyi isteyebilirler. Belediyenin TOKİ ile beraber gerçekleştirdiği kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ile birlikte deprem riski taşımakta olan bu grubun da daha güvenli konutlara taşınması sağlanacaktır. Bunun ilk örneği Küçükçekmece'de gerçekleşmekte olup yeni projelerin takip edeceğini düşünmekteyiz.

28.08.2005 GECEKONDUCULAR BİRLEŞTİ

İstanbul'da 'Yıkımlara hayır mitingi'

Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu tarafından bugün saat 13.00'te Kadıköy İskele Meydanı'nda gerçekleştirilecek "Yıkımlara Hayır Mitingi"ne, gecekondu sahipleri dışında meslek odaları, sendikalar, siyasi partiler de katılacak.

ALPER TURGUT

Gecekondu bölgelerindeki evlerin yıkılarak yerine sosyal konutların yapılmasını içeren "Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Sosyal Rehabilitasyon Projeleri" ne tepki çıkış gibi büyüyor. Gecekondu mahallelerinde oturanlar, yıkımların siyasi bir karar olduğunu belirterek komiteler, platformlar kuruyor ve eylem takvimini hayata geçirmeye hazırlanıyorlar. Sivil toplum örgütlerinin de desteklediği yıkım karşıtı miting ise bugün Kadıköy'de gerçekleştirilecek.

İstanbul'u yönetenler, Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında, 250 bin konutun yıkılacağı, 3 milyon insanın da yer değiştireceğini ifade ediyor. Kentteki bir buçuk

milyon kaçak yapıdan yüz bini hakkında yıkım kararı çıktığını vurgulayan İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi yetkilileri, son sekiz ay içerisinde bunlardan 1658 tanesinin yıkıldığını, 1200 bina için de suç duyurusunda bulunulduğunu açıklıyor. Projenin zenginlere yeni olanaklar sağlayacağını, inşaat ve emlak sektörüne kazanç getireceğini savunan gecekondulu sahipleri ise, "Birçoğumuz işsiz olan bizleri bir de evsiz bırakıp villalar, golf sahaları, tatil köyleri, iş, alışveriş ve eğlence merkezleri açacaklar" diyor.

"1970'li yılların sonuna doğru kurulmaya başlanan ilk evlerin ardından başlayan ve 1990'ların ortalarında artan göçle birlikte hız kazanan gecekondulu gerçeğini devlet ve hükümet daha yeni mi fark etti?" diye yakınan gecekondulu sahipleri şöyle konuşuyor: "Örneğin muhtarlık binası, sağlık ocağı, okul, cami, cemevi, asfalt yol, su, elektrik, telefon bulunan bir yer nasıl kaçak olabilir? Gazi Mahallesi, Okmeydanı, Gülsuyu-Gülensu Mahallesi, Mustafa Kemal Mahallesi, Aydos, Nurtepe, Bayramtepe, Ayazma, Alibeyköy, Güzeltepe... Liste uzayıp gider. Buralarda yıllardır bir arada bulunan, komşuluk, dostluk ilişkileri kuran ve tek suçları yoksulluk olan yüz binlerce kişi yaşıyor."

Yıkımlara karşı herkesin farklı eylem anlayışı olduğunun da altını çizen gecekondulu sahipleri şunları söylüyor:

"Kimi Taksim Meydanı'ndaki otobüs duraklarını kondu haline getirirken kimi F1 yarışları sırasında Akfırat'ta 'Zenginlere Formula, yoksullara yıkım' pankartı açıyor. Bunun dışında yıkılan gecekondusu karşılığında inşaat halindeki villalara saldıranlar da var, molotofkokteyli ve taşlarla yıkımlara direnenler de. Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi'nin ardından gecekondulu mahallelerinde rant avına çıkan silahlı çeteler peydah oldu. Esnafa saldıran, ailelerimizi korkutan bu çetelere göz yumulduğunu düşünüyoruz. Yıkım sorunu ve çetelerin tehdidi nedeniyle her an istenmeyen olaylar yaşanabilir."

KADIKÖY'DE DÜZENLENDİ

29.08.2005 Gecekondulu yıkımlarına kitlesel protesto

İstanbul Haber Servisi- "Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu" , Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi kapsamında yapılan gecekondulu yıkımlarını dün Kadıköy Meydanı'nda düzenlediği kitlesel bir mitingle protesto etti. Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu adına konuşan Mehmet Leylek , AKP taşeronluğu altında yapılan yıkımların, uluslararası sermaye ve emlak spekülâtorlerine yönelik, "rantsal dönüşüm planı" olduğunu görmek gerektiğini söyledi.

Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği (EKB), Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Platformu (ESP), Tekstil-Sen, DİSK'e bağlı Limter-İş ile Kurtköy, Eyüp, Sarıyer ve Yeşilkent'te gecekonduları yıkılan yurttaşlardan oluşan yaklaşık 300 kişi, Haydarpaşa Numune Hastanesi önünde toplandı. "Yıkımlar durdurulsun, yıkım planları iptal edilsin" pankartı arkasında Kadıköy Meydanı'na yürüyüşe geçen koordinasyon üyeleri "Direne direne kazanacağız" , "Barınma hakkımız engellenemez" , "İşbirlikçi AKP kondulardan def ol" , "Yıkımlara karşı tek yumruk, tek barikat" sloganları attı. Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu adına konuşan Mehmet Leylek, son bir yıl içinde yaşanan yıkımların, uluslararası sermaye ve emlak spekülâtorlerine yönelik "rantsal dönüşüm planı" olduğunu görmek gerektiğini söyledi. Emekçi halka yönelik saldırıların Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi adı altında AKP'nin de taşeronluğu ile yapıldığını ifade eden Leylek, "Gecekondulu alanlarını uluslararası sermayeye satmak

için, gecekonduları yıkmaya başladılar. Satacak hiçbir şeyi kalmayan iktidarın, bundan sonraki planı da bizi köle pazarlarında satmak olacaktır" diye konuştu. TMMOB İstanbul İl Sekreteri Meftun Gürdallar gecekondu yıkımlarına karşı, yıkım mağdurlarının ve destekleyenlerin hep birlikte hareket etmesi gerektiğini belirtti. Gecekondu halkının en büyük silahlarının oyları olduğunun altını çizen Gürdallar, AKP iktidarına seslenerek "Gecekonduları yıkarak ve yurttaşları sokakta bırakarak mı AB'ye gireceksiniz" diye sordu.

Evrensel

17.07.05 İmar planı mağdur etmesin

Uğraş Vatandaş

Eyüp'ün Karadolop, Güzeltepe, Akşemsettin, Yeşilpınar, Çırçır, Esentepe, Emniyettepe, Silahtarağa ve Alibeyköy Merkez mahallerini kapsayan İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (Anakent) Planlama İmar Müdürlüğü'nün yaptığı imar nazım planı halkın büyük tepkisine neden oldu. Mahalleli, "İstanbul Anakent Belediyesi'nin bölgede, nazım imar planı adıyla yeni bir yıkım planı uygulamaya koyduğu" görüşünde.

Dilekçe verdiler

İstanbul Anakent belediyesinin 1/5000'lik imar nazım planında insanların yıllardır barındıkları konutların olduğu bölgeler konut alanından çıkarılıyor. Planda "park", "yeşil saha", "yol genişlemesi" adları altında belirlenen bölge içerisinde bulunan evler konut alanından çıkarılacak. Mahalle muhtarlıklarına gelen imar nazım planı bir süre askıda durdu. Bu süre içerisinde evleri nazım planında konut alanından çıkarılanlar Büyükşehir Belediyesi Planlama İmar Müdürlüğü'ne dilekçeyle başvuruda bulunarak mağdur edilmemelerini istediler. İtirazların incelenmesinin ardından Eyüp Belediyesi imar nazım planına dayanarak 1/1000'lik uygulama planları yapacak.

'Mağduriyet giderilsin'

Eyüplüler durum hakkında her gün muhtarlıklardan bilgi edinmeye çalışıyor. Yılların birikimleriyle başlarını sokacak bir eve sahip olduklarını belirten Eyüplüler, evlerini kaybetmeme telaşı içine düştü. Evlerin yüzde ellisine yakınının konut alanından çıkarılmak istendiği Karadolap Mahallesi'nin Muhtarı Lütfi Sertkaya imar planında mahallenin yarısının yol genişlemesi ve yeşil alan içine alındığını belirtiyor. Vatandaşları bilgilendirerek dilekçeyle itiraz etmeye yönlendirdiklerini belirten Sertkaya, binlerce dilekçe ile mahallelinin plana itiraz ettiğini söylüyor. Hazırlanan imar planının 9 mahalleyi kapasadığını ve Anakent'in bütçesinin uygulamaya yetmeyeceğini düşünen Sertkaya, planın hayali bir proje olduğu görüşünde. Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin itirazlar üzerinden durum değerlendirmesi yaparak karar vereceğini ve plana Eyüp Belediyesi'nin de itirazları bulunduğunu anımsatan Sertkaya, planın vatandaşların menfaatine olacak şekilde değerlendirilmesini ve mağduriyetlerin giderilmesini istiyor.

'Ne yapacağız'

Mahalle sakinleri yıllarını verdikleri mahallelerinden ayrı kalmak istemiyor ve planın kendilerini mağdur etmesinden korkuyor. Karadolap Mahallesi'nin 1963 yılında kurulduğunu söyleyen Mahmut Güneş, yıllardır oturduğu evinin planda yol genişlemesi nedeniyle yer almadığını söylüyor. Hazırlanan planın binlerce insanı

mağdur ettiğini belirten Güneş, belediyeden yaptıkları itirazları dikkate almasını istiyor.

Güzeltepe Mahallesi Yenibayır Caddesi Çiğdem Sokak'ta ise 14 gecekondunun önümüzdeki günlerde yıkılması planlanıyor. Nazım imar planı kapsamında yıkılacak gecekondularda oturanlar, belediyeden kendilerine yer göstermesini istiyor.

Yıkımların gündeme gelmesinin ardından çevredeki evlerde kiralara fırladığını dile getiren Turan Yön, barınma haklarını alabilmeleri için dilekçe verdiklerini belirtiyor. Gecekondu sahiplerinin evlerinin yıkılacak olmasından dolayı kapı ve pencerelerini söktüklerini anlatan Yön, insanların gidecek yeri olmadığını ve yıkıma direneceklerini söylüyor.

Evleri yıkılırsa dışarıda kalacaklarını dile getiren Güler Aydoğan, yaptığı görüşmelerden olumlu sonuç alamadığını ve yıkım ekiplerinin geldiklerinde kendisini evinde bulacağını söylüyor.

68 yaşındaki Erzincanlı Fatma Durmuş da planın kendilerini dışarıya atacak olmasını anlayamıyor. Durmuş, "Nasıl plandır bizi evsiz bırakıyor, dışarıya atıyor. Biz evsiz kalırsak ne yapacağız, nereye gideceğiz" diye soruyor.

29.07.05 Yeni evleri otobüs durağı!

Eyüp ilçesine bağlı Güzeltepe Mahallesi'nde dün sabah saatlerinde yıkım gerginliği yaşandı. Yıkımı engellemek isteyen mahalle sakinleri, sokak aralarına barikatlar kurarak, bir süre polise ve yıkım ekiplerine direndi. Ancak, polisin panzerler ve gaz bombaları eşliğinde mahalleye girmesiyle, 13 gecekondu yıkıldı. Oturduğu gecekodu yıkılan İsmail Hafif (38) adlı kişi kalp krizi geçirerek hastaneye kaldırıldı.

Yıkım kararı alınan ve geçtiğimiz hafta eylemlere sahne olan Güzeltepe mahallesi dün sabahın erken saatlerinde yüzlerce polis ve iş makinalarıyla gelen yıkım ekipleri tarafından çevrildi. Yıkım ekiplerini bekledikleri için hazırlıklı olan mahalle sakinleri ise barikatları ateşe vererek, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ni protesto ettiler. Bu gelişme üzerine barikatı aşmak isteyen polisler, mahallelinin üzerine onlarca gaz bombası attı. Daha sonra Çevik Kuvvet ekipleri, su sıkın panzerler eşliğinde gazın etkisiyle sersemleyen mahallelinin üzerine yürüdü. Polisin barikatları kaldırması ve mahalleden bazı kişileri gözaltına almasının ardından yıkım işlemine geçildi.

Engelli kadın sokakta kaldı

Evlerini son ana kadar boşaltmayan mahalle sakinlerinden kimisi yıkım çalışmaları sırasında baygınlık geçirirken, tahliye sırasında eşyalarının kendi rızaları dışında götürülmesini engellemek isteyen iki kadın kısa süreli göz altına alındı.

Yıkım çalışması sırasında kiracı olarak kaldığı gecekondu yıkılan Hatice Büyükbaş isimli engelli kadın gözyaşlarına hakim olamadı. Büyükbaş, "Biz kiracıyız diye bize yer göstermediler, ev vermediler. Biz şimdi kız kardeşimle beraber otobüs durağında kalmak zorundayız. Yetkililerden ev istiyoruz" şeklinde konuştu.

Eşyalar gaspedildi iddiası

Ev sahiplerinin belediye ile anlaşması nedeniyle oturdukları ev yıkılınca çoğu daha yüksek kiralara ödeyemeyecek durumda olan kiracıların bazıları eşyalarını akrabalarının evlerine götürürken, bazı eşyaların ise yıkım bölgesindeki bir inşaata bırakıldığı görüldü.

Gazetemizin sorularını yanıtlayan kiracılar, eşyalarını mahalledeki otobüs durağına taşıyacaklarını söyleyerek, "Bize yer gösterilene kadar burada kalacağız" dediler.

Kız ve erkek kardeşlerinin aileleri ile oturdukları evleri yıkılan Mehmet Yön, yaklaşık 30 kişinin sokakta kaldığını söyleyerek, “Benim kız ve erkek kardeşim beraber kalıyorlardı. 8 kişi bir gecekonduda yaşıyorlardı. Belediye kiracıların eşyalarına el koyarak kendi deposuna götürdü. Bu bir gasptır” diyerek suç duyurusunda bulunmaya hazırlandıklarını belirtti. Yön içinde buldukları durumu şöyle anlattı: “Burada yaşayan insanlar asgari ücret alıyor. Bu çevredeki kiralar ise 400 milyon liradan başlıyor. Bu kirayı veren adam nasıl geçinecek? Burada 150 milyona oturuyorlardı. Zaten asgari ücret alan bir vatandaşın gecekondu bölgesi dışında barınma şansı yoktur. Ne yapacağım bilemiyorum...”

29.08.05 Yıkımlara mitingle protesto

Yıkımlara Karşı Emekçi Halk Koordinasyonu, düzenlediği mitingle kentsel dönüşüm projesi adı altında gecekonduların yıkılmasını ve yıkılmak istenmesini protesto etti. Haydarpaşa Numune Hastanesi önünde dün saat 13.00’da toplanan 350 kişilik grup “Yıkımlara karşı birleşelim evlerimizi savunalım” ve “Yıkımlara ve özelleştirmeye hayır” pankartlarıyla yürüyüş düzenledi. Kadıköy İskele Meydanı’na kadar yürüyen kitle “Dozer değil hizmet istiyoruz”, “Barınma hakkımız engellenemez” ve “Villalara savaş kondulara barış” sloganlarını attı. Düzenlenen mitingte Koordinasyon adına konuşan Mehmet Leylek, AKP’nin yıkım projesinin ranta dayandığını ifade etti. Projenin mimarının emperyalist IMF ve DB olduğunu belirten Leylek, AKP’nin sadece taşeronluk yaparak projeyi hayata geçirdiğini dile getirdi. Toprağın, fabrikaların satıldığını ve gecekonduların yıkıldığını kaydeden Leylek, insanları sokağa atan politikalara karşı mücadele çağrısında bulundu. Mitingte yapılan diğer konuşmalarda da yıkımların emekçilerin evlerine yöneldiği belirtilerek birlikte mücadelenin gerekliliği dile getirildi. Miting Grup Vardiya’nın söylediği türkülerle sona erdi.

08.10.05 Durakkonducular hastalıkla boğuşuyor

Güzeltepe Mahallesi’nde otobüs durağında yaşamak zorunda bırakılan ve kendilerini ‘durakkonducu’ olarak adlandıran aileler hastalıkla boğuşuyor.

Kirada oturdukları gecekonduların yıkılmasının ardından 2.5 aydır yıkılan evlerinin karşısında bulunan otobüs durağında yaşam mücadelesi veren 6 ailenin fertleri, havaların soğumasıyla birlikte enfeksiyona bağlı hastalıklara yakalandılar. Durakta yaşayan 78 yaşındaki Fatma Durmuş, önceki gün hastalanarak ambulansla hastaneye kaldırıldı. Barınma haklarını isteyen ve sokağa mahkum edilmelerini protesto eden aileler dün saat 13.00’te Okmeydanı Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi önünde basın açıklaması yaptı. Açıklamayı okuyan Leyla Güzel de açıklamanın ardından fenalaşarak acile kaldırıldı.

Belediyeye çağrı

Güzel yaptığı açıklamada kendilerini durakta yaşamak zorunda bırakanlara seslenerek, “İnsanca yaşanılır konutlarda barınma hakkımızı istiyoruz. Büyükşehir Belediyesi bir an önce bu sorunu çözmelidir” dedi. Havaların soğumasıyla birlikte çocukların ve yaşlıların sağlıklarının bozulduğuna dikkat çeken Güzel, havaların daha da soğumasıyla ölüme mahkum edileceklerini söyledi.

Belediyenin, ‘Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi’ kapsamında oturdukları gecekonduların yıkılmasının ardından sokakta kalan aileler, belediyenin sosyal konutlardan kendilerine uygun kira karşılığında yer göstermesini talep ediyorlar.

04.11.05 Durakkonducular nihayet evlerinde

Eyüp Güzeltepe Mahallesi'nde otobüs durağında yaşayan ve kendilerine "durakkonducu" diyen aileler, 3 aylık direnişin sonucunda evlerine yerleşiyor. Kirada oturdukları gecekonduların yıkılmasının ardından 3 aydır yıkılan evlerinin karşısında bulunan otobüs durağında kalan 6 ailenin fertleri belediyeden kira ve eşyalarının karşılanması sözü aldı.

Belediyeden söz aldılar

Belediyenin kentsel dönüşüm projesi kapsamında oturdukları gecekondularını yıkılmasının ardından sokakta kalan aileler başlarını sokacak bir yer bulamayınca yıkılan evlerinin karşısında bulunan otobüs durağını mesken edinmişlerdi. 3 aydır çeşitli eylemlerle belediyeden kendilerine sosyal konutlardan uygun kira karşılığında yer göstermesini talep eden "durakkonducular", Büyükşehir Belediyesi Emlak ve İstimlak Daire Başkanı Mahmut Kocameşe'den, "Ev buldukları takdirde kiralarının ödeneceği ve yıkım sırasındaki eşya mağduriyetlerinin giderileceği" sözünü aldılar. Kendilerine kiralık evler bulan aileler bayramı sıcak evlerinde geçirecekler. Durakkondularda bir araya gelen aileler, yaptıkları açıklamayla direnişlerinin sonucunda barınma haklarını kazandıklarını duyurdu.

Turan Yön, yaptığı açıklamada 28 Temmuz'da evlerinin yıkıldığını ve o tarihten itibaren durakta yaşadıklarını hatırlatarak gösterdikleri direniş sonucu belediyeden barınma haklarını kazandıklarını söyledi.

Birgün

2005-08-02 Ev değil, hayatlar yıkıldı

SİNAN K. BİLGENOĞLU İSTANBUL

Ülke genelinde devam eden ve Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi'ne dayandırılan yıkımların ardından sokakta kalan aileler otobüs duraklarında; hastalıkla, açlıkla, işsizlikle savaşıyor. Kiracı olarak yaşadıkları Evler yıkılınca İstanbul Şişli'ye bağlı Güzeltepe otobüs durağına yerleşen beş aile "Hepimiz kiracıydık. Evlerimiz yıkıldıktan sonra 5 çocukla dışarıda kaldık. Çocuklarımızı okula yazdıracak parayı bile bulamazken 400 YTL kirayı nasıl veririz" dediler. Turan Yön (pazarlamacı): Yıkımlardan bu yana işe dahi gidemiyor. "Gece gündüz buradayız. Yıkımlar tek yönlü değil. Sadece Evlerimizi yıkmadılar, işimizden olduk, aşımızdan olduk, parçalanan aileler var. Karı koca kavga ediyorlar ayrılıyorlar, çocuklar burada perişan durumda. Biz mülkiyet istemiyoruz. Bize ödeyebileceğimiz kadar kirayla barınacak Ev versinler yeter" diyen Yön, "Üzerimize gaz bombalarıyla saldırdılar. Gazdan korunmak için yüzümüzü örtünce de "İşte bakın teröristler" dediler. Medya da bizi öyle yansıttı" dedi.

Çocuklarından biri yedi yaşında olan Şengül hanım ise kayıt için 100 milyon istenince çocuğunu okula yazdıramamış. "Eşlerimiz işe gidemiyor, çocuklarımıza yiyecek bulamazken nasıl Ev kiralayayım, nasıl okula göndereyim" diyor. Genel şikayetleri ise her zamanki hikayelerden farksız: "Belediye kendi yandaşlarına hemen Ev tahsis ederken, biz dört aydan beri uğraşmamıza rağmen hiçbir şey alamadık."

'POLİSLE KARŞI KARŞIYA KALDIK'

Gizli şeker hastası 74 yaşındaki baba Rıza Yön okumak için İstanbul'a gelmiş. Çocukları burada büyümüş. "Belediye başkanlığı zor iştir. Belediye Başkanı'nın görEvi halkı polisle karşı karşıya getirmek değildir. Bize komünist diyorlar. Bizi

suçlayacaklarına, yalan söyleyeceklerine sorunlarımızı çözsünler." derken gözyaşlarına hakim olamayarak "Bu çocuklar bunları hakketmedi. Bir yudum ekmeği zor buluyoruz" dedi.

Sevim hanımın ise kardeşi böbrek hastası. Yıkımlardan sonra hem Evini hem dükkanını kaybeden kardeşi üzüntüden komaya girmiş, ölüm kalım mücadelesi veriyor. "Yıllarca Evin vergisini ödedik. Şimdi dahi yıkılan Evin vergi borcunu çıkarıp 300 YTL para istiyorlar. Biz 15 kişiyiz. Ev babamın üzerineydi 2 oda 1 salon Ev verdiler. Kardeşimiz hasta dedik, 15 kişiyiz dedik yalvardık yine de bir faydası olmadı. Henüz benim oturduğum Ev yıkılmadı, oraya toplandık ama oranın da yıkılması yakındır. yıkıldıktan sonra biz de sokakta kalacağız" dedi.

‘BAŞKA ÇAREMİZ YOK’

Kadriye Hafif, polis saldırısından çocuklarını dahi koruyamamış. Evlerinin çevresine düşen bir gaz bombası otları tutuşturunca çocukları yanma tehlikesi geçirmiş. Kadriye Hafif, "Çocuklarımı dövdüler, çocukların gözü önünde babalarına küfür ettiler. Ne paramız, ne işimiz ne de Evimiz var artık. Durağa sığınmaktan başka çaremiz yok" şeklinde konuştu.

Bir çözüm bulununcaya kadar burada yaşamaktan başka çaremiz yok diyen Turan Yön, "Haklı mücadelemizi sonunu kadar sürdüreceğiz. Bizi otobüs duraklarında yaşamaya mahkum eden bir zihniyetle karşı karşıyayız. Bir takım süslü ifadelerle "alan memnun satan memnun" havası yaratmaya çalışıyorlar. Ancak durum bambaşka. İnsanlar mağdur, açlıkla savaşıyor" dedi ve eylemlerine her zamankinden daha fazla dEvam edeceklerini söyledi.

2005-11-06 Bir durakkondu hikâyesi

SİNAN K. BİLGENOĞLU - İSTANBUL / İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Başkanı
Kadir Topbaş büyük bir iddia ile geldi; "İstanbul'u düzelten adam olarak tarihe geçeceğim." Bu iddianın ardından bazıları için düzen bazıları için yıkım olan "Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi" başlatıldı. Plana göre tüm gecekondu sahipleri yıkılan evlerinin yerine ayda 400 milyon taksitle ev sahibi yapılacaktı. Tabii ki hasaba katılmayanlar, görmezden gelinenler, ayda 300 milyona çalışan, ayrıca bu parayla çocuklarını beslemek, okula göndermek, türlü ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak zorunda olanlar vardı. Gecekondu bölgelerinde bile ev kiralari 400 milyondan başlarken, bu paraya çalışıp da ev kiralama şansı olmayanlar birdenbire kendilerini dışarıda buldu. 28 Temmuz günü Güzeltepe'de 80 milyon kira vererek oturdukları gecekondu yıkıldığında kendilerine gidecek yer bulamayan 6 aile Güzeltepe son duraktaki otobüs duraklarını işte böyle bir durumda evleri yaptılar. Onlar için 'durakkondu' yaşamı başladı.

GAZDAN KORUNDUK TERÖRİST OLDUK

Yıkıma karşı çıkanlara 'terörist' yakıştırması uygun bulunurken, bir anne, "Üzerimize gaz bombası, biber gazı ile geldiler. 1.5 yaşındaki oğlum evin içinde uyurken camdan dört gaz bombası attılar.

Oğlum 15 gün gözlerinden tedavi görmek zorunda kaldı. Gaz bombasından korunmak için yüzümüzü kapatınca 'terörist' olduk" diye özetliyor nasıl 'terörist' olmadığını.

durakkonducular ısrarla, barınmanın anayasal bir hak olduğunu, sosyal devletin bu haklarını vermesi gerektiğini söylerken belediye yetkilileri onları yok saymaya, görüşme taleplerini reddetmeye devam ediyorlardı.

Su yok. Tuvalet yok. Yaz güneşi, oyun oynaması hiçbir coğrafyada engellenemeyen çocukları ve onların peşinde koşturana büyükleri yakarken, geceleri düşen çiğ her yeri yağmur yağmıřçasına ıslatıyordu. Günün 24 saatini toz, toprak içinde geçiren çocukların en büyük şikayetlerinden biri de böcek sokmalarıydı. Bir yaz böyle geçerken yazın kızgın güneşini artan Sonbahar yağmurları başlamıřtı. Belediye sessizliđ ini korumaya devam ederken, geceleri ıslanan eşyalar gündüzleri gülen güneşte bilmem kaç kez kurutuldu.

‘BU KADAR ZALİM OLUNMAMIŐTI’

TMMOB, insanları mülkiyet sahibi yapmaya zorlayan bu sistemin kesinlikle karşısında olduklarını ve uzmanlarının, onlara sorulsaydı, böyle bir projeyi kesinlikle onaylamayacaklarını açıklarken "Bir belediye hiç bu kadar zalim olmamıřtı" şeklinde görüşlerini özetledi.

Yağmurların işaretiyle okul hazırlıkları da başlamalıydı ama nasıl... Okula gidecek hiçbir çocuđun eşyaları tam değildi. Depreme dayanıksız bulunan okulları boşaltılan bir aileden iki çocuk için 80'er milyon servis parası olmaması, çocukların okula yürüyerek gitmek zorunda olması aslında, okul gideçlerinin bulunmasından daha az önemliydi. Küçük Baran okula bu yıl başlayacaktı. Okulun nasıl bir yer olduğunu bu yıl öğrenecek olan Baran, iki sandalyenin birleştirilmesiyle yapılmıř 'yatađından', önceki gece "Baran bu saatte kesinlikle uyanmaz" dedikodularını utandırarak, kendiliđinden kalktı.

Yağmur, babaannesinin maşrapadan döktüđü suyla yüzünü yıkayıp amcasının aldıđı kekle tahta masada kahvaltısını yaptı. Evlerindeyken her gün banyo yaptıđını söyleyen durakkondunun hanımefendisi Yağmur, artık temiz tuvaletin hayalini kurmaya başlamıřtı. Yorgunluđun pençesine düşen Yağmur, eve çıktıkları zaman üç gün uyuyacađını söylerken, uykusuzluktan şikayetçi bir başka çocuk olan 11 yařındaki Serkan da sabahın altısında ağlamaya başlayan küçüklere bir hayli kızgındı.

Baran ilk öğretmeninden aldıđı 'yıldızlı aferin'leri gösteriyor. Tek derdi güneş. Tek ısınma kaynađı da batmadan önce ödevlerini bitirmek zorunda...

ARTIK ONLAR DA EVDE OTURUYOR

İBB Emlak İstimlak Daire Müdürü Mahmut Kocameşe ile son görüşmelerinde belediyenin verdiđi iki yıllık kira yardımını ve eşya yardımını kabul eden altı aile evlerine yerleřiyor.

Yıkım sonrasında hemen hemen tüm eşyaları 'durakkondu'da kullanılmaz hale gelen aileler en azından artık bir çatı altında oldukları için mutlular. Çocuklar artık bir evde yařamanın verdiđi güvenle çizgi filmlerini izliyor. Yağmur dinlenecek. Baran ödevlerini için güneşin batıřından sonra da yapabilecek. Ceylan tertemiz tuvaletlere girecek. Babalar ve anneler rahat bir uyku uyuyacak.

2005-11-03 Durakkondu'da direniş kazandı

SİNAN K. BİLGENOĐLU - İSTANBUL / İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin kira yardımını teklifini kabul eden 6 aile evlerine yerleřmeye başladı. Altı aydan beri yařadıkları duraklarda bir basın açıklaması yapan aileler bunu 'kazanılmıř bir direniş' olarak nitelediklerini söylediler.

Aileler adına konuşan Turan Yön, "Direnme hakkımızı kullandık. Evlerimiz yıkıldıđında gidecek bir yerimiz olmadığı için duraklara yerleřtik. Çocuklarımız yařlılarımız hastalandı. Yağmurla, çamurla ve sođukla bođuřtuk. Eşyalarımızı, işimizi kaybettik ama pes etmedik. Anayasal bir hak olan barınma hakkımızı

istemeye ve durumumuzu kamuoyuna, belediyeye duyurmaya çalıştık. Sonuç olarak Büyükşehir Belediyesi sosyal konutlardan yer gösteremeyeceğini, ancak kiralık ev bulduğumuz takdirde kiralarımızı ödeyeceğini ve yıkım sırasındaki eşya mağduriyetimizin de giderileceğini açıkladı. Bayramda evlerimizdeyiz. Direndik ve kazandık" şeklinde konuştu.

Bazı kişilerin belediyeye ve bazı kuruluşlara, kendilerini duraklarda yaşayan insanlar olarak tanıtırıp yardım istediklerini söyleyen Turan Yön, bu kişilerin kendileri ile ilişkisi olmadığını, bunlara itibar edilmemesi gerektiğini sözlerine ekledi.

2005-09-13 'Durakkondu'dan okula

SİNAN K. BİLGENOĞLU - İSTANBUL / Okullar açıldı. Çocuklar yataklarından ayrı bir heyecanla hiç de annelerini üzmeden bir çırpıda kalkıverdi. Yeni defterlerini, ilginç kalemtraşlarını arkadaşlarına göstermenin tutkusuyla, uzun zamandan beri kalkmadıkları bir saatin sabah serinliğiyle kahvaltılarını yapıp, anne babalarının öpücükleriyle tuttular okul yolunu...

Güzeltepe'deki 'durakkondu'da 2 aydır yaşamaya çalışan çocuklar ise sağlıksız koşullarda uyuduğu yataklarından buruk sevinçle kalktı.

Kahvaltıdan sonra paraları olmadığı için Güzeltepe'nin dik bayırlı yollarında büyüklerinin ellerinden tutarak gittiler okullarına.

Güzeltepe'yi anlatmanın artık gereği yok herhalde. Hani durakta evcilik oynayanlar. Onlar da bu sabah kalktılar, sandalyelerin birleştirilmiş haliyle, yeşil demire yaslanmış, çiğden ıslanmış yatakımsılarından. Orada da okula başlayanlar vardı bu sabah, sadece sabah otobüse binmek isteyen insanlara görünen çocuklar...

Anneannesi kaldırdı Yağmur'u Baran'la paylaştığı sandalyelerinden. İlk o hissedecekti evden okula gitmemenin nasıl bir şey olduğunu.

Aslında sabah kalkılan saat dışında pek bir fark da yoktu. Durak içinde giyindi. Maşrapadan dökülen su ile yıkadı elini yüzünü. Belliydi ki alamamıştı yine uykusunu, her zamankinden erken yatmasına rağmen.

Tahta masanın üzerinde canının istemediği birkaç kahvaltılık ve canının istediği, amcasının aldığı bir kekle yaptı kahvaltısını ve okul hayatının 3. yılına başlamak üzere anneannesinin elinden tutarak evcilik mekânından yavaş adımlarla ayrıldı.

Bir sonraki Baran yeni tanışacak okulla. Onun heyecanıysa olsa gerek öğlen başlayacağı okul için erkenden kalkmış o da, diğerleri gibi. Normalde gece 1.00'den önce girmediği yatağa saat 21.00'de girmesinden belliydi zaten.

Aynı masada daha bir iştahlı yaparak kahvaltısını, halasının sevgi darbelerinden kaçınarak -bir yandan da hoşuna giderek bitirdi kahvaltısını. Delikanlı gibi giyinerek biraz daha büyüdü davranışları. Artık hazırdu büyük adam olmaya.

Serkan alelacele çıktığı yatağından artık saçlarını tarayarak başladı 4. senesine. Uçarcasına gitti kahvaltı etmeden. geç kalsa kızmazdı belki öğretmeni ama belki de özledikleri vardı.

Büyümüş abla Ceylan, büyütülmüş. 10 yaşında ama evin direği. Uyanan küçük kardeşlerinin elini yüzünü yıkadı, besledi ve annesinin sağ kolu görevinde onu bunu getirdi, annesi çamaşırları yıkarken. Diğerleri anneye kızıyor ezdiğini düşünerek kızı, oysa ki o, "6 yaşından beri bakıyorumki ben kardeşlerime" diyor. Şımarmışlar ama biraz artık eskisi gibi yüz vermiyormuş. İşleri bittiği zaman o da başlamaya

hazırlandı. Giydi önlüğünü koyuldu uzun yola servis parası olmadığı için yürüyerek...

2005-09-11 'Durakkondu' sakinlerine TMMOB sahip çıktı

Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği (TMMOB) İstanbul İl Koordinasyon Kurulu Sekreteri Meftun Gürdallar ve Mücella Yapıcı, kentsel dönüşüm projesi kapsamında kirada oturdukları gecekonduları yıkılınca, durakta yaşamak zorunda kalan 9 ailenin durumunu, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Emlak İstimlak Daire Başkanı Mahmut Kocameşe ile görüştü.

durakkondu sakinlerinden Turan Yön'ün de katıldığı, yaklaşık iki saat süren toplantının ardından bir açıklama yapan Meftun Gürdallar, şöyle dedi:

"Hiç kimse 40-50 milyar verip mülk sahibi olmaya zorlanamaz. Gecekondu sahiplerine ev, hiçbir belgesi olmayanlara moloz bedeli verilmiştir. Gecekondularda kirada yaşamak zorunda olan aileler yok sayılmıştır. Ev bulmamız halinde durakta yaşayan vatandaşlara süresiz kira yardımı yapılacağı söylendi. Ama bu insanlar dilenci olmadığı için teklifi kabul etmedi. Onlar, devletin konutlarından ödeyebilecekleri kadar kira ile ev istiyorlar. Bir takım insanlara kiralık konut verildiğini de biliyoruz. Ülkemizde bunun yasal altyapısı mevcuttur. TMMOB olarak sonuna kadar konunun takipçisi olacağız."

Gürdallar gelişmeleri aktarmak için 13 Eylül günü Güzeltepe otobüs durağında bir basın açıklaması yapılacağını duyurdu.

"EVİMİZ OLSA, 3 GÜN UYURUM"

Öte yandan yaklaşık 2 aydır durakta yaşayan 9 ailenin 24 saati toz, toprak, susuzluk ya da yağmurla mücadele içerisinde geçiyor. 'durakkondu'nun 10 yaşındaki sakini Yağmur "Banyo yapmadan nasıl okula gideceğim, burada nasıl ders çalışacağım? Bir evimiz olsa 3 gün yatıp dinleneceğim, başka hiçbir şey yapmayacağım" diye konuştu.

2005-08-21 'Durakkonducular'la dayanışma eylemi

Gecekondu yıkımlarını protesto eden 3 kişi, İstanbul Taksim'de eylem yaptı. Taksim Meydanı'ndaki otobüs duraklarına gelen 3 gösterici, yanlarında getirdikleri büyük bir naylon ve çarşafla bir otobüs durağının etrafını kapattı. Protestocular, durağın cam bölümüne de "kara leke" yazılı bir kağıt yapıştırdı. Bu sırada çevredeki bazı vatandaşlar ise göstericilere sözlü olarak tepki gösterdi. Gazetecilerin soruları üzerine "Eyüp Güzeltepe'de kentsel dönüşüm projesi kapsamında gecekonduları yıkılan 9 ailenin otobüs durağında yaşadığını" kaydeden protestocular, "gecekondu yıkımlarına karşı oldukları nı" söyledikten sonra eylemlerine son verip Taksim'den ayrıldı. Bu arada olay yerine gelen polis ekipleri, duraktaki naylon ve çarşafı kaldırdı. Polis, protestoculardan bir kişiyi ifadesine başvurmak üzere emniyete götürdü.

2005-08-04 Durağa sığınanların sayısı artıyor

Asıl yıkım çocuklarda

YIKIMLAR üzerine yazılı bir açıklama yapan İnsan Hakları Derneği (İHD) İstanbul Şubesi, yıkımların en çok çocuklara zarar verdiğini söyledi. Açıklamada, "Yıkım faaliyetleri özellikle çocuklarda büyük tramvalara neden olmaktadır. Gözlerinin önünde evleri yıkılan çocukların anne-babaları dövülmekte ve söz konusu uygulamalar çocukların ruhsal yapılarında yıkıma neden olmaktadır. Yıkım çözüm

değildir. Çözüm yoksulluğu, göçü, şiddeti ortadan kaldıracak önlemlerin alınmasıdır" denildi. İHD, barınmanın bir hak olduğunu ve uygulamayı yapan belediyeleri kınadıklarını belirtti.

Eyüp Güzeltepe Mahallesi'ndeki gecekonduların yıkımının ardından sokakta kalan ve otobüs durağına yerleşen ailelerin sayısı artıyor. Yıkıman ardından gidecek yerleri olmadığı için otobüs duraklarına yerleşen ailelere dün bir yenisi daha eklendi. Bu arada konu ile ilgili bir yazılı açıklama yapan İHD İstanbul Şubesi, yıkımların en çok çocuklara zarar verdiğini vurguladı.

Dört çocuklu Öngülü ailesinden sonra, nüfusu dokuzu çocuk 21 kişiye çıkan 'durakkondu' karşısında yetkililer sessizliklerini koruyor. Çocuklardan biri güneş çarpması sonucu, diğeri de gaz bombasının etkisiyle hasta. Komşular durakkondu'ya soğuk su taşıyor. Yemekleri ise aşevinden...

MAHALLELİ SAHİP ÇIKTI

Durağa yeni yerleşen Öngülü ailesi 10 yıl önce Siirt'teki köyleri boşaltılınca zorunlu göç ile İstanbul'a gelmiş. Yıkımlardan hemen sonra dışarıda kalan ailenin durağa yerleşmemesinin sebebi 1.5 yaşındaki oğullarının gaz bombasının etkisiyle rahatsızlanan gözlerinin bir haftadan beri tedavi görmesi. Çaresiz anne Emine Öngülü, "Çocuğum evin içinde uyurken içeriye dört tane gaz bombası atıldı. O günden beri çocuğumun gözleri iyileşmedi" dedi. Öngülü, "Kocam inşaatlarda çalışarak ben ise temizliğe giderek geçimimizi sağlıyorduk. Hiç bir sosyal güvencemiz yok. Bizi başka bir yere yerleştirirlerse ben çalışamayacağım ve halimiz perişan olacak" şeklinde konuştu.

Öte yandan, barınma sorunları ilgili henüz bir çözüm geliştirilmeyen yıkım mağdurlarına mahalle halkı sahip çıktı. Mahallelinin getirdiği soğuk sularla sığağa dayanmaya çalışan aileler, yiyecek ihtiyaçlarını da aşevlerinden gideriyor.

SİNAN K. BİLGENOĞLU İSTANBUL

2006-07-18 KENT-YORUM: Ret

MURAT CEMAL YALÇINTAN

Sermayenin gözünü kentsel ranta diktiği bir dönemde İstanbul gibi sermayenin gözbebeği bir kente plan yapmaya kalkışmak cesaret işi... İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama Ofisi (İMP) bu zor işi üstlenirken hepimiz sevinmiştik, İstanbul büyük bir araştırma ve planlama merkezine kavuştu nihayet diye... Başbakanlık destekli bir projeydi İMP. 40 trilyon bütçesi olduğu söyleniyordu. Esas itibarıyla kendisinden beklenen İstanbul'un stratejik planlarını hazırlaması ve bu süreçte İstanbul için bir bilgi bankası haline gelmesiydi.

İlk olarak İstanbul'un üniversiteleri dolaşılıp bu projeyi birlikte yapalım teklifi, biraz da hoyratça yapıldığında kafalarda soru işaretleri oluşmaya başladı. Üniversite hocalarının bizzat işin içerisinde olmaları isteniyordu. Oysa dünyanın her yerinde, üniversite hocalarının danışmanlığında profesyonel ekipler tarafından yürütülen bir işti planlama. Üniversite hocalarının doğrudan duruma müdahil olması, bilimsel olana inanma ve güvenmenin yanında/ötesinde, erken bir savunma hattı kurmak için de olabilirdi! Çok da planlı olduğu söylenemeyecek bir istihdam politikası izlendi sonra ve bir sessizlik dönemine geçildi. Yaklaşık altı ay, gazete haberi olmadı, olamadı ya da olmayı tercih etmedi İMP! Onca istihdama rağmen bir internet sitesi kuramadı; yaptığı, yapmayı planladığı işleri bir dergi ya da bülten yoluyla kimselere anlatmadı! Kapalı toplantılar düzenledi sürekli, çoğu sermayenin temsilcisi seçilmiş sivil toplum temsilcilerinin davet edildiği. Gün geldi o toplantıların hepsi açıldı

dendi ama o toplantılara her hangi bir açık davet yapılmadı. Misyonu, giderek sığlaştı ve profesyonel bir ofisin rahatlıkla yapabileceği, "İstanbul'a Çevre Düzeni Planı yapma" noktasına indirildi. Bununla birlikte koskoca İstanbul'un çevre düzeni planını bir sene içerisinde bitirme çaresizliğine düşürüldü. Her gün yeni bir dönüşüm projesi ortaya atıldı bu arada. Her biri varsılın yoksulun yerini aldığı bu projeler büyük başarılar-mış gibi Topbaş eşliğinde lanse edildi. Oysa ortaya attıkları her bir dönüşüm projesinin İstanbul'daki kutuplaşmayı artırdığı, gerilim hatları oluşturduğu kimsenin aklına gelmedi. Bunu kulaklara fısıldamak isteyen insanlar da İMP'nin dışında tutuldu. Belki de en önemlisi, kamuoyunu arkasına alacak ve önemli bir kamusal alan yaratacak, sermayenin ve siyasilerin gücünü dengeleyecek bir profesyonel güç oluşturma şansı; İMP Başkanı Kaptan'ın "bizler yalnızca teknikeriz" vecizesi ile reddedildi. Sonuç olarak güçlü olanların taleplerine açık bir sürecin işareti ilk günlerden verildi!

Tartışılması gereken planla getirilen kararlar değildir. Plan yapım ve onama süreci boyunca bilinçli olarak "katılım" sınırlı tutulmuş, bilgilendirme bir reklam projesine dönüştürülmüş, İMP'nin elindeki olanakların sınırsızlığına rağmen kararlar kapalı kapılar ardında alınmıştır. Şeffaflık ve hesap verebilirlik sürecin hiçbir aşamasında söz konusu olmamıştır.

Bu plan, hazırlayıcısı olan siyasilerin ve teknikerlerin planıdır. Varsıllar için hazırlanmıştır. İstanbul'un planı değildir; İstanbul'un küreselleşme iddiasındaki kesiminin İstanbul'u satış planıdır! Bunu söylemek için planın içine girmek, onu teknik olarak tartışmak gerekmez, süreç kendisini ele vermektedir. Dolayısıyla plan teknik olarak değerlendirilmemeli, tartışılmamalı, tamamen reddedilmelidir!

Hazırlayanlar: GÜRKAN AKGÜN, AKİF BURAK ATLAR, ERBATUR ÇAVUŞOĞLU, EBRU FİRİDİN, FERİT SERKAN ÖNGEL, MAYA ARIKANLI ÖZDEMİR, MURAT CEMAL YALÇINTAN

2006-04-21 İstanbul'da dönüşüm 'kültürlünü tartışmak

İstanbul'un 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti seçilmesi ile birlikte tüm gözler yine İstanbul üzerine çevrildi ve yapılan açıklamalar birbiri ardına geldi. Kimileri bu kavramı ve altında yatan Avrupalı olma fikrinin açılımını yaparken, kimileri de kavramın peşinden giderek bizlere bugüne kadar yapamadıklarının anahtarını keşfettiklerini göstermeye çalıştılar. 2010 yılı için çizilen tabloya göre İstanbul, Avrupa Kültür Başkenti oluşuyla birlikte Van Gogh'un Paris'ine benzeyen yeşil ve keyifli bir pazar alanına dönecek ve bu pazar alanı tüm İstanbulluları ve ziyaretçilerini manevi ve maddi anlamda doyuracak bir alana çevirilecek. Özlenilen bir kaderi gerçekleştirilecek ve İstanbul'a Avrupa başkentleri arasında, hak ettiği yeri verilecek.

Peki AB'ye üye olan ülkelerin yakınlaşması, bir araya gelmesi, kültürel işbirliklerinin iyileşmesi, fazlalaşması ile ekonomik, politik büyümenin, kültürel birleşmenin sağlanması amacıyla ilk olarak Melina Merco-uri tarafından ortaya atılan bu kavram ve beraberinde gelen etkinlikler dizisi İstanbul için neyi ifade edecek. Her yıl bir Avrupa kentinin "kültür" teması üzerine odaklanması ile gündeme taşınmasını sağlayan bu kavram, İstanbul için de aynı şeyleri akla getirecek.

Bu süreçte gelişecek politikalara birebir olumlu yaklaşım sergilemek çok mümkün olmayacak gibi görünüyor. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti İstanbul'da, her zaman gururla taşıdığı Batılı narin kimliğini, yine doğulu hırçın kimliği ile birlikte aynı tabloda

sergilemeye devam edecek. Fakat yaşadığımız süreç şunu gösteriyor ki, İstanbul, bu kavramın kente adapte edilmesiyle birlikte karşısında olacağımız daha birçok projeyi de göğüslemek zorunda kalacak.

kentsel DÖNÜŞÜM HIZLANACAK

Öncelikle bu kavram ile kent, Haydarpaşa'da Dünya Ticaret Merkezi, Salıhpazarı'nda "Galataport", Tarihi Yanmada da müze kent ve daha üretilmiş olan birçok benzer projelerle karşı karşıya kalacak. İstanbul'a yeniden imarının şeklini veren kentsel dönüşüm atağı, bu büyük ölçekli projeler ile birlikte daha da hızlanacak.

Kentin Avrupa Kültür Başkenti seçilmesinin ilanı ile birlikte ortaya çıkan tüm tartışmalar, izleyicisi olacağımız sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyetlerden çok bu noktaya odaklanıyor. Çizilen tabloya göre İstanbul, Avrupa Kültür Başkenti olmak için hazırlanırken, bu hazırlığın arka planında bir çok inşaat faaliyeti de çizilen batılı kimliğe sığınarak kendini meşru kılmaya çalışıyor.

2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Girişim Grubu'na birebir katılımıyla İstanbul hakkındaki her projede varolan hükümet, yaptığı açıklamalarla "Avrupa Kültür Başkenti İstanbul" gündemi ile de kentteki faaliyetleri için siyasal rant sağlamayı düşündüğünü açıkça ortaya seriyor. Başbakan Recep Tay-yip Erdoğan'ın sonuçların ilanından sonra Çırağan Hoteli'nde Girişim Grubu Proje Başkanı Nuri Çolakoğlu, Girişim Gru-bu'nda hükümet adına yer alan AKP Milletvekili Egemen Bağış, İstanbul Valisi Muammer Güler, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Kadir Topbaş ile birlikte düzenlediği basın toplantısında İstanbul'un çizilmeye çalışılan geleceği için yargıyı engel olarak gördüğünü açıkça belirtirken, Başbakanın ilk dediğindeki konu yine İstanbul'daki kentsel dönüşüm projeleri oluyor. Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, yaptığı açıklamada İstanbul'un 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkentliğine hazırlık sürecinde devletin bütün imkânlarını seferber edeceklerini söyleyerek, gecekonduların yıkımları ve kentsel dönüşüm konusunda yargının ve medyanın desteğini istediğini belirtiyor.

İstanbul'da yapılması ile kente büyük zararlar verecek projeleri engelleyen yargıya yönelik olarak Başbakan "2010 yılında İstanbul'a 10 milyon turist getirmeyi planlıyoruz. Hız vereceğimiz kenti güzelleştirmeye yönelik gecekondular, dönüşüm ve restorasyon projeleri için yargı ve medyanın desteğine ihtiyaç duyuyoruz. Bugüne kadar yapılan 5 bin gecekonduların yıkımı ve 500 tarihi eser restorasyonu yetersiz" açıklamasını yaparken daha önce yargının ihalesini iptal ettiği Galataport'un kesinlikle bitirilip hazırlanması gerektiğini, Tophane'den yürüdüğünüz zaman Dolmabahçe'ye doğru bütün tarihi eserlerimizin tüm çıplaklığıyla ortaya çıkmasını istediğini açıklıyor. Aynı açıklamada İstanbul'u çirkinleştiren unsurların varlığından ve bunların ortadan kaldırılması gereğinden bahseden Başbakan, bu projeler ile nasıl bir İstanbul'un bizi beklediğinin çok farkında olmadığını gösteriyor.

KÜLTÜREL ZENGİNLİK VE HÜSRAN

Keskin bir tavır belirleyip reddemeyeceğimiz, İstanbullular olarak bizi özlediğimiz bir kültürel doyuma ulaştıracak olan "2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti" ve bu kavram çatısı altında sergilenecek olan İstanbul'un kültürel zenginliği her ne kadar bizler için bir müjde olsa da, arkasına yerleştirilen İstanbul'un dönüşümü faaliyeti de bizler için bir hüsrana olacak. Sivil toplumun katılımı ve katkısı ile gerçekleşen ve örnek olarak gösterilen bu girişim, İstanbul'da sanatsal ve kültürel anlamda fazlasıyla doyurucu ve özlediğimiz bir yapıya kavuşacağımızı söylerken, İstanbul'un Avrupa Kültür Başkenti kavramı ile dönüşümünün hızlandırılması çabası, bu kentin ilkeli ve

bilimsel bir dönüşüm yaşamasını isteyen bizlerin hevesini yine kursağımızda bırakacak.

MÜCADELE ETMELİYİZ

Tüm bu tabloya baktığımızda bütün kurumların ve toplumsal kesimlerin isteği olan sürdürülebilir bir İstanbul kimliği için 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti kavramını, hazırlanan senaryolar karşısında topyekün inkar etmek te düşebileceğimiz en büyük açmaz olacak. Bu durumda kendi özlemimizi inkar etmeden yapılacak tek şey ise "2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti İstanbul" kavramı ile bize tekrar dayatılan ve meşru zeminler yaratılmaya çalışılan "kentsel dönüşüm projeleri"ne karşı eylemsel bir tavır sergilemek ve projeleri reddetmek olarak görünüyor. Sözün kısası, İstanbul, Avrupa Kültür Başkenti olma yolunda ilerlerken biz İstanbul'lulara düşen, yine, kaderimiz olarak çizilen tabloya karşı kendi olma hakkımız için mücadele etmek olacak. * kahramantayfun@yahoo.com

2006-01-28 Kentlerde ipotekli' yaşam

GURKAN AKGUN / Mortgage sözcüğü, kısa bir süre içerisinde medyanın ve gündelik hayatımızın ekseninde yer edinen bir konu. Bakanlar Kurulunda görüşülen yasa tasarısının meclisten geçmesi ardından sistemin oturması ve işlemeye başlaması zaman alacak gibi görünüyor. Şu an itibariyle, bankacılık ve inşaat sektörleri kendisine yavaş yavaş uygulama alanları yaratmaya başladı bile. 1999 depremi ve 2001 krizinde tıkanma noktasına gelmiş bu iki sektörün önü hükümetin bu müdahalesiyle oldukça açılmış durumda. Peki nedir bu mortgage, sihirli bir formül şeklinde medya ve hükümet tarafından müjdelenen bumodel; kimler için, ne işe yarar?

Sözcük itibariyle "ipotek" anlamına karşılık gelen mortgage, esas olarak bir çeşit gayrimenkul finansman sistemini ifade etmek için kullanılıyor. Gündelik dilimize "kira öder gibi ev sahibi olma" şeklinde giren model, ABD'de yaygın bir şekilde uygulanmakla beraber, Dünya'nın farklı ülkelerinde değişik yöntemlerle işlemektedir. Sistemin temeli konutun kıymetleştirilmesi ve piyasada do-laşabilen bir likit haline gelmesi ile şekilleniyor. Ev satın almak isteyenler, bankalarca (ya da finans kuruluşlarınca) konutunun ipotek edilmesi karşılığında; yüzde 20-25'i peşin olarak, 15-20 yıl içerisinde mülkün değerini taksitlerle ödemek durumunda kalıyor.

SİSTEMİN İŞLEYİŞİ

Sistemin kendi içerisindeki işleyişi ise şöyle: Taksit bitene kadar banka tarafından ipotek altına alınan evin senetleri pazara (kurulması tasarlanan İpotekli Menkul Kıymeder kuruluşuna) satılacak, bu şekilde senetler nakde çevrilmiş olacak. Bu kuruluş ise senedere karşılık halka tahvil ve bono satarak bir finansman sistemi oluşturacak. Bu modelin aynı zamanda gelişkin bir sigortacılık sistemi ile birlikte işlemesi gerekiyor. Nitekim konutların piyasada yer edinebilmesi için deprem sigortası, yapı sağlamlık belgeleri ve hatta kişilere ait hayat sigortalarının yapılması şart. Bir diğer yandan da; alıcı evin taksitlerini 2-3 ay ödeyemediği takdirde devreye sigorta şirketleri giriyor ve belli bir süre prim karşılığında taksitleri ödüyor. Eğer ki; alıcı uzun bir süre taksitleri öde-yemezse, banka evi haciz edip geri alabiliyor. Temel olarak bu sistemle beraber, '90 sonrasında konut sektörüne giren büyük ve örgütlü sermayenin üretimini gerçekleştirebileceği geniş bir pazarın altyapısı hazırlanmış oluyor. Ancak bu model kendi içerisinde de eleştirileri ve sorunları barındırmakta. Öncelikle mortgage için kalıcı istikrar ve düşük enflasyon ortamı gerekiyor. Şayet ödemelerde "değişken faiz" seçeneğini de barındıran bu model

karşısında, krizlere pek de yabancı olmayan Türkiye ve neo-liberal dünya düzeninde kuşku duymak sanırım yersiz değil. Nitekim '97-98 Asya krizinde, Tayland ve Endonezya'da patlayan emlak balonunun etkileri tüm dünyaya kısa sürede yayılmıştı. Bugüne gelindiğinde ise "mortgage"ın hayatımıza direk olarak etkisi, mevcut konutlarda ve patlayan büyük ölçekli konut sektörünün yaptığı inşaatlarda; artan talep doğrultusunda satış ve kira değerlerinin spekülatif bir şekilde artması şeklinde. Bir de tabii ki, hemen her gazetede birdenbire türeyen lüks yaşam alanlarının resimleri ile dolu "emlak" eklerini unutmamak gerekiyor.

YOKSULA MORTGAGE NE OLA Kİ?

Gündeme geldiğinden itibaren banka konut faizleri ne kadar düşse de alttakilerin ev sahibi olması bu sistem içerisinde bir hayli zor. Bunun altındaki birinci etken olarak, inşaat birim maliyetlerinin görece durağan olarak seyretmesine rağmen, yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi, konut fiyatlarının hızla artması yatıyor. Yani özet olarak bugün özel sektörün konut politikasında dar gelirliye yönelik bir tercih bulunmuyor. Zaten günümüz faiz oranları (yüzde 1.2-2) ve peşinatları ile basit bir hesap yaptığımız takdirde bile, dar ve orta gelirli için ev sahibi olmanın çok da kolay olmadığı ortaya çıkıyor. Böylece kira öder gibi ev sahibi olmanın (sanki kira ödemek de çok kolaymış gibi) sihirli bir formül olmadığını anlayabiliyoruz.

KREDİ NEREYE KADAR ÇÖZÜM

Hükümet de bu durumun farkında olsa gerek, çözüm için TOKİ evlerini hedef olarak gösteriyor. Ancak TOKİ'nin de son dönemde başlattığı çalışmalarının yetersiz ve altyapısız olduğu ortaya çıkmakta. Büyük kentlerde nicelik olarak zaten yeterli olmayan TOKİ'nin konut üretiminin, özellikle kentsel dönüşüm sürecinde hangi kesimlere ne kadar yarar sağlayacağı net değil. Anadolu'daki kentlerin birçoğunda ise yapılan inşaatlar, TOKİ'nin elinde kalmış ve kuruluş büyük kaynak sıkıntısıyla karşı karşıya gelmiş durumda. Hatta bu yüzden bazı şehirlerde evlerin toplu satışları gerçekleşmeye başladı bile. Bu da, bir kamu kuruluşu tarafından işletme mantığıyla üretilen konutların, toplumdaki konut sorununu anlama ve çözme konusunda ne kadar kifayetsiz olduğunu gözler önüne seriyor.

Görülüyor ki, mortgage sistemi günahları, sevaplarıyla dünyadaki birçok farklı konut finansman ve pazarlama modelinden biri. Dolayısıyla ne bir kurtuluş reçetesi ne de serbest piyasanın tuzaklarından biri olarak algılamak gerekmiyor. Bu sistemin özü, özel konut piyasasındaki mallara ulaşabilmek için, özellikle krediye ulaşabilme olanaklarına dayanmakta. Bu da gelir düzeyi, istikrarlılığı ya da en azından bir kariyer olasılığını içermektedir. Keza yöntem, barınma sorununu en can yakıcı şekilde yaşayanlar için hiçbir şekilde alternatif bile oluşturamamaktadır. Basit bir örnekle, gecekondu kesiminin büyük bir bölümü, bırakın mali bir güvenceyi, kredi kuruluşları ile ortak bir dil oluşturamamakta, terminolojisini anlamamaktadır. Onlar için düşünülen dönüşüm projeleri yaşam alanlarını parçalayıp barınma sorunlarını daha da zorlaştırırken; değeri artan kent merkezinden ve iş olanaklarından dışlanmaları kendilerine yeni ek maliyeder getirmektedir.

SON VERİRKEN ...

Gazetelerde her gün Türkiye'nin ne kadar konut üretmesi gerektiği, artan inşaat faaliyeti üzerine yazılar ve analizler yayımlanıyor. Oysa konut, hem makro düzeydeki politikalarla yön verilen, farklı sınıfların çıkar çatışmalarının yaşandığı ve ortaklıkların kurulduğu bir mekân olmakta; hem de günlük hayatımızın yeniden üretildiği bireyin/ailenin "ev"ine işaret etmektedir. Bu çok boyutu ve aktörlü yapısından dolayı sığ analizlerle değerlendirilmesi oldukça yanıltıcıdır. Zaten medyayı

işgal eden yazılar da konutu yalnızca emlak değerinden ve büyüyen inşaat sektöründen ibaret gören bir yaklaşıma dayanmakta, asli olarak onun bir barınma hakkı olduğunu göz ardı etmektedir. Bu noktada konut sorununu, hem kendi içerisindeki özgül koşullarından hareketle; hem de sistemin genel işleyişi açısından değerlendirmek gerekmektedir. Bu hayati sorunun ve gündelik hayattaki tüm diğer sorunların çözümünü için uygulanabilir alternatifler geliştirmek... Burada, hemen şimdi...

2006-01-21 Bir 'kentsel dönüşüm' masalı

HÜSEYİN KARADAYI / Bilindiği gibi, ulusal ve uluslararası planda, savaşlar dahil bütün afetler ve afet tehditleri, büyük yapım şirketlerinin pay kapma alanıdır. 17 Ağustos Körfez Depremi'nde yaşananlara ve İstanbul'da yarattığı etkinin sonuçlarına bakınca bunun gerçekliği ve beklenen Marmara Depremi'ne ne kadar hazır olduğumuz açıkça görülüyor. Son üç yıldır ise "hazırlık" adı altında, kamu binalarının yenilenmesi ve güçlendirilmesi, köprü ve viyadüklerin gözden geçirilmesi gibi çalışmalar var. 2002 yılından beri Zeytin-burnu'nda "Depreme Hazırlık Çalışması" adı altında pilot bir proje yürütülüyor. Yapılan saha çalışmasının ardından; depreme dayanıklı olmadığı tespit edilen binalardan bahsedilerek, öncelikle bu binaların yıkılacağı ve yerine, depreme dayanıklı yeni binaların yapılacağı söyleniyor.

Buraya kadar iyi. Eğer söylenen bu kadarsa ve söylediklerinde samimiyseler. Fakat uygulamalar ve insanlardan bilgi saklamaları, konunun bu kadar basit olmadığı, başka yönlerinin de olduğunu düşündürüyor. Hele de, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığının Bimtaş aracılığı ile kentsel DÖNÜŞÜM ÇALIŞMA GRUBU'na yaptırdığı proje incelenince bunun bir depreme hazırlık değil, rant dönüşen bir pilot proje olduğu görülüyor.

PROJENİN ADI: DEPREM SAKINIMLI MAHALLE YENİLEŞME PROJESİ

Sorunlar ve olanaklar başlığı altında, aslında niyetler de kendini belli ediyor. Bakın ne diyor:

"İstanbul'un kültür ve turizm kenti vizyonu için önemli bir alan olan tarihi yarımadaya yakınlığı ve bu bölgenin Zeytinburnu'na yaratacağı etki ilçe için önemli bir potansiyeldir." Devam ediyor: "Turizm + ticaret alanı olarak belirlenen alan mevcutta boş alan ve küçük sanayi alanıdır. Bu alanda boşaltılan deri atölyeleri önemli dönüşüm alanlarıdır." "Türkiye AB giriş sürecinin hızlanması ve adaylık sürecinin başlaması ile bu kurumun mahalle yenileşmesi konusundaki deneyimleri ve yaratabileceği finans desteği düşünülerek, projenin AB politikalarına uygun şekilde oluşturulması, projenin geleceği açısından yeni fırsatlar yaratabilecektir." Zeytinburnu'nun sahille tek buluşma noktası olan Kazlıçeşme'nin yanına yapılması düşünülen Zeyport Yat Limanı Projesi'ni de bu tasarıma eklediğimizde bize pek çok ipucu veriyor. Tarihi Yarımada, Ataköy Turizm Alanı, Zeyport... Hepsinin ortasında ise, bütün bu alanların içerisinde en bakir ve yapılaşmaya açık gibi görünen tek yer Zeytinburnu. Yıllardır sermayenin iştahlı bir şekilde bahsettiği dünya kenti İstanbul... Turizmin başkenti İstanbul... İşte size tahmin edemeyeceğiniz büyüklükte bir "rant kapısı".

RANT KAPISI İŞ KAPISI MI?

İlk bakışta bu rant kapısı bazılarımız için bir "iş kapısı" gibi düşünülebilir. Ancak bunun böyle olmayacağını yakın tarihimizden örnekleri var. Örneğin, Trakya köylüleri tarım alanlarını "çocuklarımıza iş kapısı olacak" diye sanayiye sattıktan

yıllar sonra acı bedeller ödeyerek hiç de öyle olmadığını öğrendiler. Yine bazılarımız için bu değişimler, parklarıyla, caddeleriyle, so-kaklarıyla "daha iyi bir yaşam" anlamına gelebilir. Şu kapitalist dünyada her şeyin bir bedeli var. Asgari ücretle yaşamaya çalışan, çocuklarının yarısı işsiz, gecekondusunu müteahhide kaptırıp, iskan tapusu bile olmayan apartmandan elinde kalan bir dairede yaşamaya zorlanan bizler, kapitalizmin lüks ve pahalı tüketim toplumu içerisinde nasıl yaşayacağız? Kaldı ki bu tür dönüşüm alanlarında proje bittikten sonra birçoğumuzun buralarda kalmayacağımızı, kalanlarımızın ise kısa sürede buraları terk etmek zorunda kalacaklarını da göreceğiz.

KENTİN SAHİPLERİ KİMLERDİR?

Aslında geldiğimiz noktada kendimize sormamız gereken soru budur. Yıllar önce bizleri yağmacı gören zihniyet, bu sorunu kendince, aslında toplumun da tazyiki ile, bir nevi siyasal rüşvet sayılacak bir yöntemle, yani tapu tahsis belgeleri dağıtarak çözmüştü. Ya da biz öyle zannemiştik. 1986-87 yıllarında, hatırlıyorum, Turgut Özal tapu tahsislerini dağıttığı zaman Odalar ve Demokratik Kitle Örgütleri çözümün bu olmadığını belirttiğinde, toplumu yanına alamamışlardı. Kitleler şaşalı bir şekilde tapu tahsis belgesi dağıtım törenlerine katılmışlardı. İşgalci gibi duran bu devasa topluluklar üzerine kurdukları gecekondular ve toprakların, dolayısıyla kentin sahipleri haline gelmişlerdi. Bunun böyle olmadığını gördük. Aslında tapu tahsis belgelerini dağıtarak bizi, kendi ihtiyaçları ve konumları neyi gerektiriyorsa ona göre, nereye koymak ve nerede görmek istiyorlarsa oralara sürüklüyorlar.

Geldiğimiz noktanın o dönemden hiç de farklı olmadığını görüyoruz.

Gecekondudayken bizi işgalci gören zihniyet, tapularımıza ve birkaç kuşaklık anılarımıza rağmen bizi tanımlarken yine işgalci ve bu kentin çirkin yüzü diye niteleyebiliyor. Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı, Büyükçekmece - Çatalca arasına iki milyon nüfuslu yeni bir kent kuracağını açıkladı. "kentsel dönüşüm alanlarındaki insanları buralara taşıyacaklar" diye düşünüyorum. Zeytinburnu Belediye Başkanı "biz kimseyi yerinden etmeyeceğiz, seçeneklerimiz var" diyor. Eğer kimseyi yerinden et-meyecekseniz seçenekler neyin nesi! İki milyon nüfusu barındıracak proje neyin nesi!

Zeytinburnu Belediye Başkanı'mız Murat Aydın, bir toplantıda, Paris Modeli'ni örnek aldıklarını açıklamıştı. Fransa ve Paris'te yaşananlardan sonra neyi model aldıklarını daha iyi görüyoruz.

Paris'in yoksulları ve Afrika kökenli göçmenleri Paris yeniden yapılandırıldığında, kentin dışına yapılan banliyölere sürüldüler. Açıkçası dünyanın en medeni ve en uygar toplumu diye bahsedilenler tarafından yok sayılıp dışlandılar. Yani Fransızlar yanı başındaki yangına "Fransız" kalmayı tercih etti-ler. Yine aynı toplantıda Eminönü Belediyesi, Kaymakamlığı ve çeşitli STK'lardan oluşan Platform adına konuşan kişi de Eminö-nü'ndeki seyyar satıcı ve diğer marjinal satıcıları oradan nasıl sürdüklerini anlattı. "Onlardan kurtulduk, değil mi?" diyerek projelerini bize de onaylatmaya çalışmıştı. Toplantı çıkışı, "Ne iş yapıyorsun" diye sorduğumda "Otelcilik" yaptığını söylemişti. İşte zihniyet bu; bizden kurtulmak. Biz onlara göre bu kentin kirli, gayri meşru yüzüyüz .

KATILIMCILIK ZORUNLULUĞU

AB Şartnameleri'ne göre yerelerde yapılacak tüm işlerde katılımçılık zorunluluğu var.

Buna uymadıkları söylenemez. Bütün yerelerde 'yerel gündem 2000' adlı platformlar oluşturdular. Artık buralarda kentin sorunlarını tartışıyorlar ve

katılımcılık örnekleri sergiliyorlar. Bu kentte yaşayanlara soruyorum: Kaçınız bu toplantılara katılıyorsunuz? Elbetteki herkesin buraya katılması söz konusu olamaz. Soruyu tekrarlayalım: Bu toplumun kaç temsilcileri aracılığı ile buralarda sözünü söyleyebiliyor? Yoksa, katılanlar yalnızca iktidarlar tarafından seçilerek davet edilenler mi? Bizler bu kentin yalnızca sakinleri değil, aynı zamanda sahipleri olmak zorundayız. Bu ilişkiyi kuralmalıyız. Buna kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin uygulandığı alanlardan başlamalıyız. Kasalarındaki paralarıyla caka satıp her şeyin sahibi olduğunu sanıp bizi yok sayanlara haykırmalıyız:

BİZ DE VARIZ!

VE BU KENTLERİN ASIL SAHİPLERİ BİZLERİZ.

ÇÜNKÜ BU KENTLERİ VAR EDEN SİZİN PARALARINIZ DEĞİL BİZLERİZ...

•Zeytinburnu Çırpıcı Derneği

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Bugünlerde belediyeler informel yerleşim kalanlarının üzerine gitmeye hazırlanıyor. 'Oysa çok yakın bir tarihe kadar yönetimler oy potansiyeli olan kaçak yapı sahiplerini temsil ettikleri için onların apartkondulara dönüşmesine izin verdiler. Şimdi yerel yönetimler niteliksiz, riskli ve yoğun bir nüfusun yaşadığı 'dönüştürülmüş' bölgelere uzanmak yerine, gecekonduları yıkıyor. Onlara öncekilere tanıdığı hakları vermek yerine, farklı bir şey yapıyor. Belki buralarda yaşayan insanlara uzun vadeli kredilerle büyük silolara benzeyen toplu konutlarda küçük daireler verilecek.

Belediye Başkanı yaptığı basın toplantısında "alt gelir gruplarına yeni yerleşim alanları oluşturmak için yeni bir konsept hazırladık. Artık çarpık, gelişigüzel yerleri tercih etmeyecekler. Modern ihtiyaçlarına yanıt veren yerlere gidecekler" diyor. Bu semtlerde oturanların kendi evlerini yenilemeleri ya da bir araya gelerek mahallelerini bir bütün olarak yıkıp yeniden yapma kapasiteleri yok. Kent yönetimleri bu semtlerde yaşayan insanları sürece katacak yöntemler uygulamak, örneğin düşük faizli krediler vermek ya da planlama örgütünün içine sokmak yerine, mahallelerinden uzaklaştırmak istiyor. Bunun nedeninin küresel sermayenin girişi ile ilişkili olduğunu söyleyenler çoğunlukta. Dünya Bankası'nın da Türkiye'nin dış borç batağından kurtulması için işgale uğrayan kamu arazilerini değerlendirmesini, dış sermaye girişini özendirmesini önerdiği biliniyor.

GECEKONDUCULARIN SİYASAL GÜCÜ

Bu değişimin siyasal bir iştahla savunulmasının başka nedenleri de olmalı. Bunlardan birincisi gecekonduların sahiplerinin siyaset üzerindeki eski ezici güçlerini kaybetmeleri. Gecekonduların büyük bir bölümü kaçak apartmanlara, sonra kısmi yasal statüye kavuştular. Dolayısıyla bu dönüşümün kent için sürdürülebilir bir model oluşturması mümkün değil. Bu 'dönüşüm modeli' siyasetçiler için bir kere kullanılacak bir fırsattı ve kullanıldı. Artık gecekonduların siyasal gücü azaldı. Diğer taraftan çoğu yerde gecekonduların işgal etmiş olduğu araziler kentte en kolay el koyulabilir arsalar olarak yatırımcıların iştahını kabartıyor.

Bu dönüşümün hiç hesaba katılmayan bir nedeni daha var: İmar konusunun siyasetin gelir transferini kolaylıkla gerçekleştirilebildiği bir alan olarak öne çıkması. Siyaset bu imkânı bugüne kadar informel ilişkiler üzerinden kullandı. Bir tarafta gecekondulara göz yumulurken, kayırmalarla kentin gözde yerlerindeki imara kapalı alanlar yatırımcılara açıldı. Bu nedenle her iki kesim de, yoksullar ve zenginler, aynı

sistemden beslendiler. Sistemin sürdürülebilir olmasını sağlayan, eşitsizliğin yer değiştirebilir olmasıydı. Bu model haksız kazanç, çevre, yetersiz altyapı gibi sorunlar yanında, deprem gibi riskleri de gündeme getirdi.

Şimdi bu 'dönüşmüş' yerleşim alanlarının bir daha nasıl dönüştürüleceği, bu yapıların yarattığı sorunlarla nasıl başa çıkılacağı hâlâ bilinmiyor. Ama işin kolayı var: Bu defa kentin yoksul kesimlerinin, imar rantlarından yararlanamayan kesimlerin üstüne gidiliyor.

PLANLAMA AYGITI İÇİNDE GECEKONDU

İktidarların kaçak yapılaşmaya göz yumduğu ve haksız imar kazançları sağladığı modelde muhalefet planlı kentleşmeyi savunuyordu. Bir bakıma bugün iktidarın yapmak istediğini sanki muhalefet talep ediyordu. Bugün roller görünüşte değişmiş benziyor. Peki o zaman ne olacak? Bu model iktidarın oy kaybına mı yol açacak?

Hayır. Bu yeni imar operasyonunun siyasetin patronaj gücünü artırması hedefleniyor. Böylece iktidarın kontrol ettiği ekonomik alanın büyümesi ve kararsız seçmenin kararlı seçmene (ya da biat eden seçmene) dönüştürülmesi bekleniyor. İstanbul'un periferisinin oylarıyla iktidar olan yöneticilerin 'planlı', ama altını çizmek gerekir ki, katılımcı ve şeffaf olmayan bir kentleşme modeli uygulamaya çalışacakları açık. İşin püf noktası, planlamanın, politikanın karanlıkta kalması. Bu dönüşüm modelinin gerçekleşmesinin bir koşulu var: Mümkün olduğu kadar sayıdaki kadrolu uzmanın, öğretim üyesinin büyük maaşlarla patronaj altına alınması ve planlamanın teknik bir işlev olarak gösterilmesi. Gecekonducular yıkılırken, kamu arazileri özelleştirilirken, asıl gecekondu, planlama aygıtı içinde inşa ediliyor. Sermayeye hareket alanı sağlamak ve yönetimlerin patronajını güçlendirmek için bu kesimler de informel ilişkiler içine alınıyor. Üstelik hem hizmet alan, hem de hizmet veren konumundaki belediye şirketleri profesyoneller arasında hiçbir rekabet ilişkisini gündeme getirmediği için, bu kesimler siyasal otoriteye bağımlı hale geliyorlar. Patronaj ilişkileri üniversitelerin bağımsız bir yerde durmasını ve halkın taleplerini duyurmasını engelliyor. Belediye şirketlerine doldurulan yandaşlar, yeni palazlanan bağlantılı şirketler ve bu şirketlerin patronajı altına alınan piyasa ile siyasetin gelir transferi yaratan bir kurum olarak asli işlevini sürdürmesi amaçlanıyor. Böylece siyaset kurumu bütün aktörleri kendi patronajı altına almaya çalışıyor.

KENTTEKİ EŞİTSİZLİK

Dönüşüm alanlarında yaşayan insanlar göçe zorlanıyor. Yaratılacak steril konut alanlarında ise iş sahibi, zengin nüfusun oturacağı varsayılıyor. Kiracılar için hiçbir imkân yok. Mülk sahipleri ise kamulaştırma tehdidi altında. Daha şimdiden belediye şirketlerinin yaptığı konut alanlarında oturan nüfusun kendi iktidar imkânlarından yararlanan beyaz yakalılar olduğu görülüyor. Yoksulların ise kentin arka bahçesinde yapılacak kümeslere tıkıştırıl-maları planlanıyor. Dolayısıyla, bugün asıl tartışılması gereken, kentin karmaşıklığını, farklı aktörlerin sürece katılmasını öngörmeyen, kentlileri, profesyonelleri patronaj altına almaya çalışan homojen bir kent yaratma düşü.

Bu steril mekânların alternatif bir kentleşme modeli yaratması mümkün değil. Bu girişim kentin birçok bölgesinde parçalanmış konut alanları yaratacak. Üstelik, bir piyasa aktörü gibi hareket eden kamu, düzenleyici işlevlerini tümüyle terk edip tekel rantlarını kendi kadrolarının kullanımına verecek. Böyle bir gelir transferi modeli ise daha geniş bir çevreyi dışlayarak güçsüz hale getirecek.

Bu yeni ekonomik model başarıya ulaşabilir mi? Bu sorunun cevabı bence siyasal otoritenin ne yapmayı amaçladığından çok, muhalefetin, sistemin dışında kalanların ne yaptığı ile ilgili. Ancak kendi sivil toplum aidiyetinden, basit çıkarların temsilinden bağımsızlaşan ve kamusal sorumluluk üstlenen bir muhalefet bu haksız durumu değiştirebilir.

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