

**THE PATTERN AND PROCESS OF URBAN SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN  
ISTANBUL**

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## **ABSTRACT**

THE PATTERN AND PROCESS OF URBAN SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN ISTANBUL

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The main aim of the thesis is to analyse the recent socio-spatial patterns of Istanbul, in which squatter areas on publicly-owned land (gecekondu) and old historical centre of the city are subjected to regeneration projects, under the impact of making Istanbul a "purified" place for the significant social classes via exclusion of the "others". The formulations of Henri Lefebvre for analysing the production of (social) space are used as the conceptual framework of the thesis. To reveal the case study, the recent urban regeneration projects in Istanbul, a wide range of qualitative data collection techniques and methodology, documentary analysis, in-depth interviews, participant observations, which will pave a way to understand the complex relations among social and spatial formations, are used. According to the analysis on the acceleration of urban regeneration projects in the city of Istanbul, the thesis argues two main points: Firstly, the specificity of urbanisation period in Istanbul after 2000 is characterised with the strong role of the central state, mainly MHA. Secondly, the people, who are living in the gecekondu areas and old historical centres in the inner city are not only evicted from their living spaces, they are also socially and spatially excluded from the city centres.

**Key words:** urban space, neoliberalism, Istanbul, urban regeneration, urban social exclusion

## ÖZ

### İSTANBUL'DA KENTSEL SOSYAL DIŞLANMANIN ÖRÜNTÜSÜ VE SÜRECİ

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Bu tezin temel amacı, İstanbul kentinde son dönemde gecekondular ve tarihi kent merkezi alanlarında uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin kentin sosyo-mekansal yapısını/örüntüsünü "diğerleri"ni dışlayarak bazı sosyal sınıflar lehine "hijyenik" mekan yaratma hedef ve çabasıyla nasıl yeniden yapılandırıldığını analiz etmektir. Tezin kavramsal çerçevesi, temel olarak, Henri Lefebvre'nin (toplumsal) kentsel mekanı incelemek için kullandığı kavramlar setine dayanmaktadır. İstanbul'daki kentsel dönüşüm projelerini konu alan tezin alan araştırmasında çok çeşitli niteliksel veri toplama yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Bu tez, İstanbul kentinde hızla artan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri hakkında yapılan araştırmada iki temel noktayı tartışmaktadır: Birinci olarak, devletin, özellikle TOKİ'nin, güçlü rolü ile 2000'li yıllardan itibaren İstanbul'un kentleşme tarihinin özgün bir dönemi olduğu. İkinci olarak ise, gecekondular ve tarihi kent merkezi alanlarında yaşayanların bu süreçte sadece yaşam alanlarından zorla tasviye edilmediği, aynı zamanda toplumsal ve mekansal olarak kent merkezinden dışlandığı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** kent mekanı, neoliberalizm, İstanbul, kentsel dönüşüm, kentsel sosyal dışlanma

*To my mother and father...*

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. The Subject and the Aims of the Research**

In the last decades, it is argued that urban space is the new accumulation space of global capitalism to overcome its most recent crisis. While cities started to be on the agenda of international economics, Turkey, as a lately capitalist country, experience the process in its own exclusivity. The acceleration of capitalist development in Turkey after 1950s exposed the need of cheap labour power, which caused a rapid and intensive migration from rural to urban. In this process Istanbul played a leading role in the whole country. The unique social and spatial structure of Turkey can be seen in the urbanisation process of Istanbul. In our study, we undertook economy-politic background of Turkey and legal and institutional arrangements of every period in respect to reveal the effects and changes of urbanisation history of Istanbul on social structure of the city. In this way, it is possible to understand the social formation of the city.

In this framework, the urbanisation period of Istanbul will be handled in three main periods, which are designated through the refractions of economy-political background of the process. The period between 1950 and 1980 will be conceptualised as the rapid urbanisation period, from 1980 to 2000 will be defined as reflections of social segregation, and lastly, post-2000 will be illustrated as the social exclusion period of the city of Istanbul. According to this framework, the main research of the study will explore post-2000 of Istanbul.

Led by the national government, Istanbul is undergoing a period of restructuring towards becoming a 'global city', a centre of high-level finance and business services, linking Turkey more strongly into the international (especially EU) economy. This project has been developing since the 1980s, but has accelerated since the Justice and Development

Party came into government in 2002. The restructuring of the built environment is being organised by a newly-created city-region authority and by the national housing agency, the Mass Housing Administration (MHA), each with newly-given strong executive powers. Current developments seek to remove industry, traditional low level services and low-income housing from the centre- and inner-city areas to the periphery, and to use the freed space to build offices for international business, luxury housing and consumer services. Integral to this programme are 'regeneration' projects organised by the MHA to redevelop low-income, high-density housing built on publicly owned land (*gecekond*) in the inner city. These involve evicting most of the residents and relocating them to the periphery; they are offered subsidised purchase of housing there, but most cannot afford this (Gündoğdu and Gough, 2008). Parallel to this process, these developments have been met with well-organised resistance by the residents.

The main argument of the thesis is to examine whether the recent urban regeneration projects in Istanbul on squatter areas and old city centre will lead social exclusion of the dwellers of the areas, unprivileged classes, or not. In this scope, this study is an attempt to reveal the relationship between the spatial and the social patterns of exclusion through restructuring of socio-spatial patterns. The main aim of the study is to question the existence of direct or indirect relation among production of urban space and social processes through recent urban regeneration projects as an urban strategy. In this framework, this research is concentrated on particular metropolitan scale spatial decisions and spatial choices of social classes in the city of Istanbul. In addition, to encompass the context of the periods in a wider sense, it enables an analysis of legal and institutional restructuring as a whole. Regarding the recent urbanisation process, urban regeneration projects are conceptualised as intervention tools to the relationship between urban planning and the lives of the inhabitants of the city in general. While the regeneration projects are illustrated as a solution for the main problems of the city by both local and

national scale, like natural disaster risk and security, they also have serious effects on particular social classes in the city (Öktem, 2006).

## **1.2. Research Questions**

The research questions of the thesis are formulated by following the stated aims above. Two main questions with their related sub-questions are designated in (Table 1).

### **1. Main Research Question**

Can we state that urban regeneration projects in Istanbul increased social segregation and exclusion between social classes in the last decades?

#### Sub-Questions

- 1.** Is there a shift in the production of urban space due to the prevailing political economy between the particular periods of urbanisation in Istanbul?
- 2.** How and where are the dwellers of urban regeneration project areas located in the city after urban regeneration projects?
  - How can we categorize the proposed new-usage of the urban regeneration areas?
  - Which social groups tend to benefit or suffer during this transformation?
- 3.** What are the underlying national and international dynamics behind the shift in the structure of planning from traditional planning to urban regeneration projects in Istanbul?
  - What are the social, economic, political dynamics behind the regeneration process in the first decade of 2000?
  - What are the institutional and legislative arrangements and alterations in the process of urban regeneration as an urban strategy?

- How has this project been translated into plans for restructuring of the built-environment of Istanbul city-region?

## **2. Main Research Question**

Why have the old city centre and squatter settlements been targeted for urban regeneration?

### Sub-Questions

- 1.** How does regeneration of the old city centre and squatter areas impact on overall social geography of Istanbul?
  - What is the main basis of the urban regeneration agenda of the period?
  - How can we classify the proposals of the urban regeneration projects in this period?
  - What does the state intend for the existing residents of old centre and squatter areas, and how feasible is this?
- 2.** What are the reactions towards resistance to 'urban regeneration projects' by the residents of gecekondu areas?
  - What existing social structures are drawn into organising resistance?
  - What are the sources of external support? How have outcomes been affected by the reactions on resettlement?

**Table 1.** *Research Questions of the study*

<b>The Aim pursued</b>	<b>Main Research Questions</b>	<b>Sub Questions</b>
<p><b>Constructing the basis and context of the analysis on the city of Istanbul in terms of social and spatial relations</b></p>	<p>Can we state that urban regeneration projects increased social segregation and exclusion among social classes in the last decades?</p>	<p><b>1.</b> Is there a shift in the production of urban space due to the prevailing political economy between the particular periods of urbanisation in Istanbul?</p> <p><b>2.</b> How and where are the dwellers of urban regeneration project areas located in the city after urban regeneration projects?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ How can we categorize the proposed new-usage of the urban regeneration areas?</li> <li>▪ Which social groups tend to benefit or suffer during this transformation?</li> </ul> <p><b>3.</b>What are the underlying national and international dynamics behind the shift in the structure of planning from traditional planning to urban regeneration projects in Istanbul?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the social, economic, political dynamics behind the regeneration process in the first decade of 2000?</li> <li>• What are the institutional and legislative arrangements and alterations in the process of urban regeneration as an urban strategy?</li> <li>• How has this project been translated into plans for restructuring of the built-environment of Istanbul city-region?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Revealing the peculiarity of the urban regeneration process in the city of Istanbul as a case study</b></p>	<p>Why have the old city centre and squatter areas been targeted for urban regeneration?</p>	<p><b>1.</b> How does regeneration of the old city centre and squatter areas impact on overall social geography of Istanbul?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the main basis of the urban regeneration agenda of the period?</li> <li>• How can we classify the proposals of the urban regeneration projects in this period?</li> <li>• What does the state intend for the existing residents of old centre and squatter areas, and how feasible is this?</li> </ul> <p><b>2.</b>What are the reactions towards resistance to 'urban regeneration projects' by the residents of gecekondu areas?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What existing social structures are drawn into organising resistance?</li> <li>• What are the sources of external support? How have outcomes been affected by the reactions on resettlement?</li> </ul>

### **1.3. Methodology**

#### **1.3.1. Methodology of the Research**

This research has been accomplished by using a wide range of qualitative data collection techniques and methodology, which has paved a way to understand the complex relations among social and spatial formations. In this scope, historical and economy-political background of urbanisation that shapes the shifts in urban politics, the legislative and institutional arrangements and the complex relations among local and national authorities, local and global investors, NGOs, social groups and the inhabitants of the city is analysed.

The research is composed of three main parts. Firstly, a detailed critical literature review of theoretical conceptualisations on the new urban regeneration projects and policies in the means of neoliberal economic restructuring mainly after 2000 (the role of neoliberal policies), on the remaking of urban social classes in relation to urban regeneration process and examples is analysed. This review, first aims to understand and reveal the uniqueness of Turkish urbanisation history with its dynamics through a densely "western-dominated" literature. Secondly, the urbanisation process of Istanbul is studied starting from the 1950s to the present in order to comprehend the recent process, its historical background and dynamics. Lastly, different data collection techniques are used to investigate the recent changes in social and spatial formation of the city after 2000 and accelerated urban regeneration projects in the case of the city of Istanbul is examined.

#### **1.3.2. The Limitations of the Study**

In this study, we aim to draw a socio-spatial map of Istanbul entirely, starting from 1950s to today. The first limitation of the study is the lack of enough interviews in all the sample neighbourhoods of the process. On the one hand, it will go beyond the limitations of our study, on the other; we

tried to get the essence of problem through interviewing with different actors of the process.

The second limitation is that the plans (planning studies, urban regeneration projects, and eviction process of gecekondu dwellers) are not implemented and completed entirely that the outcomes of the process could not be investigated.

### **1.3.3. The Field Research and the Data**

While the literature review allowed clarifying the conceptual framework, empirical evidences and the sequence of the study, including the selection of interviewees, the interview questions, other diversified data collection techniques is used, such as; participatory observation.

I made several visits to Istanbul starting in May 2006 and until August 2008, which lasted approximately two years. During my visits, I attended some closed or open meetings on the urbanisation process of Istanbul, regeneration projects and meetings on "resistance" of gecekondu dwellers. On the other hand, I conducted 9 interviews from 2006 to 2008, as well.

### **1.3.4. The Data Collection Techniques**

To study the effects of urban regeneration process in Istanbul among social classes, I used three different qualitative data collection techniques:

- 1.** A significant part of the study was **documentary analysis** that is written and visual documents on urban planning studies and its reports, brochures, websites (1/100.000 scale Istanbul Environmental Plan and 1/25.000 scale Istanbul Master Plan, 2007; 1980 Istanbul Master Plan; 1995 Istanbul Master Plan); urban regeneration projects; strategic plans; reports on urbanisation in Istanbul (OECD Istanbul Territorial Report, 2008; JICA report; pre-analysis reports of METU and ITU for IMP; brochures of IMP; Report

on Force Migration from East and South East Region; Special Project Areas Report, 2007; Habitat II National Report; reports of civil organizations on legislative documents, Report on Poverty and Social Exclusion in Gecekondur and Slum Neighbourhoods of Turkey's Major Cities), Istanbul Greater Municipality and BİMTAŞ websites, documents. And also I had chance to watch two documentaries on recent demolitions of two neighbourhoods, one is in Ankara the other is in Istanbul (Arka Bahçede Yıkım, 2006 and Dikmen Vadisi: Direniş, 2008).

Secondly, legal arrangements on urbanisation and regeneration of the period between 1950 to today are investigated through legislative documents.

2. I have conducted **in-depth interviews** in a **semi-structured format** with different actors of urban regeneration process. I have prepared some questions to ask during the interview, but I also allow questions to flow naturally, based on information provided by the respondent. I did not ask questions in a specific order. I made interviews in relation to Lefebvre's methodology on revealing the social production of space, in terms of two group of interviewee: experts and the inhabitants (Table 2).

I conducted 9 interviews with respondents from the Greater Istanbul Municipality (2), IMP (1), the Chamber of Architects (1), the Chamber of City Planners (1), academician (1), a private construction firm (1) and representatives of Neighbourhood Associations (2). The first interviewee from the Greater Istanbul Municipality was Nihat Enver Ülger (2006) who is the head of Urban Regeneration and Urban Design Group and the second one; Funda Yürekduymaz (2006) was the vice-head of Urban Regeneration and Urban Design Group. The interviewee from IMP was Taylan Dericiođlu (2006), the head of National and Regional Planning Group. The interviewee from the Chamber of Architects was

Assistant Secretary of General of the Chamber, Mücella Yapıcı (2008). The interviewee from the Chamber of City Planners was the Secretary of Istanbul, Tayfun Kahraman (2008). Zeynep Enlil (2006) was the interviewee from the Yıldız Technical University as the academician. One of the interviewee was from a private construction firm, called Çalık Company, Nilgün Kıvırcık (2008). And lastly, the two interviewees were representatives of Neighbourhood Associations, first one was Erdoğan Yıldız (2008) from the committee of Gülsuyu and Güleusu Neighbourhood Association and the second one was Adem Kaya (2008), the head of Başbüyük Neighbourhood Association. The interviewees were selected through a chain process through friends of mine in IMP, then in the Chamber of City Planners. The interviews took one and a half hour long approximately and all of them were recorded except one respondent from the municipality. During the interviews I also took notes and get documents from the interviewees. In addition, I typed the recorded interviews.

3. The last technique I have used during my study was the **participant observations**. While I was started to study on our research I was also the secretary general of the Chamber of City Planners. On this account, I had chance to observe the process of regeneration in Istanbul via participating closed meetings with other chambers, social groups, demonstrations, press statements, presentations, conferences and meetings held by IMP, professional chambers, political groups (such as Halkevleri<sup>1</sup>), social organisations (such as İmece<sup>2</sup>), Istanbul City Coordination Board (İKK), and academic meetings. I had chances to make informal talks on regeneration projects in Istanbul during these activities. Especially, neighbourhood visits; meetings and interviews have a distinct significance in my study. I had chances to cover the real effects of

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<sup>1</sup> It is not a political party, but it can be defined as a leftist social organisation which acts as a political group.

<sup>2</sup> It is an organization, which is composed of mostly professionals, such as architects and urban planners. They mostly give support to people who live in urban regeneration areas.

regeneration projects particularly in partially demolished neighbourhoods.

**Table 2.** Methodological Framework of Indepth Interviews

<b>The Concepts: The trial schema of Lefebvre</b>		<b>The selection of interviewees</b>
<b>Conceived Space (Representations of space: abstract space)</b>	Conceptual models used to direct social practice and land-use, expert knowledge (e.g. planners, professionals, technocrats, engineers, developers, architects, urbanists & geographers)	<p><b>Central Government Actors:</b> MHA (TOKI)</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Local Government Actors:</b> the authorities at the municipal units such as urban planning and urban regeneration; the head of IMP who has taken responsibility in the preparation of the plans and urban regeneration projects</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>NGOs, Researchers, Chambers, Professionals, Academicians:</b> Chamber of City Planners, Istanbul; Chamber of Architects, Istanbul; Representatives of Urban Planning Departments of Universities in Istanbul who has been a part of the process</p>
<b>Lived Space (Spaces of representation: social space)</b>	The lived social relation of users to the build environment (inhabitants, users)	<b>Inhabitants of Urban Regeneration Areas:</b> Platform of Istanbul's Neighbourhood Associations, inhabitants of neighbourhoods
<b>Perceived Space (Spatial practice)</b>	Spatial patterns of everyday life, the conception of space as the abstract and lived worlds of planning and everyday experience (ensure societal contunuity, spatial competence)	<b>Analysis</b>

#### **1.4. Outline of the Study**

This thesis is composed of five chapters, including introductory and concluding parts. The **Introduction** part of the study presents the subject and the aims of the study; the research question that will be followed during the study; the methodology that will be used to understand the research; and a brief summary of the outline of the study.

**Chapter 2** will try to be present firstly a conceptual framework, depended on the conceptualisation of Lefebvre, to analyse urban socially. The conceptual framework of Lefebvre for the production of urban space will construct the methodology of theoretical and also field study analysis through: *representations of space, spaces of representation and spatial practice*. In the second part of Chapter 2, the reproduction of urban space in the capitalist era will be analysed through pursuing the relation between neoliberalism and urban space. The main theoretical basis of the analysis is the approach of Regulation School, which conceptualise the recent socio-spatial practices through the effects of regeneration projects. In addition, the disregarded relations among social classes through the urbanisation process will be tried to overcome by the methodology of Lefebvre.

In **Chapter 3**, the urbanisation process of the city of Istanbul will be investigated into two main periods: 1950-1980 as the rapid urbanisation process and 1980-2000 as the reflections of social segregation. The periodisation was made due to the economy-political basis of the city. For both of the periods; the socio-economic context of the period; the main dynamics of urbanisation process through legal arrangements and urban politics, institutionalisation of urban management, and urban planning approach will be analysed. Then, the socio-spatial patterns of the city will be drawn.

In **Chapter 4**, the recent urbanisation period of Istanbul in post-2000 will be revealed through regeneration projects in Istanbul. In this chapter, the socio-economic context of the period will be illustrated. And also, as the

previous one, the main dynamics of urbanisation period through legal arrangements, urbanisation approach and institutionalism will be demonstrated. Different from the other periods of urbanisation in Istanbul, post-2000 will be conceptualised as the period of urbanisation of social exclusion. In addition, while the gecekondu areas are defined as urban regeneration areas of Istanbul, a social resistance has started in an organised way. In this chapter, we will try to illustrate the fragmented socio-spatial patterns of Istanbul through the interviewees with the main actors of the process.

In **Chapter 5**, it is aimed to give a summary of the chapters and evaluations of them. In addition, we will try to propose our main findings for the future researches.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this part of the study theoretical and conceptual framework of the study will be presented. Firstly, a conceptual framework for analysing social relations and (urban) space will be constructed by drawing on Lefebvre's analysis of the production of urban space. Secondly, with the conceptual tools of Lefebvre, I will try to put up the changing relations among society and space in the contemporary capitalist era. Doing so, while the framework of Lefebvre on revealing the production of urban space provides both a set of conceptions and the methodology of our analysis, it will remain as an abstract conceptual framework for the whole analysis. So, it would be useful to relate the framework of Lefebvre and Regulation School, which is examining the relation between urban space and society in the capitalist era, especially neoliberal period, through a Lefebvrian analysis. Therefore, I will try to find out whether neoliberal policies as the dominant economic and political form of present world will lead a new urbanism or not.

#### **2.2. Understanding Urban Space**

##### **2.2.1. A Conceptual Framework for Analysing Urban Space**

For many commentators concerned with urban studies, the question of "analysing urban" has been a controversial contention. In our research we will position urban space as the space of capitalist production and the place in and through which capitalist social relations are reproduced in various ways. In other words, urban space will be conceptualised as the spatial form of capitalist social relations. On the one hand, every period of capitalism, constructs its space; on the other, capitalism also uses space to overcome from "its crisis". Therefore, there are spatial and social

consequences of using urban space as a tool for overcoming crisis of the capitalist accumulation process. In this context, while urbanization has been the formation process of build-environment, it also plays an indispensable role in producing spaces that would be compatible with existing social relations. Therefore, when I define the urban space I should also put it as a place that is an active and integral part of the society. And this would be characterized as the dialectical relation between social and spatial instead of interaction of two different facts.

By this point of view, I will conceptualise "the analysing of urban" through the influence of Henri Lefebvre's work on urban society in terms of the social reproduction of capitalist relations (Gottdiener, 1994). Lefebvre, as one of the leading figures of urban sociology, re-conceptualised the socio-spatial perspective through a Marxian and critical approach, and introduced us the idea of "social production of urban space". Consequently, in the next part of the research I will be focused on Lefebvre's theoretical framework and his main concepts to reveal how urban space is produced socio-spatially.

### **2.2.2. (Social) Production of Urban Space**

Henri Lefebvre has opened a new argument area on the relation between society and space by his famous book, titled *The Production of Space*. In this research, I will utilize the three main concepts of Lefebvre, which are defined in *The Production of Space*, to reveal how capital, state and society conceive, live and perceive urban space in a capitalist society through the triad schema: *representations of space*, *spaces of representation* and *spatial practice*. According to Lefebvre (1991) *representations of space* illustrates the organization of urban space, which is created by power (e.g. state actors, agents and investors). Urban planning studies, one of the basic tools of our research, is conceptualised as *representations of space* by Lefebvre (1991) and the space of planning as *abstract space*. In addition, *spaces of representation* is the lived space where social relations are experienced depending on particular symbols and signs. In this context the

dialectical relation between *spaces of representation* and *representations of space*, Lefebvre argues, gives rise to *spatial practice*, which carries the

Capitalism and neo-capitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state. This space is founded on the vast network of banks, business centres and major productive entities, as also on motorways, airports and information lattices (Lefebvre, 1991:53).

contradictions of everyday life.

Lefebvre (1991) also carried out the question of how different societies have particularized spaces in both form and meaning over time, by the peculiarity between abstract and social space. In this way, it is possible to argue that capitalism, like all other modes of social relations, has its own spatial organization (re)produced for and by its system of formation. Lefebvre describes such organization as follows:

'Abstract space' and 'social space' that are the conceptual tools of Lefebvre would be useful to unveil the embedded relation between the main actors of the process. According to Lefebvre, abstract space is the space of instrumental rationality, fragmentation, homogenisation, and, commodification (Shields, 1999; Merrifield, 2006) Abstract space is comprised of the intersection of knowledge and power, which is related to political leaders, urban planners and economic interests (Gottdiener, 1993). In other words, "it is the use of space by capitalists and state actors who are interested in the abstract qualities of space, including size, width, area, location and profit" (Gotham et.al., 2001:314). On the contrary, social space is the experiences of everyday life that is lived through the actions by all members of the society (Lefebvre, 1991). Throughout this framework, the projected usages of abstract space by government and business may challenge with the existing usages of the resident's of the city, that is, the social space. Therefore, for Lefebvre, the conflict between abstract space and social space entails spatial practices, representations of space, and, spaces of representation (Gotham et al., 2001:314). Lefebvre

points out an essential statement to uncover the inscribed relations among social and abstract spaces: "..., the crushing of lived social spaces by the imposition of abstract space results in the ghettoization of all sectors of society, from the ghettos of elite, of the bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of immigrants, and the poor. These fragmented and segregated spatial forms lead to the creation of new socio-spatial conflicts that transcend class divisions" (quoted in Gottdiener, 1988: 145).

While the domination of capitalism penetrated in every field of life, space becomes more and more fragmented. The contradictory process of centralisation and peripheralisation create complex hierarchies among city dwellers, which is mainly embodied in planning practice. For Lefebvre:

Cities are transformed into a collection of ghettos where individuals are at once 'socialised', integrated, submitted to artificial pressures and constraints... and separated, isolated, disintegrated. A contradiction, which is translated into anguish, frustration and revolt (Lefebvre 1972 quoted in Shields, 1999:178).

According to Lefebvre, the expansion of capitalism cannot be handled only through industrial premises or the reproduction of labour force through consumption; it also entails "the marginalisation of all non-capitalist spaces and activities; the organisation of private and public consumption by means of advertising and state bureaucracy; and the extensions of capitalist relations to the non-productive, cultural sectors of leisure such as the arts..." (Shields, 1999:179). In this line, the fragmentation among capitalist relations, such as the dominant centres and the dominated peripheries, become more polarised within the inherent contradictions, and thus, create the *contradictory space* (Lefebvre, 1991).

Within this framework, the distinction between social and abstract spaces provides a fertile ground for revealing the relation between society and urban planning. What is essential for Lefebvre is the control and power relations between social and abstract spaces. According to Lefebvre, the authority, which has the power to control spatial organization, creates fragmentation and commodification. In this context, for him, "the state's

role in the production of abstract space that the whole of urban planning is called into question" is very essential and determining (Gottdiener, 1988:146). There are various debates on the relative values of recent urban planning and the domination of abstract space over social space through the state interventions (Gottdiener, 1988). However, according to Lefebvre, "... the urban has no worse enemy than urban planning and 'urbanisme' which is capitalism's and the state's strategic instrument for the manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space" (Lefebvre quoted in Gottdiener, 1988:146).

In addition, Lefebvre points out the possibility of generating a new spatialisation excluding the contradictions of capitalist relations and spatial forms. He proposed the possibility of turning the 'politics of difference', which carries the rich creativity of the excluded out to be an alternative spatialisation: *differential space (counter space)*. According to Lefebvre, the demand of a community beyond the plans and strategies of the authority, such as; the demand for 'amenities', housing developments or roads are the signs for 'counter space'. It is the time of encounter between the 'spatial reality' and 'specialized spaces', 'private', and 'industrial profitability' (Lefebvre, 1991). It is then possible to argue that Lefebvre's formulations, while resisting urban planning that produces abstract space, are open to alternative planning activities collectively defending for social space. In this context, I think, while analysing recent urban planning process in our case study, the two concepts; abstract and social space will be fundamental to define its role in terms of power relations among capital, state and urban dwellers.

To sum up, according to Lefebvre, the question of urban space can be conceptualised as "the spatial transformation of urban space, which is produced socially and leads to social and spatial consequences". Therefore, urban space is not just an area that social transformation processes have occurred in as a container. On the contrary, it is a generating process where social and spatial dimensions are in a dialectical relationship and influence each other reciprocally. Within this context, we can argue that

urban planning needs to be considered as a site of struggle among social forces with conflicting spaces as well as the tool for reproduction of power relations. In addition, the potential of a 'counter-space' demand will be searched through the dominance of neoliberal politics. Having outlined the above dialectical conceptual framework between society and space, as a production of space, in the next part of the study I will try to search the (re)production of urban space in the contemporary capitalist era by focusing on neoliberalism which is the dominant politico-economic approach since 1980s.

### **2.3. The (Re)production of Urban Space in the Contemporary Capitalist Era**

The main concern of modern urban planning in 20<sup>th</sup> century was the dual structure of cities stemming from the capitalist urbanisation process. Throughout this period, while huge investments (ports, antrepos, factories, e.g.) for industrial development, new housing areas, infrastructure investments were made, on the other hand, city centres are turn into slum and eroded down areas. This was not only the spatial reflection of contradictory structure of capitalist urbanisation; it was also the emergence of contradictory formation in social structure. Throughout the post-war period, the geography of Fordism, which was the dominant production system, has formed within each national territory in the structure of large-scale metropolitan regions, composed of leading firms, industrial clusters of Fordism, smaller cities, towns and peripheral zones, hierarchically. Therefore, between end of the Second World War and the economic crisis of 1970s, Keynesian politics, which have focused on the relation between collective consumption and city, was the dominant urbanisation approach with a claim of homogenising spaces across the nation state (Harvey, 1985). In this framework, urban governance acquired an important role in a variety of *nationalizing* scale-making projects in western European states. In which are trying to create nationally constructed structure for capitalist production and collective consumption to lessen the spatial uneven development among the territory of nation state and to endorse urban and regional growth (Brenner, 2004).

However in 1980s, neoliberal political programs and policies have decisively been implemented among European countries. The applications of these policies; as such; the restructuring of geo-spatial scales and hierarchies, reorganization of production and labour, creation of new division of labour that constitutes and redefines cities in the new division of labour, had accelerated and expanded during the period (Peck and Tickell, 2002). By the dominance of neoliberal ideology, urbanization and the relations between cities, the state and market has opened a debate on the investments on central city real estate markets, transformation of built environment as development of new privatised spaces of elite consumption, construction of large-scale urban projects intended to attract corporate investment, foundation of gated communities and gentrified spaces was in question (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

In this framework, we need to focus on the relation between neoliberalism and urban space in the next part of the study. In addition, I will try to reveal the main forces behind it and its social consequences.

### **2.3.1. Neoliberalism and Urban Space: The Rise of Urban Scale**

Neoliberalism has appeared on the part of capital to be a dominant strategy in most of the world since 1980s, resulting in a new wave of globalisation that has transformed not only the existing economic and political relations in an extensive manner but also geographies of capitalism (Gough, 2002). In this context, neoliberalism has been broadly used to illustrate the proper framework of such resurgent and realignment of world economy during the post-1980s period (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Brenner and Theodore argue that neoliberalism has placed the argument on relation between state, market and cities and rearranges investment and consumption possibilities and capital accumulation on and through urban spaces.

However, there has been a controversial debate among scholars on the relation between neoliberalism and urban space. From 1980s to the late 1990s, neoliberalism has been examined with reference to national de-regulatory trends (e.g.; Thatcherism in the UK, Özalism in Turkey) and supranational institutional realignments (e.g.; the role of World Bank and IMF) (Brenner and Theodore, 2002:102). For example, Bob Jessop (2002:461) argues that "neoliberalism promotes market-led economic and social restructuring ... free competition, reduces role of law and state, and promotes market proxies in residual public sector, internationalisation and increases consumer choice".

After late 1990s, urbanists and social theorists have investigated political economic dynamics of neoliberalism and its related spatialities from global to local scales (Peck and Tickell 2002, Gough 2002, Brenner and Theodore 2002). While the conceptualisation of neoliberalism maintains to be an important subject of ongoing debate among spatial scales, the studies have generated an outstanding implication for the recent debate on the relation between neoliberalism and recent urban transformations.

The remarkable claim of the period depends on the rise of urban during this era. To understand the flourishing of urban, many theorists examined the relation between neoliberalism and urban change. The main intellectual concern of this alteration has come from the neoMarxist approach, called as the Regulation School. The school has interested in the political economy of urban change; becoming the dominant leaning in academic Marxism in especially economic geography and urban sociology by the mid-1980s.

The main critical argument of the regulation school was on the recent changes in scales of economic-political relations. Regulationists emphasize the process of social reproduction as the fundamental essence of capitalist relations. The school has proposed, "[t]he internal logic of the prevailing pattern of economic circuits at any time (the 'regime of accumulation') is distinct from that of the prevailing pattern of individual and group

behaviour ('the mode of regulation')" (Lovering, 2007:353-4). Thus, the regulationist school searches for a theory of social regulation of capitalist economy in the means of their assumption: economic relations are socially inscribed (Aglietta (1979), quoted in Jessop, 2005:192). Throughout this agenda, regulationists argue that neoliberalism paves the way for changing the Fordist-Keynesian urbanization system of the post-war period and opening a new spatial organization of social relations in which cities appear as crucial nodes.

In this framework, regulationists give a certain importance to the relation between neoliberalism and the city. A notable emphasis on the spatial, mainly the urban dimension, is essential to the school's approach. In this scope, Brenner and Theodore's (2002, 2005) studies can be considered in the regulationist approach. They intended to clarify the relation between the neoliberal ideology and the spatial projects of neoliberalism that are resolved in cities and regions, by claiming a new term called "actually existing neoliberalism". They proposed the term to differentiate the "destructive character of neoliberal policies, but also to highlight the ways in which neoliberal ideology systematically misrepresents the real effects of such policies upon the macro institutional structures and evolutionary trajectories of capitalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 6).

Besides, Peck and Tickell (2002) also tried to examine the relation of neoliberalism and the urban space in a dynamic manner, distinguishing neoliberalism into two parts. For them, the first period of neoliberalism is characterized with the offensive attack on Fordist-Keynesian socio-spatial organizations, and thus called as 'roll-back' neoliberalism. In the roll-back period, the principle and discourse of 'market versus state' was the outstanding approach that the dominance of free-market, de-regulation and privatisation were the freeing tools of interference. However, the 1990s have shown us that neoliberalism shifted to a new set of policies, which can be considered as the 'roll-out' phase. In this period, some abandoned processes and actors were called back but on the other hand, the scale of the neoliberal economies has changed and reformulated. The

state was rescaled, public-private partnerships have been (re)constituted, the employment and administration politics of local governments have been restructured, and flexible employment styles, new strategies of social control, policing and surveillance have been defined in the second phase of neoliberalism.

In this context Jessop (2002) also understands urban as the spaces of neoliberalism. For him cities have become the spaces of international flows of capital such as money, investment and property that the arrangement of cities in nation-state and beyond has begun to change. Cities have emerged as a crucial space for many of the major economic and political strategies through which the dominance of neoliberalism is being constructed. Political-economic and social changes have become intense in the urban arena parallel to the neo-liberal urban policy approach (Jessop, 2002).

The aggregate result, the redrawing of the boundaries of the relations between state and society, is the rescaling of state space. Brenner and Theodore (2002) explicitly show that urban space takes a key position in this phase of neoliberalism. They argue that urban space has become the spaces of neoliberal economies that the coordinators and the nodal points of world economy are constituted by the so-called world and global cities<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> It is the fact that contemporary spatial forms have emerged out of the so-called process of globalisation, leading some theorists to argue that cities are increasingly being the key spatial nodes of the world economy. For example, Saskia Sassen (1991) identifies the role of new type of cities, namely global city, in the world economy, as important and leading command points, key positions for finance and the markets of production. What she emphasizes is that global cities are the sites of production for the financial and commercial networks that coordinate global economic activity (Hamnett, 2003).

However, Neil Smith (2002) claims that the so-called global cities are not just the new containers of the emergent world economy but the outcomes, and integral part of the processes of changes in social relations, the role of state and the reproduction of labour force, resulting with new urbanism associated with new globalism. For Smith, new urbanism has proceeded along with the recomposition of both social relations and spatial structures, namely the metropolitan scale. In addition, one of the basic dimensions of new urbanism is "gentrification as global urban strategy" (Smith, 2002). While gentrification is not a new tool

In this scope, Brenner and Theodore propose that the new formations of urban as global cities are the new spatial mode of regulation, which is compatible with the regulationist's assumptions.

However, there are problematic points in the theoretical approach of Regulation School, which needs to be excavated. We may classify the key criticisms into two main parts. Firstly, the crucial division between 'regime of accumulation' and 'mode of regulation' initiates the regulationists to conceptualise the processes through an external relationship, as if they are not the different forms of the same relations (Gough, 2004). While this distinction ignores the contradictory structure of social relations, it also tends to draw the processes as durable forms of social regulation. Therefore, the main result of this distinction is the encouragement of structural and functional conduct of existing alterations in social relations by defeating the spatial association between regime of accumulation and mode of regulation within the previous social form of regulation. Secondly, the changes in the scale of social and economic relations, in which so-called spatial forms of regulation are constructed, are seen as a technically – determined process, instead of social processes involving conflictual and dynamic power relations (Gough 2004, Lovering 2007). Therefore, as Lovering (2007:356) emphasizes the crucial forms of struggles among

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for transformation of urban space, it has dominated new neoliberal urbanism in sync with urban strategies of new urban governance. He indicates that urban spaces of reproduction are being restructured for capitalist production and social control of the state through new spatial organization (Smith, 2002). In the last decades, state's recession from its main responsibilities increased the struggle on social reproduction. Furthermore, state put its strategies on "control" over society with an authoritarian identity against "civil resistance".

On the other hand, the role of state is significant and varies in different geographies. In this perspective, gentrification of the inner/central areas of the global cities in the First World countries has taken place largely through international/national markets, without a major role of the (local/national) state. On the contrary, in Istanbul, the national state plays a crucial and leading role in the gentrification and regeneration process of the city. In this framework, this research can contribute a very significant *new* line of investigation into "world/global cities", different from the existing literature on First World cities by addressing the state's role in the transformation. The state should always play minimum roles in a neoliberal economy, but in contrast, the state is intervening in support of new paths of capital accumulation in Istanbul.

social relations and the flourishing of a new scale due to the power relations are disregarded in the analysis of the Regulationists. Thus, the analysis of the school ends up with chronic vague answers about the process. It has remained the ambiguously answered questions of how and through which processes the neoliberalization of urban is reconfigured.

Throughout these criticisms, I comprehend that Regulationist perspective has crucial deficiencies in theorising the relation between neoliberalism and the urban. Such deficiencies can be presented by integrating the social relations with spatial relations in a dialectical manner. The conceptual framework of Lefebvre showed us the contradictory and dynamic process of space production by providing two concepts: representations of space and spaces of representation. He uses representations of space to show us the embedded power relations in the production of space. Urban plans and maps are the concrete examples of the organization of abstract space under the influence of knowledge and power of the existing authorities. On the other hand, according to Lefebvre (1991) spaces of representation illustrates us the vision of dominant interests in a definite space. In other words, the relation between representations of space and spaces of representation results in the spatial practices. Therefore, for Lefebvre, the dynamic relational connections within the process of production of space provide a fertile ground to analyse the accumulation of differentiated social spaces in and through spatial practices. The trial schema of Lefebvre, then, compared to the Regulationists approach, gives essential clues for grasping the inner relations between so-called 'regime of accumulation' and 'mode of regulation', which is raised in the basis of historical accumulation and production style of distinct spaces (Lefebvre 1991).

In the light of this conceptual framework, we can move further to analyse the recent tendencies within the relation between neoliberalism and urban space, which appear as *new urbanism*. In relation, the rise of urban scale will be investigated with regard to urban regeneration projects and urban governance.

### **2.3.2. New Urbanism**

Neil Smith (2002) proposes a particular way of thinking on "*the rise of urban*" and puts essential relations among so-called globalism and neoliberal urbanism. He investigates "how neoliberalism evolves new forms within the larger history of capitalist urbanization" (2002:83). According to him, a wider redefinition of urban scale has proposed that " 'the urban' is being redefined", in which the 1970s argument, *urban space as a container*, is no longer debated. Smith argues that new urbanism has proceeded along with contemporary recomposition of social relations. In this framework, he (2002) conceptualise "new urbanism" by referring two fundamental components: urban regeneration and new urban governance. In the next part of the study, I will try to clarify the main shifts of capitalist urbanization process by examining these two main components relationally.

#### **2.3.2.1. Urban Regeneration**

The Regulation School claimed that contemporary cities have appeared as the space of neoliberalism. Smith (2002) goes beyond one more step and declared that the key urbanisation strategy of the relation between neoliberalism and urban space is urban regeneration. According to him, "in the 1950s, gentrification followed urban renewal, now leads it" (Smith, 2002:90). In this respect, contemporary urban regeneration appears as the 'gentrification generalized', which spreads globally. Smith illustrates such gentrification as follows:

In ways that could hardly have been envisaged in the 1960s, the construction of new gentrification complexes in central cities across the world has become an increasingly unassailable capital accumulation strategy for competing urban economies. Herein lies a central connection to the larger outline of a new urbanism... The strategic appropriation and generalization of gentrification as a means of global interurban competition finds its most developed expression in the language of 'urban regeneration' (2002:443).

To reveal the characteristics of generalization of gentrification, Smith (2002) proposes significant dimensions: the changing role of the state, penetration by global finance, geographical dispersal and the sectoral generalization of gentrification, changing level of political opposition. Firstly, for Smith the role of the state in the urbanisation process transformed drastically during this period. On the one hand, the private and local partnerships are intensified instead of national state subsidies, on the other, a considerable part of the investments are directed to the more symbolic places; as such Berlin's Postdamer Platz<sup>4</sup> (Smith, 2002:94).

According to Smith (2002), the second dimension is the influx of global capital, which is also a certain verification of generalization of gentrification. Throughout this tendency, not only the flow of global capital is invested onto the large mega developments in urban centres, but also a significant part of the global capital has got into neighbourhood developments, in an extensive manner (Smith, 2002:94).

The third feature of this phase according to Smith (2002) is the extension of gentrification from the city centre to the outskirts of the city. The expansion of the process is eventuated in a range of way and place. In addition, the most determining characteristic of the recent phase of gentrification is the sectoral generalization. In other words, a new combination of corporate and state powers and practices has been formed in a more ravenous way to gentrify the city (Smith, 2002:95-6).

Fourthly, for Smith (2002) the opposition to gentrification movements have flourished in most of the cities in the worldwide. Homeless, squatting, housing and other anti-gentrification movements and organizations either act together as citywide or move in small groups. In most of the cases, the response to the movements faced with the attacks of police forces and also

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<sup>4</sup> It was a symbol of Berlin until the Second World War, but it was almost completely destroyed during the War. Until Berlin got united, the place remained as a ruin. Then, it changed fundamentally and turned into a 24 hour live shopping, entertainment and culture centre at the heart of Berlin. It turned into a symbol again, but essentially a different one.

have been the targets of the city politicians. Moreover, in each case, the attacks are justified under safety and security concerns (Smith, 2002:95).

In addition to Smith's (2002) four fundamental dimensions, John Lovering (2007) is also illustrating gentrification generalized sociologically, in terms of, the performative turn in urban governance, and the visual transformation of the city and the gaze. According to Lovering (2007), urban regeneration is habitually going along with a performative shift in two main forms: firstly, like a kind of stage management as in the municipality-funded cultural festivals, music performances; secondly, it has been seen through labels or declarations which tend to change the perceptions of the built-environment. It refers to something more delicate than the conscious 'play-acting' organisations, as Lovering (2007:361) shows us with an example; 'Is this another building site for another apartment block? No, it is regeneration!'. What distinguishes the recent urban regeneration from the former ones is that it is not just a physical intervention; it is also a discursive reconstruction. Throughout this framework, Lovering claims that the old usages (low-class housing areas, slum areas, e.g.) of the places are transformed into prestigious places (global coffee shop corporations, branded restaurants, new facades of residences, e.g.), most of which symbolizes a status (Lovering, 2007:361). In this context Lovering claims that:

The regenerated city tends to be a city of and for consumers. But the reconstruction of the city in this way is not merely a necessary local response to the growth of economic competition between places in a 'globalizing' world: it is an active practice through which the notion that all places should be seen as having to compete is lent institutional support and reinforced verbally and non-verbally by a physical environment freighted with signs. Neoliberalism at the urban level is in practice more often about the management of the urban macro economy. Urban regeneration is an arena in which the globalization of political culture and economic policy is actively constructed or colluded in (Lovering, 2007:363)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Also Sharon Zukin would provide a fertile ground to understand while urban regeneration projects are applying, a culture based urban economy is also aimed to be constructed. Zukin (1995, 1998) investigated how the cultural features of cities have turned into a development

In addition, for Lovering (2007), the visual transformation of the city is also related to the recent performative turn. While a performative turn characterizes regenerated areas, regeneration also privileges the visual sphere of the city. According to Lovering, in recent studies, the visual transformation of cities has significantly been neglected. It is significant to expose how political economy of neoliberalism generates urban gaze through urban change, namely regeneration. For that reason, the interest in urban gaze gains importance in our study. For Lovering, urban regeneration is a physical reorganization and rebuilding of the space under the influence of financial influx and changing fashions in architecture, but this is not sufficient for us to reveal the role of urban actors in this process. Hence, we have to excavate the contextual basis of regeneration to understand how it is perceived, conceived and lived. For Lovering (2007:362), regeneration can be conceived, as in Lefebvre's terms, an official strategy to modify the gaze. The redesigning of the spaces by regeneration frequently weakens the 'spontaneous' spaces of lived experience than the spaces of privileged groups (Lovering, 2007).

As a result, the changing meaning of regeneration is no longer involving only housing, it also involves the regeneration of cultural facilities, shopping centres, open spaces, residential areas, and new complexes of recreation, consumption and production as a 'whole regeneration package'. Urban regeneration projects have become the best way for directing intensified capital accumulation through urban space. In this scope, urban

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tool for urban economies. Zukin (1995:24) formulated the basic shifts in the cultural reorganization into two main bases: the shift of local to global images and from public to private institutions. Through cultural potentials of the cities, cultural industries are founding and new consumption spaces are created. In this framework, cities are competing among each other to be the city of culture for attracting tourists. In addition, boutique hotels, shopping malls, art galleries, restaurants, cafes are appealing places for representing the city in the world arena and serving for the tourists taste's and for the housing market. The enlargement of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and cultural industries has accelerated the accumulation of 'symbolic economy' (Zukin, 1995:7) of cities. Zukin (1995) defines culture as an economic base that ascertains a competitive advantage over other cities for fascinating new spaces of elites.

regeneration projects have involved a significant combination of cultural and political strategies (Lovering, 2007). Accordingly, the new phase of gentrification as an urban strategy is also carried out by its new actors to wrap the global financial markets together with large- and medium-sized real estate developers, local merchants, property agents and local governments (Smith 2002).

### **2.3.2.2. New Urban Governance**

As urbanization is much associated with the neoliberal economic political order in the means of the influx of capital and the immense fusion of global capital into local scale, cities have regained an economic significance and leverage (Lovering, 1997). Throughout this process, while the urban management has left the "welfarist" approach behind, a new era of urban economic development that is shaped by focusing on economic regeneration was launched. According to this approach, for Lovering the recent period of urban political economy provides new possibilities and also contradictions. In this scope, the new period of political economy of cities is characterized by the entry of new actors that raises new political agendas, which are concerned with the relation between the local and the global. "This in turn creates a new local convergence of interests between capital, labor and other local constituencies" (Mayer, quoted in Lovering, 1995: 111). In the same period, a new wave of "localisation" has launched and reshaped the former organizations of central government, local government, the corporate sector and the voluntary sectors.

By the mid-1980s, cities were treated as growth engines that became the protection of national prosperity, rather than being the sign of decreasing industrial facilities and socio-economic problem containers. According to Brenner (2004), during the same period, primary cities such as London, Paris, and Amsterdam were turned into strategical nodal control and finance points in Europe. For Brenner, however the recent spatial organization since mid-1990s has been towards metropolitanisation, which can be defined as the collaboration of corporate headquarters, major decision making centres and most high-value added economic activities

among worldwide economic networks. But, it also signifies the rising inequalities at all scales, as such; intra-regional divides between central city and its hinterlands, intra-metropolitan divides between gentrified or affluent areas and poor, disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Brenner, 2004). According to him, nation state has promoted large-scale metropolitan regions instead of cities and localities as the new form of state space. For Brenner, metropolitan institutions are being renewed to launch corresponding programs of regional economic development to balance the priorities of economic regeneration and crisis management. Instead of promoting the economic growth among the whole national territory, the balanced growth at metropolitan and regional scale has been endorsed (Brenner 2004). According to him, the impact of the state on urban redevelopment has increased significantly during the early twentieth one century, in which the politics of national economic development were entwined with assorted state strategies to control urban growth and development. Therefore, the state has used urban governance as a tool to manage and organize the geographies of capital accumulation and everyday social reproduction in its own territories by a new mode of governance.

Following similar theoretical premises, Bob Jessop (2005) has defined a new governance model that has to resolve the contradictions between bureaucratic structures, market and supra-national and sub-national governing styles via the changing role of nation-state, which is not the main actor of national and international politics anymore. According to Jessop, in this process, cities are reimaged and reimagined in terms of political, economic and cultural bases for undertaking the entrepreneurial position and increasing competitiveness. The existing urban governance model is insufficient for the new urban entrepreneurialism and existing structures have to be developed. At this point, Jessop argues that the state has to be located strategically: first; governance has to be a combination of long termed, strategic and from up to bottom and from bottom to up vision, market and performance -based. Secondly, for him, a new organizational approach illustrating market features, effective performance,

evaluation and controlling tools, and also, new mechanisms for developing organizational and among-units coordination is needed. According to Jessop, in this new entrepreneurial governance model, 'third sector' (between state and market) actors and public-private partnerships are supported to create appropriate situations and also state has revolved its responsibilities to the local governments to solve the problems. In this frame, Jessop (2005) argued that the success of the new model strengthens the 'entrepreneurial city' image and competitiveness in the 'global market arena'.

Similarly, Kevin Ward (2002) emphasizes a comprehensive shift in the governance of cities. According to him, this turn reflects on the imagining, representation and the governance of the city from many sides. Ward shows the governing and experiencing the neo-liberalization of the city, according to two main parts: urban Keynesianism and urban neoliberalization. The appearance of the new mode of urban governance has started a new organization way of urban space. For Ward, the definition of the 'public' has changed; public parks, shopping areas, walking lines have been shifted to gated areas and cities became the hosts of large-scale cultural or supporting events. The institutional bodies of the new governance model are composed of local government, regional public-private partnerships, national government, community groups, business elites, voluntary bodies, housing associations, and private-sector service suppliers. In addition, for him, the mode of governance is individual and the significance of new governance model is spatial targeting in order to bound problems and to distinguish between local issues of 'social exclusion' and global issues of 'competitiveness' instead of protecting local interests as a part of wider strategies to address inequalities, poverty and unemployment (Ward, 2002).

On the other hand, Swyngdeouw (2004) emphasizes that these forms of governance remarks a crucial deficit in urban democracy, even in formalized form, in terms of accountability, representation and participation. Swyngdeouw shows that recent urban regeneration projects

in Europe are nontransparent and nonformalized in terms of accountability; diffuse and unregulated in terms of representation; and operate through co-optation and invitation by the key people within the institutions (2004: 209). In this process, while some selected professionals such as architects, planners, economist, engineers etc. can be incorporated into such flexible and complex forms of governance as a technical-organizational actor, non-professional, non-organized and traditional social groups are largely excluded from an access to decision-making process. Thus, contrary to what is presented as a more democratic and bottom-up urban governance stemming from civil society, new forms of urban governance are only dominated by economic, political and technical elites, excluding the majority of society. It is this exclusion, Swyngedeouw argues, that has transformed the city into an elite playing field, with great democratic deficit (2004:227).

While following some Regulationists theorists (Brenner, Ward, Jessop) analysis above, it is 'useful to relate the identified changes in urban governance towards competition-oriented, innovation-oriented policies and new bargaining systems to the larger transition of which they seem to be a part: the crisis of Fordism and the emergence of a new regime of accumulation' (Mayer 1995:241). In this scope, Lovering (1995) and Graham (1995) proposed significant criticisms to their approach. For Lovering, regulation theorists are offering a comparison between Fordism and post-Fordism as a rigid historical transition model. The binary opposition between two modes of accumulation as an inevitable process could not reveal the diversity of real world restructuring (Lovering 1995). For Graham (1995:86) also, 'the abstract political-economic concepts used often lack a key intermediate level whereby their dynamics can be traced in the actions of actors, firms and institutions in specific cities'. In addition he insists that 'the reality of urban economic change involves a more complex interplay between forces of localisation and globalisation, structure and agency, fragmentation and integration, contingent and general forces, and economic and political factors' (Graham 1995:87).

In this framework, the transformation in urban planning needs to be searched (Lovering, 2007a; Fainstein, 1995). In relation to the recent changes in the scale of urban space and the transformation of urban governance, according to Susan Fainstein (1995) the ideal basis of urban planning; comprehensiveness, an orientation to the long-term, protection of the environment, and preservation of the public interest through orderly development and attention to the interests of all social groups were also altered. It is claimed by the theorists that the mentioned goals could not be accomplished, and urban planning promotes business interests instead of public, and the economic advantage has been the real target of city planning. For Fainstein, while these criticisms are still a contradictory issue among urban planning theorists, the recent transformation in urban planning approach through neoliberal political economy is convincing. In this process, Fainstein and Lovering (2007a) emphasize that the main goal of the planning has transformed from physical improvement to economic development. Urban problems are, then, defined by competitiveness, fiscal solvency, and redevelopment instead of poverty and inner city decline. As a result, instead of compensating social and spatial inequalities, contemporary urban planning approach has led to the process of social exclusion (Fainstein, 1995; Lovering, 2007a, 2007b).

In this context, neoliberalism penetrated into social relations in the city by developing a new period in the urban planning technique and new urban politics (Lovering, 2007b; Smith, 2002). According to Smith and Lovering, the urban planning paradigm that assumes urban space as being developed for common interest from a macro perspective is replaced by the project-making approaches focusing on particular urban spaces in an exclusive manner. In this perspective, the traditional urban planning is left behind and a flexible and project-based planning model is admitted. According to them, the planning practice is prepared by the technique of strategic planning which encourages micro-projects.

Consequently, the analysis of the former theorists (Brenner, 2004; Jessop, 2005; Ward, 2003) on urban Keynesianism and urban neoliberalism tends

to draw a picture of the relation between global capitalism and urbanism. But what Neil Smith shows us by the emergence of cities as new social, economic and political space of new globalism differs from the schematic investigation of the formers by constructing the framework of a new urbanism that focuses on fundamental urban regeneration projects through a particular form of urban governance. On the other hand, the identifications of Lovering and Fainstein on recent urban planning practices through the effects of neoliberalism showed us the new alterations of urban planning, in other words the new forms of the domination of abstract space on the social space.

### **2.3.2.3. The Rise of Social Exclusion**

As it is shown in the previous part of the study, the main strategy of new urbanism and its related politics depend on exclusion of particular social classes in the city. In this scope, it is important to define the aspects of social exclusion. There is a huge literature on social exclusion. In this frame, we will utilize from the approach of Gough et al. (2006) to reveal the patterns of social exclusion in our study. The main argument in the literature is the refraction point between urban poverty and social exclusion. The term, *social exclusion*, firstly used by European Union (EU), which outlines the poverty problem through a particular way. The appearance of a new underclass is differentiated from the former ones through its detachment from normal social life due to their poverty. The shift from poverty to social exclusion leads on the one hand; a new conceptualisation of poverty and on the other makes the problem more complex. Thus, it is unveiled by the concept that it is not just being lack of money, 'potentially, a whole set of qualitative problems: poor housing, ill health, educational failure, commission of crime or being its victim, use of narcotics, failure to participate in conventional politics, and so on' (Gough et al., 2006). It is claimed that it is not only the problem of redistribution of income; it is the problem of social isolation or social deviancy.

In this framework, it is important to define particular aspects of deprivation to reveal the concept of 'social exclusion' more clearly. Firstly, *absolute poverty* indicates to insufficient resources for physiological reproduction: food, shelter, a healthy physical environment, and care of the body. Secondly, *relative poverty* is used for being income less according to the proportion of national average. It compares the living standards of people in the same nation state. Thirdly, in the last years, the concept of *overall poverty* and the notion of *hybrid poverty* points that 'poverty has come to be seen as relative to *the demands society makes on the individual*'. The main difference of the concepts is the focus on concrete patterns of consumption of the poor, rather than just their incomes. For example, 'where items such as housing consume a high proportion of income; conversely, some poor groups may be kept out of poverty because they live in cheap public housing' (Gough et al., 2006: 47). Moreover, the concept of overall poverty regards people's ability to participate in normal social interactions- social, political, cultural and economic life.

According to Gough et al. (2006), all the concepts reviewed above have connection with different political strategies (Table 3) and have to be handled by focusing on: '*how they create low income and inadequate consumption; how they affect particular experiences of deprivation; how lack of consumption items affects social participation; how oppressive social relations are themselves a part of deprivation; and how aspects of poverty therefore extend into the mainstream*'.

**Table 3.** *Different concepts of deprivation*

<b>Concept of deprivation</b>	<b>Measure</b>	<b>Politically-significant effects</b>	<b>Possible policies</b>
<i>Absolute poverty</i>	Income so low as to substantially harm physiology	High mortality, ill health, inability to work	Policies to increase income, subsidised basic resources – via state or change in economic structure
<i>Relative poverty</i>	Income distribution; ratios of incomes	Social inequality and injustice, disrespect	Income redistribution – via state or change in economic structure
<i>Hybrid or overall poverty; social exclusion 1</i>	Low income; lack of particular resources	Material deprivation, as above; constraints on social and economic participation	Policies to increase income, as above; subsidised basic resources; welfare services
<i>Social exclusion 2</i>	Social oppressions: gender, racism, age discrimination, etc.	For oppressed groups: constraints on social participation; material deprivation	Combating discrimination; or combating roots of social oppression
<i>Social exclusion 3</i>	Lack of cultural and social capital	Material deprivation; constraints on social, economic and political participation- these may cause low income	Improving social, community and political participation of the poor
<i>Deprivation constructed by the whole society</i>	Sharp exploitation; social oppression; disempowerment; alienation	As above	Increasing the power of the poor, changing the fundamental social relations of the society

Source: Gough et al., 2006: 50

In this perspective, it is needed to unveil the spatial exclusion problem of poor neighbourhoods, which is an eviction process by higher-rent uses. Mostly 'poor neighbourhoods on the central business district fringe or around large employers such as hospitals and universities are displaced by commercial uses; on a larger scale, inner city neighbourhoods are

gentrified'. In this case, frequently, state promotes the process by defining new improvement areas, giving abatement credits for renovations and using obligatory purchase to transfer the area to the new users. Therefore, poor people have been forced to move elsewhere, demolishing community networks (Gough et al., 2006: 117).

#### **2.4. Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter, we tried to frame the conceptual and theoretical basis of our research. But, first of all a conceptual framework for analysing 'urban space', which is the basis of this research, is displayed. In this sense, theoretical insights of Henri Lefebvre (1991) on social production of urban space have been used to analyse the urban. He mainly conceptualises the production of urban space through a dialectical relation between social and spatial instead of interaction of two different facts. Lefebvre's work on the social production of urban space provides also a fertile ground for revealing the relation between urban planning process and the dwellers in the contemporary capitalist era via his trial schema: *representations of space* as the organisation of urban space dominated by authorities and *spaces of representation* as the lived space of social relations, and *spatial practice* as the result of dialectical relation between the former ones.

Secondly, in this chapter of the study, we tried to illustrate the dynamics and strategies of contemporary capitalist urbanisation through the approach of Regulation School, composed of neoMarxist theorists. The main basis of the school depends on political economy analysis of urban change, which we will pursue through our research. Mainly, the relation between neoliberalism and the city points out a new urbanism period that Neil Smith (2002) opened a new conceptual framework. I will utilize from his main proposal on new urbanism, which is composed of two fundamental bases: *urban regeneration* as the urban strategy of the period and *new urban governance*. In this framework of analysis, I also tried to define the relation between the spatial; namely so-called new urbanism and urban social classes through an exclusion process in the city.

While the defined conceptual framework is theorised in the means of capitalist countries through an 'Western' literature, our case study area, the city of Istanbul, is defined both by the common dynamics of capitalist countries, but also due to its unique capitalism as being a city of lately-capitalist country. In the light of this conceptual framework, the following chapter will provide a periodisation of urbanisation history of Istanbul between 1950 and 2000. The fourth chapter of the study will also reveal the main urbanisation dynamics and the peculiar forms and relations under the influence of global capitalism of post-2000. Consequently, I will try to draw a picture of socio-spatial patterns of the city of Istanbul among three main urbanisation periods.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **URBANISATION PROCESS OF ISTANBUL: 1950-2000**

#### **3.1. Introduction: A General Overview**

In this research, urban space is not only conceptualised as built environment, as we mentioned in the former chapter of the study, simultaneously conceptualised as it is produced socially. In other words, the relation between society and space is grasped dialectically. So, the interventions to the urban space are not only to the space, but also to the social relations of the space. Accordingly, it would not be wrong to claim that urban planning studies have a meaning more than 'spatial designation'. In this framework, we will try to analyse the current intervention processes of recent urban planning studies in Istanbul, socio-spatially. Consequently, the main aim of this research is to draw the socio-spatial patterns of the city of Istanbul through recent social transformations in the city of Istanbul. But before analysing the recent urbanisation process in Istanbul, it would be useful to make a historical analysis of its urbanisation process.

#### **3.2. A Historical Overview of The Urbanisation Process of Istanbul**

Most of the Turkish urban theorists (Tekeli, 1994, 1999; Keyder, 2000; Şengül, 2001, 2003) have proposed and used certain historical periods to analyse the urbanisation process of Turkey starting from the integration of Ottoman Empire to the world capitalism in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to today. For example, Şengül and Tekeli identify the urbanisation period of Turkey in three main periods in relation to its political-economic context: 1923-50; 1950-80 and, 1980 and onwards. In both of the studies, three major cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, are taken as the leading 'figures' of Turkish urbanization process. According to these studies, it is possible to pursue the main patterns of Turkish urbanisation via investigating its major cities. Through this line, we will try to illustrate the

urbanisation of Istanbul by utilising the so-called periodisation of Şengül and Tekeli, in this study. What we aim in this chapter is then to draw the periods of urbanisation process in Istanbul through the major changes in the socio-spatial patterns of the city.

It is known that for centuries Istanbul is the leading city in Anatolian geography. However, since the foundation of Turkish Republic, Istanbul has lost its prestige against the city of Ankara to some extent. Ankara was defined as the capital city of Turkey and important parts of the state were directed to its planned urbanisation process. However, Istanbul started to regain its prestige in the beginning of 1950s<sup>6</sup> (Tapan, 1999). Therefore, to illustrate the changing socio-spatial patterns of the city, we will start to examine the period since 1950s, which carries indisputable features of the urbanisation process of Istanbul in relation to the starting of adoption of Turkey to the liberal economic development model (Şenyapılı, 2004a). In this framework we will separate the urbanisation process in Istanbul into three main periods, which includes essential differences in terms of socio-economic, administrative-legal and spatial aspects:

1. 1950-80 Period: The rapid urbanisation process
2. 1980-2000 Period: Reflections of social segregation
3. post-2000 Period: The urbanisation of social exclusion

In this chapter of the study, we will examine the first two periods. We will investigate the post-2000 as a discrete chapter in which we will explore the main arguments of the thesis. Since it is claimed that the period after 2000 indicates a new urbanisation, which splits from the former ones drastically, and needs to be searched through an in-depth research.

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<sup>6</sup> During the foundation of Turkish Republic, all the traces of Ottoman Empire are intended to be wiped away that Ankara has been chosen as the new capital city of the Republic instead of the old capital city of the Empire. So, Ankara was constructed through the new symbolic images of the Republic. But, when Adnan Menderes was elected as the prime minister in 1950, an essential concern was directed to the city of Istanbul due to political reasons. Istanbul has started to re-built to construct a new city image through radical redevelopment projects that will be called as 'Menderes Redevelopment' process in the following years (Meté Tapan; Şengül, 2001, 2003; Tekeli, 2001).

### **3.3. 1950-80 Period: The Rapid Urbanisation Process**

#### **3.3.1. The Socio-Economic Context of the Period**

After the Second World War, a new period has emerged in Turkey in the means of political, economic and spatial dynamics. Multi-party system and liberal economic development model has started by giving a priority to rapid industrialisation and urbanisation in 1950s (Şenyapılı, 2004a). In the beginning of this period, a huge flow of migration to the major cities, an accelerated rise in population, change in accumulation strategies and, implementation of growth strategies has launched. Liberal economy model, modernisation in agriculture and foreign aids (e.g. Marshall aids) has been implemented as economic growth strategies (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Şengül, 2003; Tapan, 1999; Tekeli, 2001).

It is claimed that one of the main pushing factors of severe changes during this period were the Marshall aids. Marshall aids mainly affected and changed labour-intensive agriculture sector of Turkey and turned it into mechanic-based agriculture. The main result of this transition was the huge migration flow, which reached a peak between 1950 and 1960, from rural areas to the major cities of Turkey due to the decrease of rural labour force in the agriculture sector (Şenyapılı, 2004b). Especially the city of Istanbul mainly appeared as the main destination to which such flows were oriented. As migrants of this period were huge<sup>7</sup> in number and stock housing of major cities were inadequate, a new type of housing has emerged: gecekondu<sup>8</sup> settlements (Şenyapılı, 2004a). Gecekondu areas were to be on the agenda of the city of Istanbul from 1950s to today through its changing structure and social dynamics.

In the 1960s, the planned economy period of Turkey started. In the early 1960s in relation with the planned economy strategies, import substitution

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<sup>7</sup> "The share of urban population in the total, which was 25.1% in 1950, rose up to 31.9% in 1960" (Şenyapılı, 2004a)

<sup>8</sup> The special term in Turkish, which means "built overnight" used for illegally built squatter or uncontrolled settlements.

model has been implemented by extending the domestic market (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). Import substitution was institutionalised in the beginning of the 1960s by constructing its legal framework and establishing state-led institutions. For this reason, State Planning Organization (SPO) was established and Ministry of Reconstruction was strengthened.

### **3.3.2. The Main Dynamics of Urbanisation Process**

We will try to identify the dynamics of urbanisation process between 1950 and 1980 through three main dimensions: the constructing of new planning institutions, urban policies and legal arrangements and, urban planning approach. Since the mid-1950s, the city of Istanbul begun to expand rapidly that it is needed to grasp the city through a wider scale. For this reason, to control and organize the city, the first wide-scale planning agency, Marmara Regional Planning Organization, was established in Istanbul in 1960 to deem the city's future in an extensive context. And it has prepared a regional plan for Istanbul (Tekeli, 1991a; Keleş and Danielson, 1985). According to Keleş and Danielson (1985), the plan was highlighting Istanbul's importance to the national economy, the need to attract more industry to Marmara and recommended higher-density development in order to provide basic services and infrastructure more economically. Moreover, like the Marmara Regional Planning Organisation, a new planning agency, called Istanbul Master Plan Bureau was established as a unit of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1966 to grasp the city through an area wide scope. In this period, planning was considered as a technical process and, the primary focus of the metropolitan bureau was research and data collection (Keleş and Danielson, 1985).

However, the legal framework of the existing urbanisation process was inadequate. When gecekondu areas and apartments were on the rise, the state was showing a contradictory attitude for regulating the urbanisation dynamics (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). While institutionalising the planning process, the state also legalized some spontaneous solutions to emergent

urban problems (Tekeli, 2001) by implementing new laws on build-and-sell system and gecekondus. First, the Law of Condominium Ownership in 1965, which gave a way to the housing producers to transform non-authorized settlements to the authorized via build-and-sell and low density housing stock of the inner city into high density apartment settlements through restructuring (Sonuç Raporu, 2005). After the implementation of this law the diversity among housing ownership has risen (Habitat II Ulusal Raporu, 1996). Secondly, with the enactment of Gecekondu Law of 1966, gecekondus were legalized and served to the housing market (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). Gecekondu dwellers were then accepted as 'vote reservoir' that they played the role of pendulum between being demolished or remitted by the government (Şenyapılı, 1998).

### **3.3.3. Socio-Spatial Patterns of Istanbul Between 1950-80**

The rapid growth of urban industrial and service sectors needed to a rising amount of labour power (Şenyapılı, 2004a). As emerging the intensive space of industrialisation investments (Table 4), the city of Istanbul, was faced with the first huge flow of migration during the early 1950s. But the housing stock of the city was inadequate for the new comers. In addition, while a significant proportion of sources were directed to industrial development, the private and public investment flow on built environment was consciously ignored (Şengül, 2003).

The vital outcome of this *laissez faire* approach to urban space (Geniş, 2007) was the expansion of gecekondus over the city in a very short period of time<sup>9</sup> (Table 5) and transformation of traditional urban lands into apartments (Kurtuluş, 2003). The two common housing types of the period led to the emergence of a dualistic structure in the socio-spatial patterns of the city (Geniş, 2007).

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<sup>9</sup> Whereas the number of gecekondus was 8500 in 1951 in Istanbul, it rose up to 26.000 in just a district of Istanbul, Zeytinburnu in 1957 (Nazım Plan, 1995). The average annual urban population increase was 5.57 in 1950-55 (Şenyapılı, 2004).

Gecekondu settlements, which were expanding towards the peripheries that are near different scaled industrial settlements, provide one side of these dual structure (Map 1: Tümertekin cited in Uzun, 2001:79). They were built illegally mostly on often-occupied public land by the urban poor and the newcomer migrants. For Şenyapılı (2004a) gecekondu areas have varied each phase of the urbanisation process, producing different socio-spatial forms and its perception by the society.

**Table 4.** *The proportion of industry settlements of Istanbul in industry settlements of Turkey (Both large and small scale industries)*

	<b>1950</b>		
	Turkey	Istanbul	%
The number of enterprises	82.331	16.098	19,5
Value created	938.196.245	280.102.509	29,8
	<b>1964</b> (only big businesses)		
The number of enterprises	3.012	1.293	42,9
Value created	6.635.833.000	2.556.437.000	38,5

Source: Tümertekin, 1997:42

In accordance with this classification, Erman (2004) provides different representations of gecekondu people since 1950s up to now. Erman identified representation of gecekondu people between 1950 and 1960 as the "**rural Other**", which also gives us the division between 'urban' families and 'gecekondu' families through creating the 'Other'. In this conceptualisation, gecekondu families were always compared with urban families through their habits, such as: family structure, the number of children, hygiene and health perceptions, and the ways of participation to social life of city-going to cinema, theatre, reading-.

Coming to 1970s, the representation of 'gecekondu' has changed and begun to be conceived as not the source of problems in the city, but the

victim of conditions. It is claimed that *gecekondu* wanted to be a part of city life and integrate with urban relations but inadequate policies of the state was an obstacle for them. The representation of *gecekondu* is thus conceptualised as "**exploited/disadvantaged Other**" (Erman, 2004).

**Table 5.** *The growth of gecekondu and gecekondu population*

Year	Total urban population	Gecekondu population	Gecekondu population as percentage of total urban population	Total urban housing units	Number of gecekondu	Number of gecekondu as percentage of total urban housing units
1955	5,324,397	250,000	4.69	1,050,000	50,000	4.76
1960	7,307,816	1,200,000	16.42	1,440,000	240,000	16.67
1965	9,395,159	2,150,000	22.88	1,880,000	430,000	22.87
1967	10,437,233	2,250,000	21.56	2,100,000	450,000	21.43
1970	12,734,761	3,000,000	23.55	2,800,000	600,000	21.43
1980	20,330,065	4,750,000	23.36	4,500,000	950,000	21.11

Source: Keleş and Payne, 1984, 81 cited in Şengül, 2003

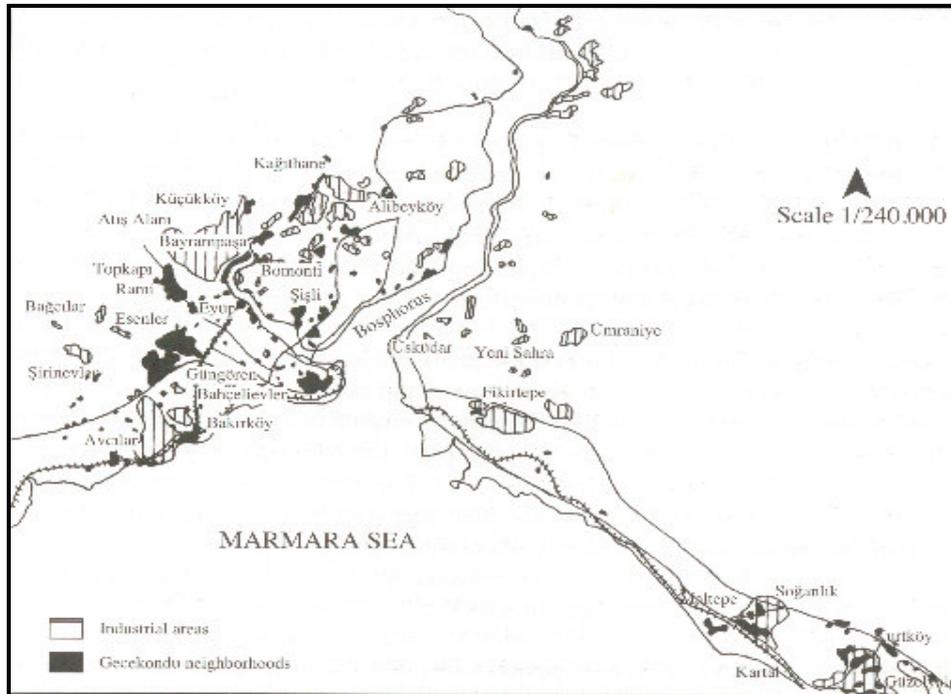
On the other hand, the housing mass in the inner parts of the city constituted the second side of the picture (Uzun, 2001). The significant spatial formation of 1960s was the apartmentalisation on the legal areas (Nazım Plan 1995). The apartments were settled by build-and-sell system in the central parts of the city on the legal basis. As a result the two main housing types covered the city: gecekondu areas of the lower classes and apartments of middle classes.

Gecekondu and apartments, revealed not only a differentiation in the urban space, but also a dualist structure among class and culture and symbolic hierarchies (Uzun, 2001; Öncü, 2005). The duality between two housing types was the main characteristics of socio-spatial patterns of the city:

Living in an apartment in the central parts of the city was emblematic of a middle class status, a modern and urban lifestyle, whereas living in a gecekondu was deemed as the symbol of a peasant life, backwardness and a lower-class disposition. (Ayata, 1988; Öncü, 1997 cited in Geniş, 2007:775)

While there was segregation between the two housing styles, the border of segregation among urban space was drawn by spatiality, ownership, existence of legality and infrastructure, instead of class divisions (Kurtuluş, 2003).

**Map 1:** *Distribution of industrial areas and gecekondu areas in Istanbul, the 1960s*



Source: Modified from Tümertekin, 1997, cited in Uzun (2001:79).

In this period, the gap created by the inadequate state sources for urbanization is compensated with the distribution of urban rent among social classes. According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002), despite the duality between two major housing types, the urbanization of this period is defined as *in harmony within society, soft and progressive*. Similarly Işık and Güvenç (1996) identify this urbanisation period in Istanbul as *softly segregated*. Therefore, it can be claimed that the period between 1950 and

1980 was the urban integration process of different social classes in Istanbul. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) argue that such integration through the distribution of urban rent proceeded with two ways. On the one hand, the new comers and poor of the city have gotten cheap and easy housing through gecekondü areas, on the other, small capital owners have provided apartments by build-and-sell system for middle class.

### **3.4. 1980-2000 Period: Reflections Of Social Segregation**

#### **3.4.1. The socio-economic context of the period**

In the beginning of 1980s a particular change from import substitution industrialisation to an export promotion strategy in economic policies is observed, which paves the way for neoliberalism (Gülalp, 1993). Such change has been associated with liberalization of trade and enhanced capital mobility through the pressures of international institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Güler, 2003). In this period, the city of Istanbul has begun to appear as the prominent place to which newly emerging discourses as well as some policies that are compatible with neoliberalism are specifically directed (Keyder, 2000; Öktem, 2005).

Along with the above developments there has appeared some major changes in terms of the relations of social classes and the city. As we mentioned in the former part of the study, until the 1980s, small capital owners were interested in the urban rent. However, since the mid 1980s, big capital has focused on urban space. Therefore, controlling urban space has begun to be shifted from the small capital owners to big construction companies. In this scope, the city has welcomed mass housing projects, skyscrapers, infrastructure projects, and international trade centres (Kurtuluş, 2007; Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). It is because of such unconventional spatial attempts that Tekeli (1991c) portrays the post-1980s for the city as "*the transition from the city of small capital to that of big capital*".

### **3.4.2. The Main Dynamics of Urbanisation Process**

The 1980s pointed to a prominent transformation in urbanisation process in an extensive perspective and housing markets in particular in the means of state's position (Tekeli, 1991; Keleş, 1990). Whereas the state played a recessive role in the interference process to urban land markets, since 1980s its participation in real estate markets has risen and its mode of regulation changed significantly. Such a fundamental change is manifested on urbanisation process in three main ways: the restructuring of local administrative institutions, urban policies and legal arrangements and, urban planning approach.

There were two main institutional changes in relation to new legal arrangements in this period: the restructuring of Municipalities and the foundation of Mass Housing Fund (MHF) (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007; Kocabaş, 2007). Firstly, municipalities are transformed to key actors by two main legal arrangements: The decentralization law for the administration of the Municipalities of Large Cities (Law Number 3030) and Development Legislation (number 3194), which strengthened the financial structure of the metropolitan municipalities and, reinforced and enhanced the authority from central to local governments (Tekeli, 1991a). In this way, 'local governments became relatively independent, especially with respect to urban development' (Uzun, 1991:84). In addition to the enlargement of financial resources provided by the central government to the municipalities, Greater Istanbul Municipality has started to associate with international institutions, such as World Bank, in respect of financial support directly (Tekeli, 1991a) to invest in mega projects in Istanbul (Uzun, 1991). Thus, local governments played a more entrepreneurial model while considering the strategies of the previous period (Şengül, 2003).

Second major transformation in the urbanization process was the foundation of Mass Housing Fund (MHF) under the Mass Housing

Administration (MHA) (Law Number 2985). The aim of MHF was 'to increase and regularise the flow of finance to the housing sector and particularly to large housing developments catering to middle- and upper-income groups' (Geniş, 2007:778). The main implementations of MHF were to provide subsidised credits to local governments and cooperatives to facilitate the entry of the big scale capital into the housing sector. On this account, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) identified especially the second half of the period as '*the glut of social housing and cooperative*'.

The three main legal arrangements of the urban transformation process between 1980 and 2000, the law of 3030, the law of 3194 and, the law of 2985, were identified above. But, also a series of amnesty laws was implemented in this period. Five amnesty laws were implemented to produce a solution for the unauthorised housing problem between 1983 and 1988 (Şenyapılı, 1998). According to these laws, gecekondu became legal and by the improvement plans, the unauthorized areas turned into legal and authorized housing stock areas (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). Tekeli (2001) raises what distinguishes the recent amnesty laws from the former ones is that the previous ones were just legalizing gecekondu in a particular space and time, but the latter both legalize the gecekondu and give new building rights through directing the share of urban rent.

In addition to the law arrangements in national level, local governments of the period have made international contracts in the means of urbanisation process of Istanbul. One of them was the approved 'aims and principles' within the context of Turkey's National Report and Action Plan developed during the Habitat II in Istanbul in 1996 (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). In this scope, a series of concepts as part of the human-focused and sustainable development principles were engaged into the urbanisation process of the city (Habitat II Report). The major targeted objectives of urban policies for Istanbul defined as 'democratic, efficient and liveable world city', to become a locus of international capital on the path to gain 'world city' status. In addition, it is expected to turn Istanbul into a node of communication and transportation networks of the metropol among Europe, Balcans, Middle East and Blacksea Basin (IULA-EMME, 1993).

Furthermore, Mass Housing Administration (MHA) and International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) prepared reports in the extent of 'Development of Local Government Programme' organization. According to the fifth of the report series, called 'Future's Istanbul', the main aim is to make the city of Istanbul a World City (IULA-EMME, 1993). The emphasis on becoming a world city is clearly seen in the report of MHA and IULA and in the report of Habitat II Urban Summit in so far as the reasons for this conceptualization is openly indicated:

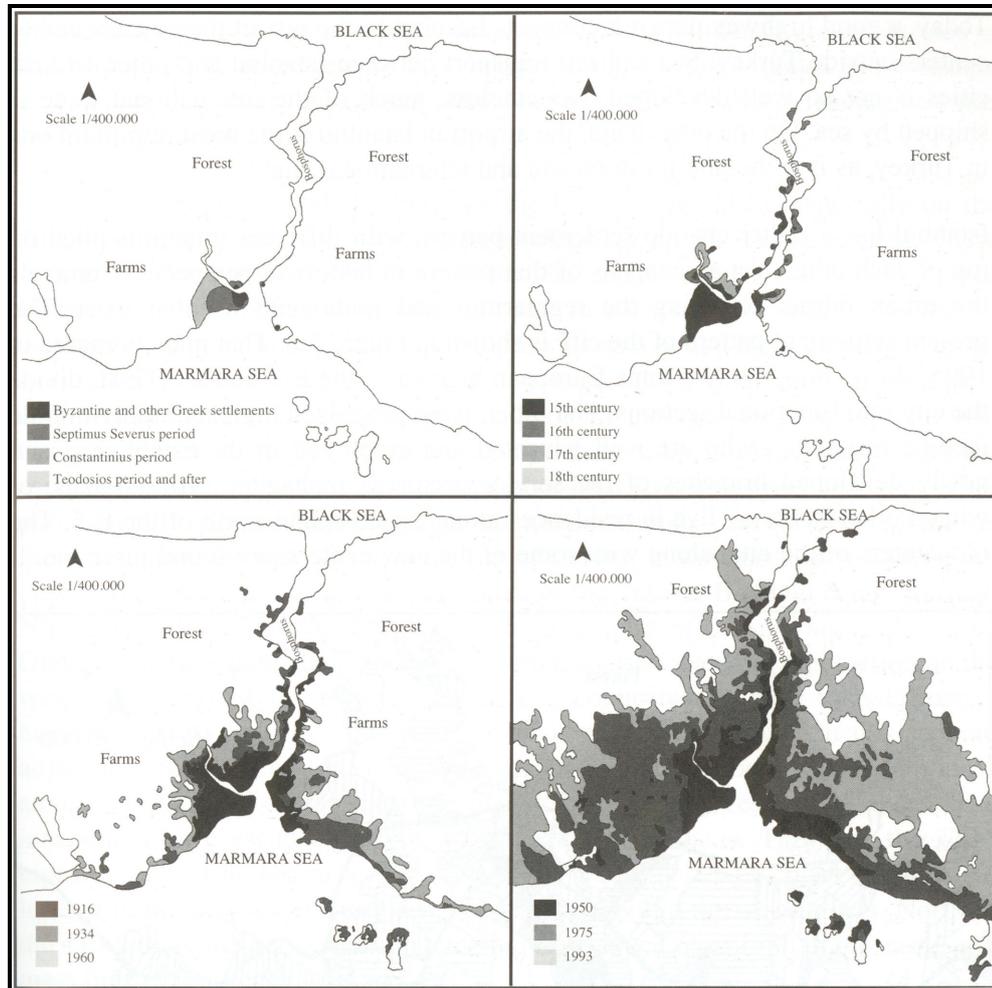
In the recent years, the concept of megacity in the discourse of Istanbul has been quickly disposed and replaced by the concept of world city. In spite of all the problems, this can be taken as an indication of Istanbul is seen as an opportunity within the society. *Therefore, the term world city, which carries a claim with it and a programme about the future, has been appropriate rather than a complaint term* (Habitat II Ulusal Raporu, 1996: 24, Ercan, 1996:82)<sup>10</sup>.

In this period there were also two main Master Plans, which were prepared for developing the city of Istanbul: 1980 Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan and 1995 Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan (Kocabaş, 2007). But starting from the 1980s, planning was under the influence of political priorities of the local governments, gradually. Even if 1980 Master Plan was improved, it was not implemented accurately (Uzun, 1991). It is claimed that the main politics of the 1995 Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan was illustrating the promotion of recent neoliberal urban politics through its proposed policies: conserving historical urban pattern, constructing congress and culture centres, sports complexes, trade and services in an international scale, creating international congress, culture, art and conference centres, opening museums and archive centres, developing tourism sector, decentralizing industry, rehabilitate communication and transportation systems and developing the central business district (1995 Plan Report).

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<sup>10</sup> Ercan's emphasis.

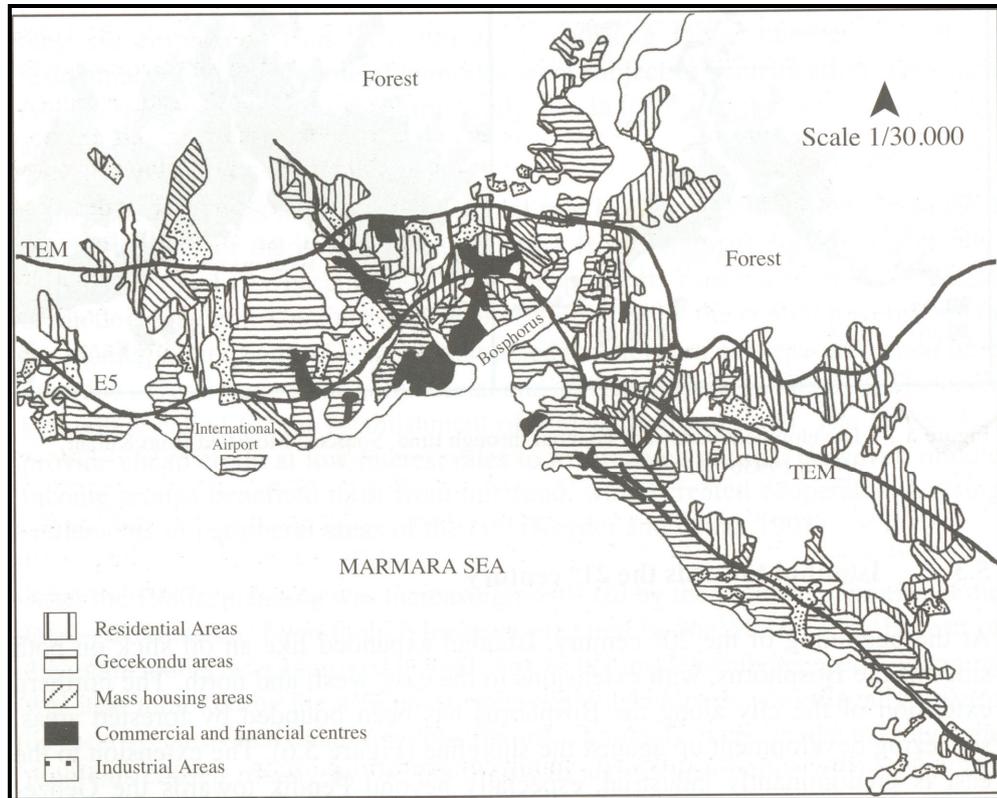
**Map 2: Development pattern of Istanbul through time**



Sources: Modified from Kuban, 1193a, 1993b cited in Uzun, 2001.

The main planning strategy of the period was depended on guiding urban development and macro form of the city and decentralizing urban development (Kocabaş, 2007). The macro form of the city was also carrying appropriate feature for decentralization, in which was developing through articulating parts of urban areas "entirely" instead of one by one buildings (Map 2) (Tekeli 1991c, 2001). In addition, there were urban regeneration implementations via improvement plans, urban renewal, rehabilitation and, conservation projects (Sonuç Raporu, 2005).

**Map 3: Istanbul in the 1995**



*Source:* Modified from Yenen, et al., 2000 cited in Uzun, 2001.

Consequently, there was a key difference in the urban planning process of the former period and 1980s to 2000s. Before 1980s, the city of Istanbul was developed like adding one circle to another through the pushing factor of small capital owners. But, after 1980s, the development of the city has transformed into a leaping development model in which large pieces of urban land transformed through the big scale capital, both in the need of it and preparing opportunities for it (Map 3) (Tekeli 1991c, 2001; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). In Map 3, it is also shown the separation of the city into functional sections through the two trans-European highways, the E-5 and the TEM. Along the coastline south of the E-5 high and upper-middle income residents live. On the contrary, gecekondu neighbourhoods and industry are not placed in this section (Uzun, 2001).

### **3.4.3. Socio-spatial patterns of Istanbul between 1980-2000**

The main dynamics of the urbanisation process since 1980s are the fragmentation and variety in the socio-spatial patterns of the city. The major consequence of this period has been social and spatial segregation in the city of Istanbul (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). According to Geniş (2007: 775), urban policies since 1980s have 'not only changed Istanbul's economic and urban structure but also led to growing socio-economic inequalities and concentration of wealth among high-income groups'.

In this scope, it is claimed that class distinctions begun to be identified more severe than the former period (Kurtuluş, 2003). The sharing of urban rent and the distribution of income among social classes in Istanbul has included sharp inequalities due to the implementation of neoliberal policies (Kurtuluş, 2003; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002)<sup>11</sup>. The re-organisation of deepened social inequality among urban space created spatially segregated and disintegrated metropolitan macro form. Uzun (1991:87) defines it as follows:

The settlement pattern of Istanbul may seem rather chaotic at first glance. Yet its socio-spatial structure has an inner logic of its own. ..., certain groups live next to each other, while others do not. This segregation in abstract social space is reflected in the location of these groups in physical urban space.

According to Kurtuluş (2003), the new affluent class, new middle classes and new urban poor of the city of Istanbul has begun to diverge and separate each other in terms of class distinction and spatiality. In this scope, both the housing market and the residential landscape have endured a remarkable spatial change, which leads to recomposition of socio-spatial patterns of the city (Geniş, 2007). Kurtuluş (2003) classifies it within four main class distinctions: urban poor who lives in the outskirts of

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<sup>11</sup> For Sonmez (2000) the richest 20 percent of families received 64 percent of the city of Istanbul's total income in 2000 (Geniş, 2007).

the city (*varoş*<sup>12</sup> settlements), new affluent who lives in enclaves, middle and upper-middle classes who live in hygienic sub-cities and luxury housing estates and, intellectuals who live in gentrified neighbourhoods.

Firstly, it would be useful to analyse the urban poor who lives in the outskirts of the city. In this scope, there are increased numbers of researches on *gecekondu* areas and “*gecekondu*” (*gecekondu* people) after 1980s related to the changing dynamics of urban poor, such as the researches of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) on Sultanbeyli District and the research of Erder (1996) on Ümraniye. Both of the studies have an importance in the means of firstly; revealing the sociological, economical and political relations through the process of migrants for being a part of the city and secondly; the analysis on whether all migrants necessarily representative of the urban poor or not<sup>13</sup>.

In the first instance, it is important to illustrate the changes among the *gecekondu* areas and its dwellers. When coming to 1980s as Şenyapılı (2004a) identifies it as the third refraction period, through the rapid urbanisation process of the former period, most of the *gecekondu* areas were placed in the city. The *gecekondu* areas stock became a crucial source of rent and was started to be one of the main targets of transformation projects of the city. Thus, the real-estate value of the *gecekondus* rose. The owners, who want to get the rising value of their *gecekondus*, either construct a new one and sell or hire it, or construct an unauthorized apartment instead of the existing *gecekondu*. For Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002), this process revealed that the meaning of *gecekondu* started to loose its basis. The period between 1950 and 1980, when the constructor and the owner of the *gecekondu* was the same and it was a shelter for the new comers and poor in the means of right to housing, was left over. And during the effects of 1980’s socio-political and economic dynamics, *gecekondu* areas perceived as the tools of surviving in the city and the expropriation of the urban rent among classes (Işık and

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<sup>12</sup> *Varoş* used to describe the changing representation of *gecekondu* people in the late 1990s and 2000s. For more information; see Tahire Erman (2004)

<sup>13</sup> For more information see: Erder (1996); Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002)

Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). Most of the gecekondu areas started to turn into middle class and upper-middle class residential areas by large-scale developers (Uzun, 1991). The changing mean of the gecekondu after 1980s grounded on the amnesty laws and improvement plans. But, neither amnesty laws nor improvement plans paved the way of equal distribution of urban rent. On the contrary, they strengthened the recently sharpened segregation and fragmentation among classes. According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) the dynamics behind 'the fragmentation' carried out fundamental transformations both in the relations among urban poor and between the rest of society and urban poor.

Erman (2004) identifies the representations of gecekondu in this period through three main classifications: the '**diversified Others in terms of ethnicity, religious sect and gender**', the '**undeserving rich Other**' versus the '**urban poor Other**' (in the 1980s and 1990s), and the '**threatening Other/varoşlu**' vs. the '**gecekondu people as agents**' (in the late 1990s and 2000s). Initially, when coming to mid-1980s and 1990s, homogenised structure of gecekondu people turned into a heterogeneous group in the means of ethnicity, religious sect, and gender. In addition, this transformation is also affected by the second and third waves of migration. The diversification among gecekondu people also strengthen the emphasis on being the 'disadvantageous Other' as the 'Islamist' or 'radical leftist/terrorist' areas of the city. Therefore certain districts, such as; Sultanbeyli as the Islamist and Küçük Armutlu as the radical leftist gecekondu areas, were labelled especially through media (Erman, 2004).

While gecekondu people were conceptualised as the vulnerable and poor people of the city, when gecekondu areas are subjected to be the considerable part of rent share, they started to be represented as 'undeserving rich' and 'spoiler' (Erman, 2004). But, the crucial turning point in this process was the changing position of gecekondu, which cannot be considered as homogenous. In this period, gecekondu areas did not mean only the settlements of rural migrants; they were also the space of urban poor. In addition, the citizenry (hemşehrilik) ties of the former

years both started to unravel and also plays an exclusionary role among new migrants (Erder, 1995). In this way, people of *gecekondu* can be classified as the 'undeserving rich Other' versus the 'urban poor Other' in 1980s and 1990s (Erman, 2004).

Lastly, in addition to the voluntary migration process of last 40 years, which was depended on economic reasons, from rural to urban areas, a new migration chain was started in relation to political reasons: *forced migration*<sup>14</sup>. In the 1990s, due to the rising military operations to villages in the east and south eastern regions of Turkey in relation with the armed conflict in the eastern regions of Turkey started a new era in that regions. On the one hand, the villagers could not continue farming and livestock, in other words it halt their means of living, and on the other, they could not feel secure in their living areas anymore (Report on Force Migration from East and South East Region, 1999). According to Erder (1997), results of forced and voluntary migration differ in many ways. Firstly, the forced migrants lost their chance to go back where they come at least for a while, that they are not flexible as the voluntary ones. Secondly, it is not easy to solve the need of shelter and job through their relations with the early comer relatives or citizens (*hemşehri*). Therefore, the forced migration wave would affect both the new comers and the former ones, and city life severely and tense, that loaded with problems.

Thereby, when coming to late 1990s and 2000s, the meaning of *gecekondu* corroded mainly that a new term has proposed instead of *gecekondu*: *varoş*. It is used especially in media extensively. According to Erman (2004), the concept of *varoşlu*<sup>15</sup> is related to 'violence', 'threat for the city dwellers, social organization' and 'illegal relations'. In parallel to this process, the 'urban elites' criticize culture of *varoş* and blame them to being disrupt the city life. While, urban elite's approach is excluding 'varoşlu' from city life, they also legitimise their protected, hygienic, enclaved lives, which reduces their contact and relation with the urban

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<sup>14</sup> For further information and researches on forced migration, see: Özbay (1999); Peker (1999); İlkkaracan & İlkkaracan (1999).

<sup>15</sup> People who live in *varoş* settlements.

poor. Erman (2004) defined the period starting from 1990s to 2000s as the 'threatening Other/varoşlu' versus the 'gecekondu people as agents'.

In relation to this process, as some of the old gecekondu areas were transformed into middle and upper-middle class neighbourhoods by large-scale developers, the rising rent of the periphery areas of the city was shared among big real-estate companies (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). There were two key housing supply methods for the middle classes after 1980s: co-operatives and mass housing estates (Uzun, 1991). On the one hand, co-operatives were small in proportion. And can be also classified as a part of rent distribution process, which is supported by the state subsidies in the mid 1980s (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). On the other, mass-housing production was varied through the rise of new employment and affluence types.

The second categorization of socio-spatial patterns of Istanbul in this period was the new affluent class who live in enclaves. While the new highly paid working class is flourished after 1980s in the effect of rising sectors; a new affluent class is identified in the same period. The affluent class of post 1980s is differentiated from the former in terms of its rapid growth and the severe polarisation among classes (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002), main differentiation between new affluent class and the former one depends on the velocity of the rise in affluence among certain people and its way. In addition, according to Rifat Bali (1999), the new affluent class was mostly composed of businessmen, top executive managers of large corporations in finance, industry and trade sectors, and new 'stars' of media and entertainment sector. They prefer to live outside the city centre in parallel to their affluence life style standards.

Thirdly, new types of employment and levels of income have appeared as the new sectors of production -finance and service sector- increased in Istanbul after 1980s. The rapid integration into transnational networks and global market have accelerated the emergence of new residents of the city, who were bankers and young professionals, differentiated through their

consumption habits and lifestyles, as a new segment of class formation, called new middle and new upper-middle classes (Ayata, 2005; Öncü, 2000). On the one hand, the new middle class segregated from the traditional middle class through both practices of everyday life and their residential choices: 'globalized spaces of commerce and leisure emerged along with secluded residential areas on the outskirts of the city' (Keyder, 2005:124). On the other, while new middle classes hold a distinction of being a homogenous class structure through their *tastes*, the structure of new upper middle class is heterogeneous in cultural, ethnical and, political dimensions. But their common aspect veils the heterogeneity of new upper middle class: consumption culture (Kurtuluş, 2003).

According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002), the significant characteristic of the middle classes after 1980s was the tendency of *being dissolved internally* and *splitting*. This tendency refers the new living space choices of the recent class formation. In the first instance, this tendency refers to a new class formation, which excludes the others except their quasi 'community'<sup>16</sup> and creates a homogenized group (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002). They are also detached through their spatial choices. Firstly, new middle and upper-middle class residential projects declare creating protected space, which is purified from the problems of the city and promising a new lifestyle different from the existing one in the city. Öncü (2005) reveals the residential belonging of upper and middle classes to gated communities and enclaves by the desire of articulation to the global consumption culture. She illustrates the new residential choices of upper and middle classes through housing projects and sites, which promoting and promising a new life style. It is 'the myth of the ideal home' that protects you and your family, propose you; clean air and water, protected open spaces, sports facilities for everyone in your family and, social environment that is composed of 'superior' people around you. It created both the hope and expectation of to own 'the ideal home' in *dreamland*. In this scope, Geniş (2007:773) claims that:

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<sup>16</sup> Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) describe the new affluent class formation in Istanbul through Young's (1990) conceptualisation of 'the desire of being a community', which refers to a isolated class position.

The findings suggest that gated communities in Istanbul propagate and disseminate 'anti-city' but not necessarily 'anti-urban' lifestyles and ideologies. These new ideologies express the moorings of an e'lite urbanism and promote exclusionary e'lite localities wherein the urban e'lites can exercise strong rules of inclusion and exclusion and live in a place with favourable infrastructure and services.

For that reason, the location choices of the projects mostly placed along side nature. In Istanbul, the lands on the ridges of Bosphorous and forest areas close to city were opened to build up legally or illegally in a rapid expansion in the late 1990s<sup>17</sup> (Map 4). The expansion of middle and upper-middle class residential areas is shown in the Map 4. In addition to the location choices, for Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002), after 1980s, the main differentiation between the former and new affluent class is depended on the feeling of 'threat'. The main reason behind the feeling of threat was recent relationship among social classes in the city, which relies on tension between classes instead of social conciliation. Moreover, affluent classes adopt gradually a more brutal position towards urban poor. Therefore, housing areas, which are surrounded by high walls, and protected by security guards and closed circuit television (cctv) systems, namely enclaves, are the main indicators of spatial exclusion of "the others" from their purified living spaces. "Protected" areas are provided through high walls or fences all around the residential district. Moreover, the exclusive-protection systems are not only specific to residential areas, additionally, mostly after 2000, it is observed in the shopping centres and recreation areas. The rising tendency of the first decade of 2000 will be searched in an extensive manner in the next chapter of the study.

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<sup>17</sup> It is estimated that the number of gated communities to be approximately 650 at the end of 2005 and construction of additional new gated developments will be more than 150 in the same year (Pérouse and Daniş, 2005).



the inner-city neighbourhoods around the coasts of the Bosphorus, that is Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy. The main tendency of the first wave was housing rehabilitation during the 1980s. But in the early 1990s, especially in Ortaköy, restaurants, cafes and mainly leisure activities in the Square has started to reorganise by the local municipality. In parallel to this process, Ortaköy became an attraction and meeting point. Therefore, gentrifiers started to flee from Ortaköy due to disturbed residential life. On the contrary, in Kuzguncuk and Arnavutköy, rehabilitation of housing areas continues during the 1990s. Gentrification process was mostly transformation of physical appearance of houses. In both of the neighbourhoods, displacement due to the gentrification process is limited and different social groups still live next to each other (Islam, 2005).

The second wave of gentrification in Istanbul started in the late 1980s in the historic centre, Beyoğlu; specifically in Cihangir, Galata, and Asmalımescit, while the first wave was still happening. We may classify the gentrification process of these areas into two main groups: commercial and residential gentrification. While both of the gentrification process was proceeding side by side in Asmalımescit, residential gentrification was more common in Cihangir and Galata. In this wave of gentrification, the process was at a slow rate that approximately took fifteen years since the first signs of gentrification. In all these areas, mainly after the mid-1990s, house prices increased sharply and the neighbourhoods turned into upper middle class districts by the end of the decade (Islam, 2005).

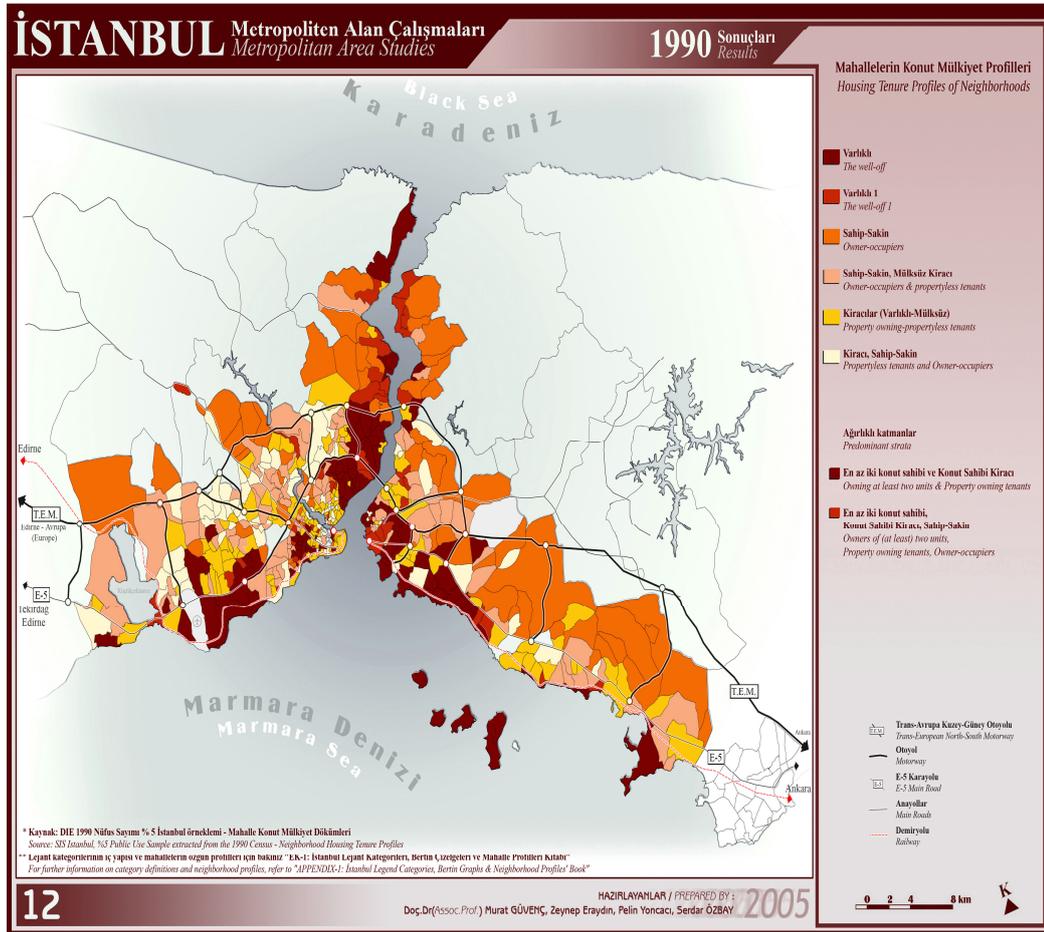
The last wave of gentrification in Istanbul has different dynamics that it spread to one of the poorest areas in the city; Fener and Balat districts of Golden Horn, with the view of Bosphorus, in the late 1990s. As it had experienced in the other gentrified neighbourhoods, corrosion started after the substitution of middle income minority groups by the lower status rural migrants after the 1950s. And the area became a cheap rental stock for the urban poor. When coming to 1990s, by the funded project of European Commission, the local municipality implemented a rehabilitation of 200 selected houses in the district between 2004 and 2006. This wave of

gentrification differs from the other ones due to its planned gentrification process instead of a more spontaneous process of the others (Islam, 2005).

According to Islam (2005), all of these gentrified areas are similar in that have specific housing stock of the former minority neighbourhoods with the views of sea and close to shorelines. On the contrary, each wave directed through different dynamics: 'it was the high environmental amenities in the first wave, intense cultural and leisure activities in the second and an institutional investment project in the third' (Islam, 2005:133-4). Gentrifiers of the neighbourhoods are sharing the same occupational, cultural and demographic backgrounds that are: highly educated, singles and couples with no children that mostly belong to 'cultural' middle classes, who are affected by cultural factors of the neighbourhood rather than economic reasons (Islam, 2005).

In addition, the researches of Güvenç and Işık (1996, 1997) on reading Istanbul through the spatial differentiation with respect to employment status and housing tenure types provide a fertile ground for understanding the socio-spatial pattern of Istanbul in 1990s. The data of the study is depended on the 5% sample of the 1990 Greater Census of Population in the greater Istanbul metropolitan area. Güvenç and Işık (1996, 1997) and Güvenç (2005) tried to illustrate the reflections of social differentiation on spatial patterns of the Istanbul through areal concentrations of each status-tenure group (Map 5).

**Map 5: A General Overview of Istanbul's Social Geography through Housing Tenure Profiles of Neighbourhoods in 1990**

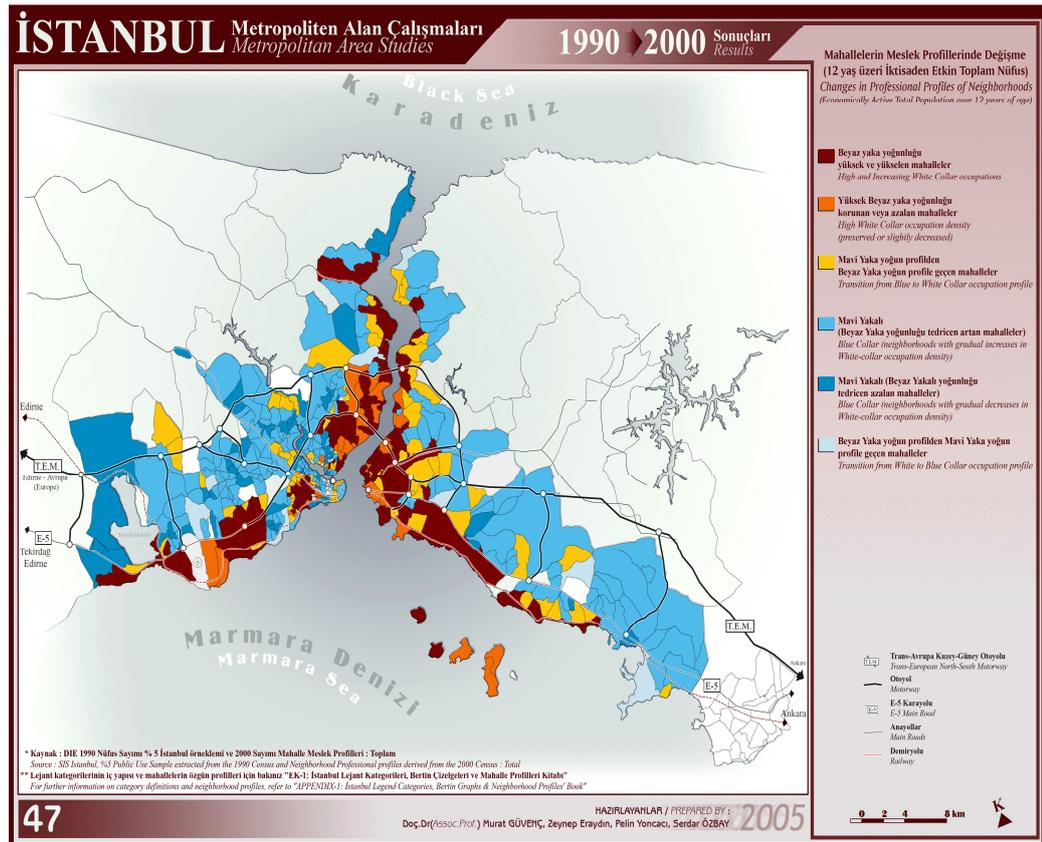


Sources: Güvenç, 2005

Güvenç and Işık's (1997) and Güvenç's (2005) study reveals that generally working class residential areas are not border neighbours of high-income group's residential areas. There seem transition zones between two residential areas, which are not under the dominance of any status group. According to Güvenç and Işık (1997), the transition zones play a tampon role between two districts. In the Anatolian side of the city, E-5 also acts like a separator and a tampon between the high-income neighbourhoods located on the south of the highway and the gecekondu areas placed on

the north of the E-5 (Map 5) (Güvenç and Işık, 1997; Sonuç Raporu, 2005). According to Erder's (1997) research on Pendik clarifies the division between above E-5 and below E-5 as how the habitants called it. It can be observed both the well infrastructured middle class apartments with middle class restaurants, entertainment facilities, bars, and shopping malls; and the districts that have no road, water and drainage system. For Erder's (1997) research, it would not be wrong to claim a duality between above and below of E-5 such as: affluence vs. poverty, newness vs. oldness. Therefore, inequality and contradictions in the city can be clearly observed in Pendik (Erder, 1997).

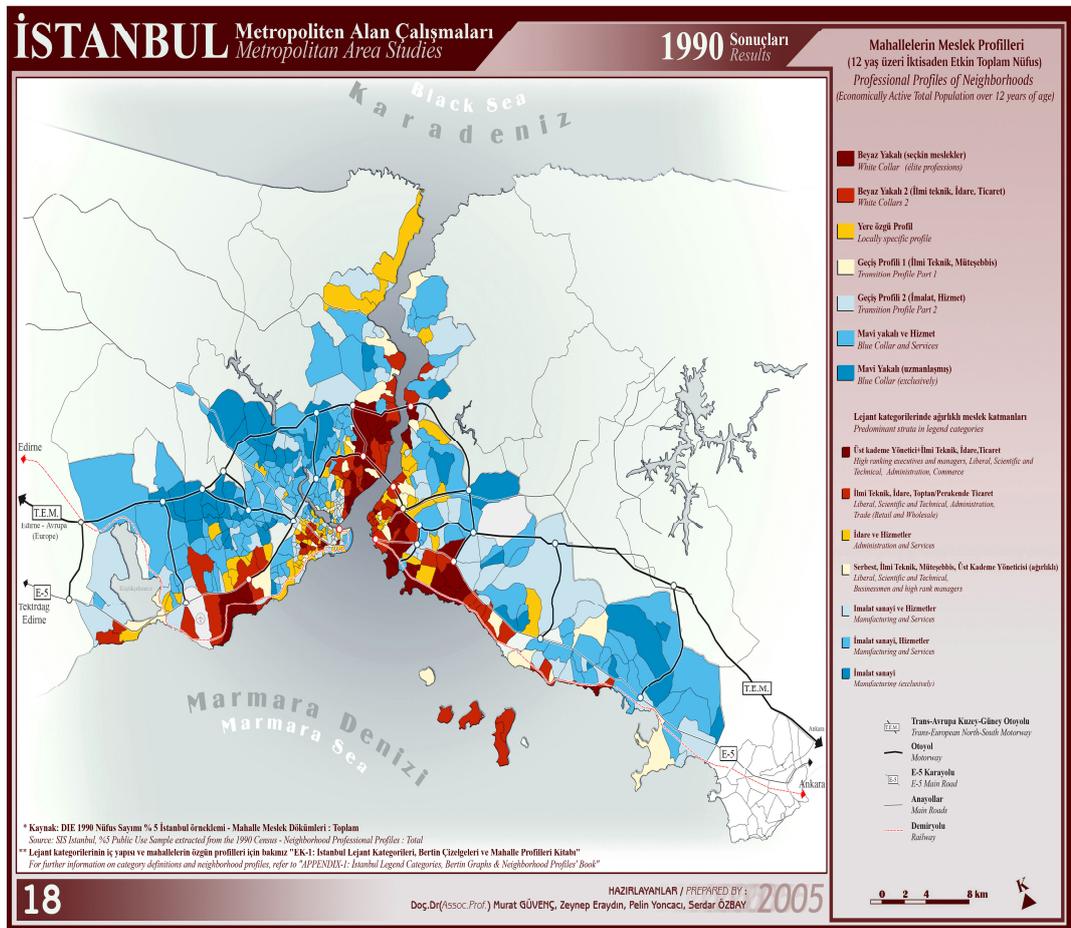
**Map 6:** Changes in Professional Profiles of Neighbourhoods of Istanbul in 1990 to 2000



Source: Güvenç, 2005

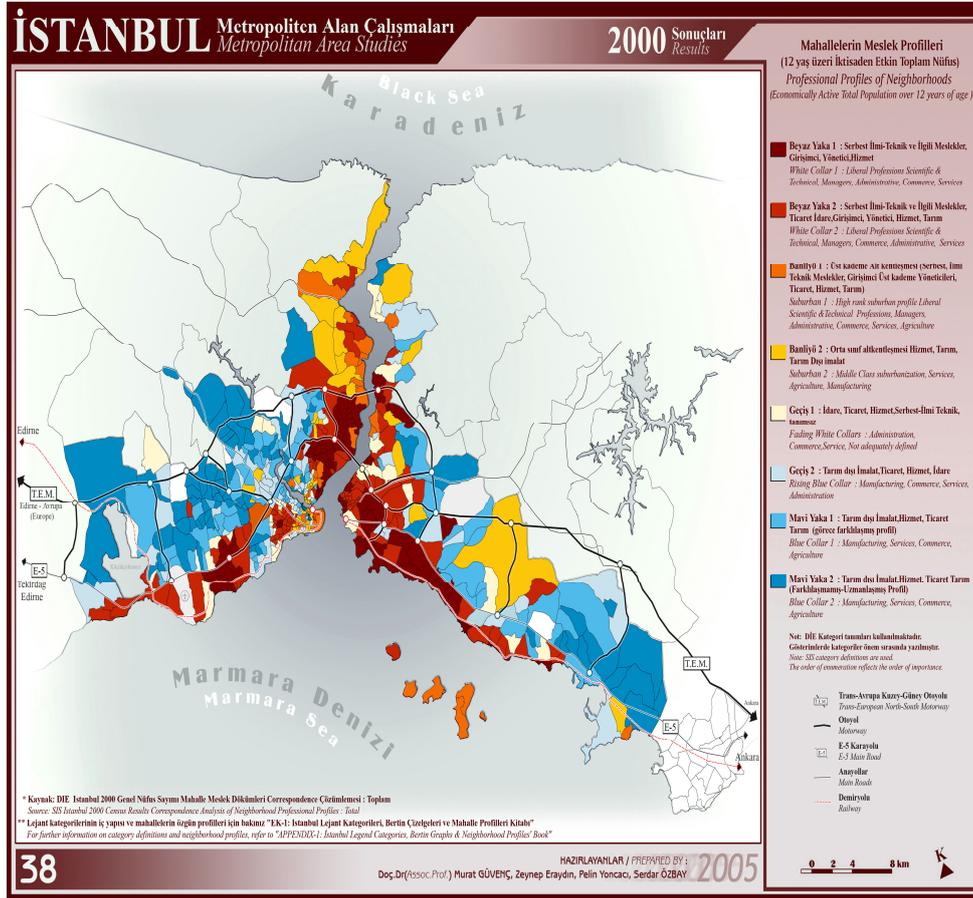
According to Güvenç's study (2005) that illustrates the changes in income profiles of neighbourhoods in Istanbul from 1990 to 2000, there has been a major shift along the Bosphorus coastline. It has turned into white collar, high-income neighbourhoods from the working class neighbourhoods in ten years period, mainly (Map 6).

**Map 7: Professional Profiles of Neighbourhoods in 1990**



Source: Güvenç, 2005

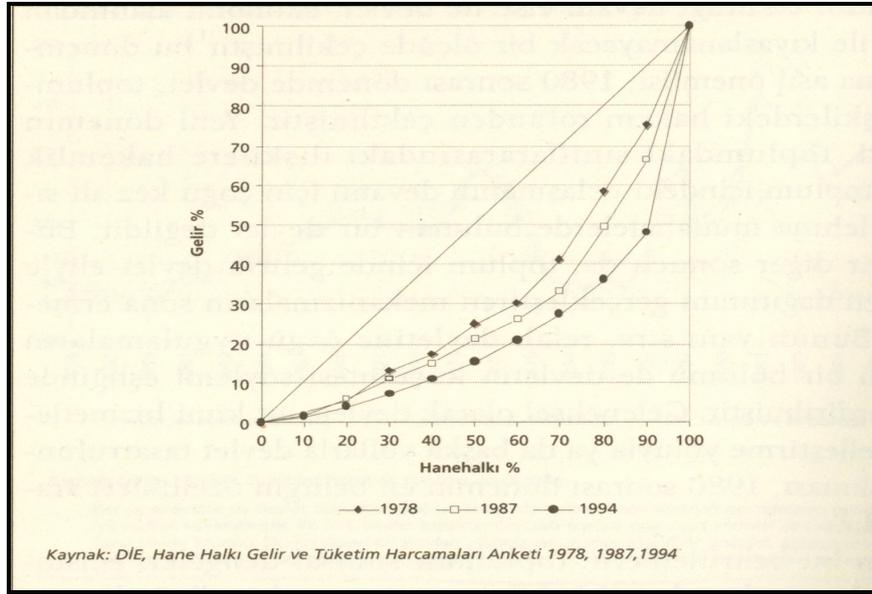
**Map 8: Professional Profiles of Neighbourhoods in 2000**



Source: Güvenç, 2005

In addition, Map 7 and Map 8, shows us the changing professional profiles of neighbourhoods in Istanbul from 1990 to 2000. While in 1990 there were not middle class neighbourhoods as suburbs, when coming to the first decade of 2000, it is seen that there is a significant change in middle classes spatialisation. Moreover while, it is clearly seen that white-collar working class neighbourhoods increased mostly along the Bosphorus coastline and suburbanisation rose, blue-collar worker neighbourhoods reduced in the coastline and withdrawn to the peripheries of the city in 2000's.

**Figure 1:** Lorenz Curve of 1978, 1987 and 1994 in Istanbul



*Sources:* Household income and consumption expenditure survey of 1978, 1987 and 1994 in Istanbul, DİE cited in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002: 126.

Consequently, the period between 1980 and 2000 was the crystallisation moment of class distinctions in the city of Istanbul. The distribution of income among social classes was extremely unbalanced in this period (Figure 1). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2002) identified the period between 1980 and 2000, as *tense and exclusive urbanisation*. The main characteristic of the period before 1980s was the balanced distribution of urban rent among social classes. But the basis of balanced distribution, import substitution economy politics, was eroded in post-1980s and the broad based negotiation between classes is concluded. Through the recent neoliberal politics of post-1980s, a narrow based balance, which is excluding working class and based on tension between classes, is followed (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002).

### **3.5. Concluding Remarks**

This chapter seeks to identify the urbanization process of Istanbul through a periodisation depended on the economy-political analysis and then reveal the socio-spatial patterns of the city for each of the periods. In this chapter it is suggested mainly three urbanisation periods of Istanbul: 1950-1980: The rapid urbanisation process; 1980-2000: Reflections of social segregation; and post-2000: The urbanisation of social exclusion. Therefore, the first two of the three main periods is analysed in terms of the socio-economic context of the period; restructuring of urban institutions; urban politics and legal arrangements; and urban planning approach of the periods. Through the framework of this analysis, we tried to illustrate socio-spatial patterns of city.

In this line, the major socio-spatial patterns of the 1950-1980 period can be handled into two main formations: gecekondu areas of lower classes and apartments of middle classes. But, the duality among socio-spatial patterns was not identifying a fragmented structure both spatially and socially. On the contrary, the period is conceptualised as in harmony within society, soft and progressive. However, when coming to 1980-2000; actors of urbanisation process is varied and the city is started to fragmented more severely in the means of class distinctions. This chapter suggest that the city of Istanbul is launched to face neoliberal urban politics firstly in this period. Therefore, the change in the urban politics leads a deepened social inequality among social classes, which also creates spatially segregated and disintegrated metropolitan macro form. This chapter argues that the fragmented spatial formation of the city is class-based that while new forms gecekondu areas and its dwellers are segregated from the city, new forms of "protected" housing settlements and its dwellers flourished. Consequently, the period is defined as "being dissolved internally" and "splitting" of social classes.

In the light of this conceptual framework, the following chapter will provide last period of urbanisation of Istanbul: post-2000. It will also try to draw a socio-spatial map of social classes in the city of Istanbul.

## CHAPTER - IV

### ISTANBUL IN THE POST-2000: URBANISATION AS SOCIAL EXCLUSION

#### 4.1. Introduction

In the recent days, the Mayor of the Greater Istanbul Municipality, Kadir Topbaş, gave a speech in a symposium and declared: "The city of Istanbul is a chance, and this chance should not be missed. I remove the bureaucratic obstacles for giving this chance to the investors and businessmen." It is familiar to coincide with such declarations day after day. Above all, the Mayor's denunciation was a noticeable summary of the ongoing urban process in the city of Istanbul for the last years. The city has experienced fundamental spatial restructuring through gentrification, large scaled urban investments and urban regeneration projects since 2000 when Turkey accelerated its integration into the global capitalist dynamics. Istanbul has then appeared to be both loci and foci of such process.

The period after 1980s has been dominated by neoliberal policies and global city discourse. The most crucial impact of this period was the attempt to transform cities inline within the dynamics of the capital (Keyder and Öncü, 1993; Kurtuluş, 2005). Throughout the period, Istanbul has been manipulated under the rule of global city discourse which is the expression of neoliberal policies. Similar to most cities in the world, global urban projects, the flow of global capital and its consequences begun to dominate the city (Öktem, 2006). Provided that, the reflection of urban transformation is evident on urban space during the first decade of 2000, which is mainly manifested as new urban planning practices and increasing conflicts over urban space.

In this chapter, I will mainly utilize from the indepth-interviews conducted with the representatives of the Greater Istanbul Municipality (*Interview (2006a)*); *Nihat Enver Ülger who is the head of Urban Regeneration and*

*Urban Design Group and the second one; Interview (2006b); Funda Yürekduymaz, the vice-head of Urban Regeneration and Urban Design Group), Istanbul Metropolitan and Urban designing Centre (IMP) (Interview (2006c); Taylan Dericiođlu, the head of National and Regional Planning Group), the Chamber of Architects (Interview (2008a); Mücella Yapıcı, Assistant Secretary of General of the Chamber), the Chamber of City Planners (Interview (2008b); Tayfun Kahraman, the Secretary of the Chamber of City Planners, Istanbul), university (Interview (2006d); Zeynep Enlil, academician from Yıldız Technical University), private construction firm, called Çalık Company (Interview (2008c); Nilgün Kıvrıcık, the project coordinator of Tarlabası Renewal Project), Neighbourhood Associations of Istanbul (Interview (2008d); Erdoğan Yıldız, the committee member of Gülsuyu and Gülenisu Neighbourhood Association and Interview (2008e); Adem Kaya, the head of Başbüyük Neighbourhood Association).*

Therefore I will argue out the urbanisation process after the first decade of 2000 by referring to two main dimensions of this process: recently authorized or proposed urban plans and lived social relations of users in the build environment of Istanbul. However, I will firstly look at the socio-economic context of the period after 2000.

#### **4.2. The Socio-Economic Context of the Period**

Since 1980s, Istanbul has played a leading role in Turkey's integration into the global markets and neoliberal economic model (Uzun, 2007). According to this process, while the incorporation between local governments and private sector have accelerated, "urban regeneration" is proposed as the main strategy for spatial restructuring of the city of Istanbul in post-2000. The so-called strategy is not limited only to urban renewal; it is also used to implement significant changes for turning existent usage of urban lands into different usages (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007).

The implementation of "urban regeneration" as a strategy is constructed through two main dynamics of the period: the integration process of

European Union (EU), and 1999 Marmara Earthquake. On the one hand, the effects of integration process of EU have been felt in Istanbul since 1977, by The United Nations Economic Council of Europe project North-South Trans-European Motorway Project (Erkut et al. 2006). But, after the project, there were not major efforts on the spatial policies of integration process since the Helsinki Summit in 2004, in which the starting date of negotiations with Turkey was announced as 2005.

Thus, according to Erkut et al. (2006), the penetration of EU spatial policy targets, which was declared in the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) in 1999, started to integrate into metropolitan planning procedures after 2000, due to the lack of legislative framework and institutional background of the mode of governance of the city. In addition, following 2005, rapid institutional and legislative arrangements have started for the need of policy analysis on regional development, urban regeneration, and strategic metropolitan planning<sup>18</sup>.

On the other hand, the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, initiated loss of 17.000 people and broad economic problems due to the destruction and damage of 300.000 dwellings, buildings and infrastructure (Kocabaş, 2005). The impact of the earthquake had also severe consequences on the 2001 economic crisis, which influenced mostly the rising service jobs<sup>19</sup>. Thus, a series of researches are made and strategies are developed for earthquake mitigation, in the partnership of international cooperations, universities, and international trade organizations to develop measures and be prepared for the next possible earthquake in Istanbul, which included: the *Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA) Study, Istanbul Earthquake Master Plan (EMP), and Outline Istanbul Neighbourhood Regeneration*

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<sup>18</sup> Urban planning approach of Istanbul depended on traditional comprehensive planning in the former years. But as in most of the cities, after domination of neoliberal politics in post-1980s, strategic planning approach is also implemented in Istanbul. Traditional comprehensive planning approach was criticised for its inflexibility, being an obstacle for investment, being inadequate for rapid changes, being a regulator and imperious; and could not provide participation of all actors of the process (Öktem, 2007). In this framework, by the acceleration of neoliberal urban politics, the rise of private sector, and as a response to these criticisms strategic spatial planning approach is preferred for the future of Istanbul.

<sup>19</sup> The major loss was in the banking sector: 23.000 bankers and 3000 media workers lost their jobs (Islam, 2005).

*Strategy and Investment Program, Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project (ISRMEP)* (Kocabaş, 2005). According to Kocabaş (2005), as a part of this process, urban regeneration is needed for planning the city towards a more sustainable development.

With this process, Istanbul is undergoing a period of restructuring towards becoming a 'global city', a centre of high-level finance and business services, linking Turkey more strongly into the international (especially EU) economy. This project has been developing since the 1980s, but has accelerated since the Justice and Development Party came into government in 2002, in which the economic development policies<sup>20</sup> are based on export-base, foreign capital investments, and privatisation. Thus, a series of legal arrangements and an entrepreneurial governance model is promoted.

### **4.3. Post-2000: Urbanisation of Social Exclusion**

In this part of the study, I will try to reveal the dynamics of urbanisation process through three main dimensions: legal arrangements, the restructuring of local administrative institutions and urban politics and urban planning approach of the period.

#### **4.3.1. Legal Arrangements of the Period**

The integration process of EU and the prevention process of earthquake risk in Istanbul accelerated the constitution of legal arrangements as the facilitator tools of these processes through the implications of neoliberal policies. After 2000, previously unseen amount of urban space-focused legal arrangements are legislated or proposed (Uzun, 2006). The arrangements are composed of both for the whole organization of the city in a wider sense and for the organization of urban space through a micro

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<sup>20</sup> The rapid rise in the volumes of foreign trade and foreign direct investments (FDIs) show us the domination of neoliberal development policies after 2000. The FDIs reached 21.873 million dollars in 2007 from 982 million dollars in 2000 ([www.hazine.gov.tr](http://www.hazine.gov.tr)). In addition, the number of foreign firms in Istanbul is 10.659 in 2008 while the total number of foreign firms in Turkey is 19.547 ([www.hazine.gov.tr](http://www.hazine.gov.tr), statistics of 2008).

scale (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007). Therefore, the legal arrangements are both in favour of institutional restructuring, especially decentralization of authority to local governments, and in support of transformation of urban space. In this framework, I may analyse the urban space oriented law proposals and laws after the year of 2000 in the means of five key transformations of the period (Erkut et al. 2006; Uzun, 2007) (Table 6):

- 1.** Defining “urban regeneration” as a strategy for a new planning system, urban governance model, and localization of urban classes in the city of Istanbul.
- 2.** Decentralization of authority to local authorities for enabling local municipalities to play a key role in the transformation process of the city of Istanbul mainly with extended authority.
- 3.** Empowering the recent private-public-nongovernmental organization partnerships and widen it to an urban-region level.
- 4.** Organizing partnerships and cooperation between local governments in urban-region extent.
- 5.** Restructuring of urban management model and strengthening the local authorities through strategic planning.

The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Fund Law (Number 5162/2004) dominated the urban agenda of the city of Istanbul. The law gives extensive power to the MHA, in which it plays the leading role in the process of urban regeneration. According to the law, on the one hand, MHA has the authority of making plans in every scale<sup>21</sup>, in which the gecekondu regeneration projects and social housing implementation areas are determined. On the other hand, local municipalities should approve the planning studies of MHA at latest in three months with the amendments if needed. In addition, through the Law of Change of Gecekondu Law (Number 5609/2007), the authority on the gecekondu prevention areas is allocated to the MHA, taken away from the Ministry of Housing and Construction. The law envisages the construction of social housing units in these areas by the municipalities under the instruction of MHA.

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<sup>21</sup> Article 4, see appendix.

**Table 6.** *The legal dimensions of the transformations in urban space through the implementation of neoliberal policies* (prepared by author)

<b>The Main Urban Policies after 2000 in Istanbul</b>	<b>Urban Space Oriented Laws passed after 2000</b>
<b><i>Urban Regeneration as a strategy</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Fund Law (Number 5162), 2004</li> <li>• The Municipality Law, <b>article 73</b> (Number 5393/2005)</li> <li>• The law on Protection and Lively Used of Deprived Historical and Cultural Heritage After Renewal, <b>article 2</b> (Number 5366), 2005</li> <li>• The Law of Change of Gecekondu Law (Number 5609), 2007</li> <li>• The Draft Law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects</li> </ul>
<b><i>Decentralization of authority</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Fund Law (Number 5162), 2004</li> <li>• The Metropolitan Municipality Law (Number 5216/2004)</li> <li>• The Provincial Local Government Law (Number 5302/2005)</li> <li>• The Municipality Law (Number 5393/2005)</li> </ul>
<b><i>Empowering multi-actor partnerships</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (unauthorized) The Law of Regional Development Agency (Number 5549), 2006</li> </ul>
<b><i>Cooperation between local governments</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Metropolitan Municipality Law (Number 5216/2004)</li> <li>• The Provincial Local Government Law (Number 5302/2005)</li> <li>• The Municipality Law (Number 5393/2005)</li> <li>• The Law on Associations of Local Authorities (Number 5355), 2005</li> </ul>
<b><i>New urban management model through strategic planning</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Metropolitan Municipality Law (Number 5216/2004)</li> <li>• The Provincial Local Government Law (Number 5302/2005)</li> <li>• The Municipality Law (Number 5393/2005)</li> </ul>

In addition to the authorized laws above, since 2005, a draft law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects is on the agenda of Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). Large construction companies, international real estate investors, central and local governments (mainly Istanbul) requested a new law, which would lessen or eliminate the existing legal arrangements on urban regeneration implementations to put the transformation process of highly rented urban areas at ease for the favour of the investors<sup>22</sup>. The draft law for urban regeneration projects is aimed to eliminate the obstacles in and through the urban regeneration process for all the actors involved instead of the dwellers. In this scope, some of the NGOs, professional chambers; as such, the Chamber of City Planners, the Chamber of Environmental Engineering and the Chamber of Architects, political parties, leftist groups, and academicians criticized the draft law through a series of activity (Press Statement of Chambers). The criticisms were mostly claimed that the law would strengthen the socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion among different social classes. Chamber of City Planners emphasized the potential uneven effect of the law on the urban social classes. According to the chamber, by this law, in other words through the application of urban regeneration projects, while the representation of the city as the living and meeting place of all classes weaken; the spatial practices of deepened segregation and social exclusion will be strengthen (The Report on the Draft Law of Urban Regeneration, 2006, The Opening Speech of Urban Regeneration Symposium, 2006<sup>23</sup>).

#### **4.3.2. Establishing Neoliberal Urban Governance in Istanbul**

Since 2000, two main institutions have played key role during the process of establishing neoliberal urban governance in Istanbul. On the one hand, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre (IMP) was founded, on the other the authority of Mass Housing Fund was strengthened. Before the foundation of IMP, the structure of planning departments of the city of Istanbul was composed of two main planning

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<sup>22</sup> Article 6 - (1), Article 7- (2), Article 7- (7), see appendix.

<sup>23</sup> See appendix.

bureaus of Greater Municipality of Istanbul and District Municipalities. Starting from 2000, one of the most striking phenomenons is an ascending demand for managing urban areas through a macro perspective, namely planning the city through a metropolitan scale. The restructuring of the built environment is being organised by a newly created city-region authority, the IMP, and by the national housing agency, the MHA, each with newly given strong powers. Current developments seek to remove industry, traditional low level services and low-income housing from the centre- and inner-city areas to the peripheries, and to use the freed space to build offices for international business, luxury housing, prestige projects, and consumer services. Integral to this programme are 'regeneration' projects organised by the MHA and IMP to redevelop low-income, high-density housing built on publicly owned land (*gecekondu*) in the inner city.

In 2004, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre (IMP) was founded as the planning institution of the city of Istanbul. Through the protocol signed between Greater Istanbul Municipality and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry at the date of 01.12.2004, to direct the politics, planning, programs, projects and their applications, master plans, the plans under the law 5216 and Strategic Development Plans within the region of Istanbul were given under the responsibility of IMP. IMP has founded in the structure of the municipality owned company Boğaziçi İnşaat Müşavirlik Anonim Şirketi (BİMTAŞ). The head of IMP, Prof. Hüseyin Kaptan, claimed that to provide a unique environment where politicians' and scientists' alike can meet each other thus providing opportunities to share knowledge and expertise that more than 300 people distributed among 15-study group (Brochure of IMP (September, 2006) and Yönetici Özeti, Önsöz, 2006). Subsequently, some parts of the Urban Planning Departments of the Municipality were transformed to the IMP.

The aim of the centre is defined as gathering all the representatives of universities, the chamber of professionals, representatives of ministries, municipalities, NGOs, architects, archaeologists, urban and regional planners, foreign scientists, urban planning companies, historians and

representatives of public for working together through the planning process. Moreover, the mayor of the city of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş emphasized that they are working in coordination with the state authorities, and through this process IMP and ministries are working in coordination, in addition if necessary the Prime Minister propose solutions<sup>24</sup>, too.

The studies of IMP were in the service of making Istanbul a global city. The project coordinator of IMP and consultant of the Mayor of the Istanbul Greater Municipality, Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Kaptan, emphasized the importance of presentation of city in the global market and claimed that 'our approach on making the city of Istanbul more powerful than the last years, is depending on the realization of the ongoing improvements' (Yönetici Özeti, Önsöz, 2006).

Furthermore, the Mass Housing Administration (MHA) was founded in 1984 as a central state institution to solve the housing stock problem in Turkey. The MHA constructed approximately 200,000 housing units for the low and middle-income people in the large cities until the early 2000. But after the Justice and Development Party (JDP) came into government in 2002, through a series of legal arrangements the authority of MHA has been strengthened and extended:

- 1.** Through the 4966/2003 numbered Law, under secretariat of Housing is repealed and some of its authorities are transformed to MHA and also new responsibilities were given,
- 2.** MHA is again given under the control of Prime Ministry in 2004,
- 3.** The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Fund Law (Number 5162/2004) gives extensive power to the MHA, in which it plays the leading role in the process of urban regeneration,

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<sup>24</sup><http://www.ibb.gov.tr/IBB/Popup/tr-TR/PrinterFriendlyHaberler.aspx?CultureId=tr-TR&HaberId=20974> , İBB web page.

**4.** For the transformation of the gecekondu areas on the Capital Ankara Esenboğa Protocol Road, a law is prepared. The Law of North Ankara City Entrance Urban Regeneration Project (2004) has provided collaboration among central and local government, and MHA and paves the way for an extensive urban regeneration project of a gecekondu area,

**5.** Through the 5273/2004 numbered Law, the functions and engagements of the General Directorate of Land Office were transformed to the MHA,

**6.** The law on Protection and Lively Used of Deprived Historical and Cultural Heritage After Renewal (Number 5366/2005) also strengthens and supports the partnership with MHA in the urban regeneration projects through its 3<sup>rd</sup> article,

**7.** Through the Law of Change of Gecekondu Law (Number 5609/2007), the authority on the gecekondu prevention areas is alienated to the MHA from the Ministry of Housing and Construction.

In addition to the restructuring in legal arrangements, JDP government also announced the major urban aims of the government in its 'Emergency Action Plan' as to provide 'regeneration' of gecekondu areas and the provision of social housing for low-income people in cooperation with local governments (AEP, 2003). The changed scope and powers of the MHA is oriented to construct not only housing units for middle and low-income people, but also luxury housing and associated up-market consumer services for the upper-middle and upper classes (Bayraktar, 2006, 2007; see for a critique, Gündoğdu and Gough, 2008).

According to Gündoğdu and Gough (2008) the powers and authority of MHA is expanded through four main dimensions. Firstly, for transformation of gecekondu areas and to preserve and restore the historical areas and architecture of the city, MHA has reinforced to set up companies associated to housing and real estate sector, to enlist partnership with existing ones, and grant credits. Secondly, MHA was given power to use the 'revenue sharing' model for funding its social housing projects. The model is

depended on profit-oriented projects related with private sector. Thirdly, the MHA has been authorized with urban planning powers, for the first time: to make plans at all scales and modify existing plans in areas assigned for mass housing development, and to accomplish required purchase of property and land within these areas. Lastly, all the powers and responsibility of the national Urban Land Office is reassigned to MHA, with its land bank of 64.5 million square metres to incorporate housing production with land purchase and development.

In line with its recent power, the MHA has developed on the one hand, 61.000 social housing units; on the other 44.000 luxury inner area housing has been undertaken in the major cities by the end of 2007. The head of the MHA, Erdoğan Bayraktar, announced in one of his speeches that they aim to reconstruct the 60 percent of the city of Istanbul through regeneration projects. Moreover, he emphasized that they will overcome all the obstacles: "We are not subordinated to the citizens, we are subordinated to the state. Because of that, even if the dwellers of the regeneration areas are convinced from moving their housing areas or not, we will do whatever we have to do"<sup>25</sup>. Thus, MHA is also playing a guarantor role in the regeneration projects as its mentioned in the Final Declaration of 7<sup>th</sup> Summit of Real Estate (2007): "... the risk of cancellation of plans have to be ended and the bureaucracy process has to be reduced"<sup>26</sup>.

#### **4.3.3. Urban Policies and Urban Planning Approach**

It can be argued that first steps of recent urban politics had started in 1999 by the declaration of "Istanbul 2023 Vision Projects" of the Municipality. The mayor of Istanbul in 1999, Ali Müfit Görtuna, announced visions of the city, which are depended on mega urban regeneration projects: city as Eurasia corridor, regional vision of the city: increasing Central Business Districts (CBDs), mega urban regeneration projects, new prestige centres

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<sup>25</sup> [http://www.cnnturk.com/EKONOMI/GENEL/haber\\_detay.asp?PID=40&haberID=419460](http://www.cnnturk.com/EKONOMI/GENEL/haber_detay.asp?PID=40&haberID=419460)

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.gyoder.org.tr/zirve7/index.htm>

in the city, large environmental projects. When coming to 2002, Greater Istanbul Municipality declared that Istanbul plays a leading role in adaptation process of European Union (EU) (Interview, 2008a). Therefore, the main role of Istanbul was defined as the leading city of Turkey, which will also be a global city for being a part of international capital. In this line, the urban agenda of Istanbul changed drastically.

Subsequently, after the establishment of IMP, a new and tangible urbanisation period has started through both planning studies and implementation of new urban politics. The discourse on making Istanbul a global city, started to be realized through planning studies and legal arrangements. In this period, two main planning studies launched: 1/100.000 scale Istanbul Environmental Plan and 1/25.000 scale Istanbul Master Plan. IMP in coordination with Greater Istanbul Municipality and government made both of the planning studies. These studies have an importance to understand the future outcomes of city. They can be revealed from two aspects: firstly, the aim of these planning studies and secondly, potential consequences of the studies.

The main aims of planning studies for Istanbul is (Plan Report, 2006; Plan Report, 2007; OECD report, 2008):

- 1.** To provide adaptation of Istanbul to the dynamics of global system and to the integration process to EU,
- 2.** To prevent ecological balance and provide sustainable and disaster conscious urban development,
- 3.** To give and provide Istanbul a metropolitan status in the world culture city standards,
- 4.** To enhance city's capacity of competition among other metropolitan cities,
- 5.** To increase the life quality in Istanbul,
- 6.** To reconfigure city management according to strategic planning criteria.

To realize the top-level urban politics for the future of the city, the planning studies envisages decentralization of industry, regeneration of inner city for the service sector, turn city into tourism and culture capital, and transformation of squatter areas into authorized residential areas (Yönetici Ozeti, 2006). Firstly, while the inner city is cleaned from industry by locating them to the peripheries of the city or to the far-locations in its region, service sector and its facilities will be placed in the city centre. Secondly, with regard to make Istanbul tourism and culture capital, cultural and historical heritage in the inner city will also be conserved and new areas will be created to raise the capacity of tourism in the city. In this scope, Istanbul selected as 2010 European Capital City of Culture in recent days. An organization, including IKS V (İstanbul Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı), coordinated the process but definitely IMP will be a partner in the following days. According to Interview (2006d) being the Capital City of Culture will bring two major opportunities for Istanbul:

Firstly this event is an opportunity for advertising Istanbul, announcing our claims and for expanding culture and art activities through the entire city. If the event is stacked into the existing Culture Triangle, then we will lose our chance and could not reach the required objectives. Secondly, flagship and prestige projects will be realized and gentrification will be occurred as a part of this process. These activities will be sometimes grasped as an office building, sometimes as a shopping centre and sometimes as a museum. All these facilities have to be assessed as a chance and gained as an advantage for the urban space and development. If the process is governed accurately, then the regeneration processes will not be yield to the housing market (Interview, 2006d).

But, according to Interview (2008b), it won't make any contribution to the city. On the contrary, as it is mentioned in the law of Istanbul 2010 European Capital City of Culture (Article 9 (b)), the project will be used to ease urban regeneration process in the city. According to Interview (2006d) and Interview (2006c) while the industrial sector is decentralizing, tourism activities should be distributed all over the city instead of intensified in existing attractive areas. It is important for lengthen the duration period of tourists in the city (Interview, 2006c).

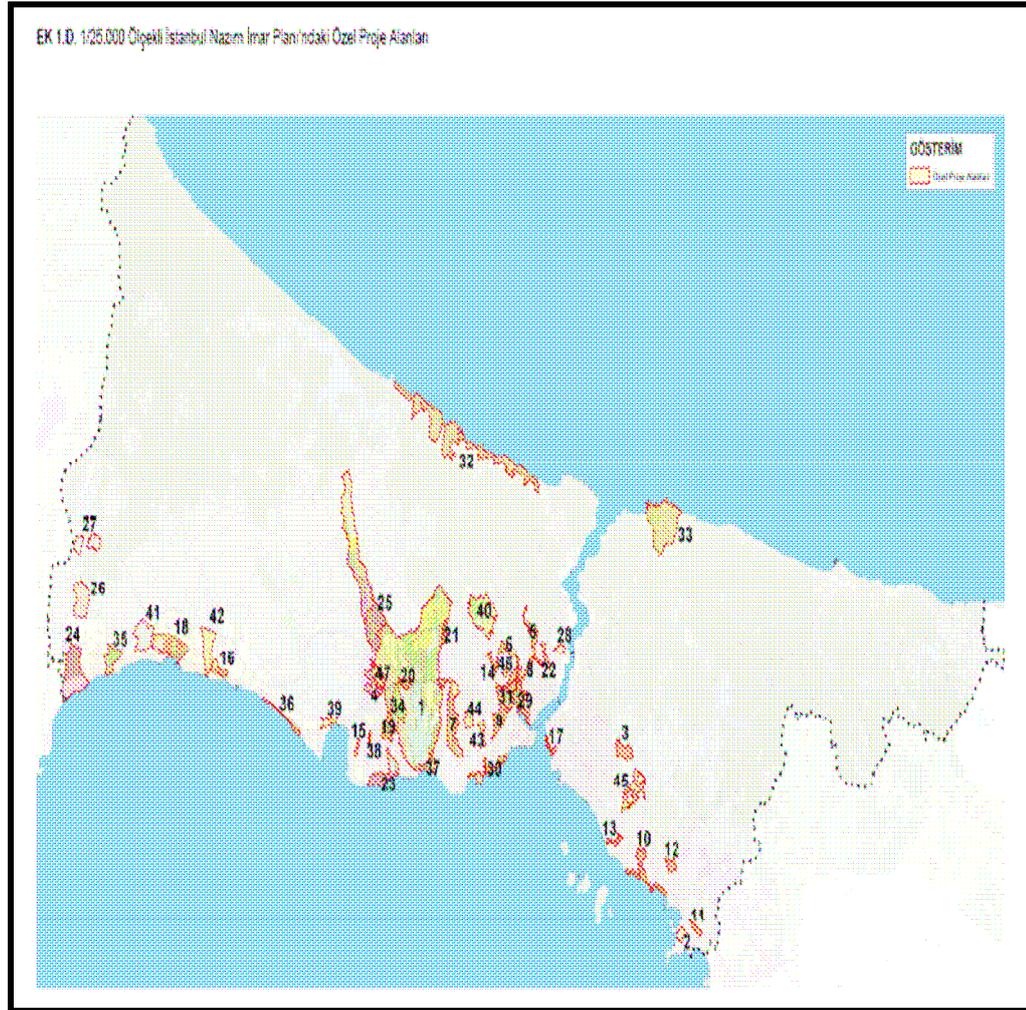
In this line, in addition to both of the macro scale urban planning studies, fifty special project areas and twenty seven urban regeneration areas are designated to reach the vision, *"to be a global metropolis, by transforming her economic structure into an IT (information technology) based service economy in order to become a global competitor whilst considering principles pertaining to economic, social and environmental sustainability"* (Special Project Areas Report, 2007), of Istanbul Master Plan.

The project areas are composed of both vision (flagship) projects and also gecekondü transformation projects. In the first instance, the flagship projects (Haydarpaşa Primary Centre Project (18), Kartal High Level Centre Project (11), Haliç Culture Corridor and Silhouette Area Project (33), Küçükçekmece – Avcılar Inner Outer waterfront Recreational Area (37)) took place in the urban agenda (Map 9). The main aim of these projects was to attract foreign investors to the city for becoming a part of global city hierarchy. Therefore, with support of national government, Istanbul Greater Municipality opened international competitions for most of the projects and show the areas in some of the international real estate exhibitions, such as MIPIM (International Property Market) (Öktem, 2006; Interview, 2008a). According to Interview (2008a) the key role of the projects is to attract international capital to Istanbul. Starting from 1995 when World Bank declared its report for Turkey, was pointing the importance of real estate, especially in Istanbul. In addition, it is proposed to orient development of Turkey through urban rent. When coming to 2000 in Istanbul, the reflections of the report is started to realize through mainly urban regeneration projects for both flagship and housing.

Subsequently, all of the gecekondü areas in the city are determined as urban regeneration areas and a draft law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects is proposed to expedite the transformation process. According to Interview (2008b), the draft law is not needed. The existing laws are adequate for such a transformation. But, the state authorities do not want any obstacles via the process. All of the projects are subjected to gain urban rent and change existing users. For example, it is proposed to construct Cruiser-ports for Kartal, Küçükçekmece and Haydarpaşa, but

these areas, according to cruiser-port criteria, are not appropriate. Therefore, we may claim that these areas will turn into trade and tourism centres under the name of cruiser-ports (Interview, 2008b).

**Map 9:** *Special Project Areas in Istanbul, 2007*



*Source:* 1/25.000 scale Master Plan Special Project Areas Report (2007)

Interview (2008b) emphasized that regeneration should be made in gecekondu areas but it cannot be implemented without preserving existing user profile, and keeping the inhabitants in the same area. However, according to related laws and recent urban plans and projects, it is seen

that gecekondü areas and old city centres will be emptied from its users and turned into prestige residential areas for an upper-class user profile. For example, Sakızlıođlu (2007) claims that further investigation is needed to reveal the costs of renewal process among different social groups, especially the unprivileged groups in her research on Tarlabası Renewal Project in Istanbul. In addition, she states that the expansion of regeneration projects in Istanbul leads shrinking in the survival chances of the poor in the city.

On the other hand, Interview (2006b) underlined the necessity of regeneration process in Istanbul and revealed the requirement of a regeneration law into two main reasons: firstly, in order to direct transformation process in the city and secondly, for constructing new technical tools for flexibility and efficiency during regeneration process. In addition, according to Interview (2006a), the draft law will terminate the bottom to top planning model, which slows the process. Thus, local and national governments will decide about the regeneration areas freely.

#### **4.4. The Socio-Spatial Patterns of Istanbul in post-2000: From Social Segregation to Social Exclusion**

As Istanbul started to transform to be a global city after 1980s, significant changes were felt among social classes until 2000. However, it is claimed that the period after 2000 indicates a new urbanisation period, which splits from the former ones drastically in terms of its socio-economic context, which is dominated by neoliberal politics; serious interventions in the form of legal arrangements; urban governance model; and urban plans and politics, which influence socio-spatial patterns of the city deeply. The recent attempts of neoliberal urbanism in Istanbul draws a new map of the city for both social and spatial relations in the city of Istanbul. In this period, on the one hand large-scale urban transformations started, which is not experienced before, and on the other urban regeneration is implemented as a strategy (Interview, 2008a; Interview, 2008b).

In the first instance, one of the large-scale urban transformation politics was depended on decentralisation of industry. Thus, this indicates that gecekondu people who are living in the gecekondu areas near industry will also be decentralize. The decentralisation process will provide to enable the proposed aim on urban economy of Istanbul, which will depend on tourism, culture, finance and service sector instead of industry. It is seen that significant alterations will be experienced on the spatial organisation of city that will also lead a change on the balance among social classes dialectically. On this account, these processes will produce significant consequences for the social classes in Istanbul:

- 1.** The shift from industry to service sectors brought on changes in social classes and new ones, who are well educated and employed in finance and service sector<sup>27</sup>. The new ones are members of middle-upper and upper class that created their own life style dependent on consumption habits. According to them city is an uncanny space that have to be sterilized and have to be protected from insecurity. Therefore, in post-2000, the “new owners” of the city demanded for secure places for all of their activities in city life. So, they prefer secured luxury suburban areas, housing enclaves, gated communities, residences, and gentrified neighbourhoods for their housing. But, their demands are not restricted only to housing areas like before 2000. In addition, protected luxury shopping malls, private schools and hospitals, luxury cafes and restaurants became a part of their lifestyle relied on consumption habits (Öktem, 2006; Interview, 2008a; Interview, 2008b).
- 2.** Scarcely, the demanding spatial organisations of the new owners of the city need large areas to construct and settle. When coming to 2000, the city of Istanbul reached a saturation level spatially that has almost no large valuable empty area in or near the city. Thus, valuable areas owned by state and gecekondu areas are subjected to the needed transformation areas. Mainly after 2000, firstly, the

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<sup>27</sup> We may also call them as *white-collar* workers.

large areas in the old city centre mostly announced as special project areas and secondly, all of the gecekondü areas in Istanbul are determined as urban regeneration areas. In this scope, special project areas became the targets of urban rent and transformed to big scale local, international, and global capital owners from public authorities under the name of privatisation process. So, global capital owners developed into new partners of urban rent of the city (Interview, 2008a; Interview, 2008b).

3. Lastly, it is claimed that the main effect of the projects are the process of social exclusion in the city of Istanbul both socially and spatially (Interview, 2008a; Interview, 2008b). While the dwellers of gecekondü areas are evicted from their living spaces socially, they are also subjected to a social oppression and alienation (Gough, et al., 2006) by the declarations of the representatives of the local and nation state and the media.

In this scope, while the transformation period in the city has started, a significant process is launched to experience in gecekondü areas after 2000.

#### **4.4.1. Resistance Against Eviction: Right to Housing**

After the 2000, an unusual period has started on gecekondü areas in respect of former years. As we illustrated history of gecekondü areas in Istanbul in previous chapter, gecekondü areas were seen as a part of the city, which have to be authorized. When coming to the 2000, Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey, declared in his speech in General Housing Assembly arranged by MHA in 2004 that gecekondüs are “tumours” of the city of Istanbul and have to be got rid of. While this declaration showed that gecekondü areas of Istanbul are not wanted in the city any more, new declarations from the head of MHA is announced one after the other:

We cannot ban migration but we have to take precautions to prevent the intensification of people who have no money. We can realize it through solving security problems in Istanbul and to hinder the sheltering of people who are living in illegal ways. We can implement urban regeneration only through these preventions. It is known that the basis of terror, drugs, seeing state in a deviating perspective, psychological problems, health problems, un-education, is gecekondu areas (Bayraktar, 2007).

Urban regeneration process was on the agenda of municipalities for a long time, actually. But the common and frequent usage of regeneration in big cities of Turkey, Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir, is dated to 2003. In addition, the law on Protection and Lively Used of Deprived Historical and Cultural Heritage After Renewal (Number 5366/2005) and a special law for regeneration in Ankara were on the agenda of Turkish Parliament in 2003. On these grounds, it can be claimed that the intervention process of gecekondu areas was preferred intentionally as a special urban politics of the JDP government (Aslan, 2008).

With the implementation of urban regeneration projects, it is clear that a significant change on the socio-spatial pattern of the city will be realized. Most of the theorists and professionals (Aslan, 2008; Interview, 2008a; Interview, 2008b) declare that it is a **social exclusion** process in which the dwellers of the gecekondu are forced to leave their houses. As the recent planning studies of Istanbul is explored, it is seen that gecekondu dwellers will be transformed to the outskirts of the city by the MHA's proposed social housing area<sup>28</sup>. While gecekondu people are forced to move from their living areas, the process has its own consequences for the authorized owners of the gecekondu and the unauthorized ones or tenants. Whereas the authorized gecekondu have a chance to move to the houses of MHA, none of them have the chance to live where they were living.

In this scope, a distinctive practice of Turkish political history has been experienced during accelerated urban regeneration processes in the

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<sup>28</sup> Kayabaşı MHA Housing Area, Küçükçekmece.

gecekondu areas. While the gecekondu dwellers are forced to move to the peripheries of the city, an unusual neighbourhood resistance in gecekondu areas has flourished. The peculiarity of the process depends on "civil resistance" of gecekondu dwellers against the eviction process and urban regeneration. On the other hand, organizations such as: trade unions, professional chambers and radical political organizations are interested in and supported the "civil resistance" against urban renewal and gentrification processes.

There are more than twenty gecekondu neighbourhoods<sup>29</sup>, which are announced as urban regeneration areas. Before or during the process, every neighbourhood established its own association to struggle against urban regeneration. According to Interview (2008d), every neighbourhood has its peculiarity and face with different regeneration arguments of the authorities. For example, regeneration was depended on: water problem in Maden Neighbourhood (Sarıyer); dense structuring in Gülsuyu-Gülensu Neighbourhood (Maltepe). Thus, every neighbourhood experiences a significant process. In this scope, on the one hand, leftist political groups gave support to some of the neighbourhoods; on the other, academicians<sup>30</sup> gave support and have shared their technical information potential on planning processes. In addition, professional chambers, academicians, NGOs and related organisations<sup>31</sup> give support to the dwellers.

While, a movement has started in some of the neighbourhoods, they needed to act together against urban regeneration in the means of three main problems they faced (Interview, 2008d):

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<sup>29</sup> See Ergin (2006) for a detailed research on the recent gecekondu movement in Istanbul.

<sup>30</sup> In Gülsuyu and Gülensu Neighbourhoods Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Urban and Regional Planning Department academicians and 4th grade students started a studio work with gecekondu dwellers, called "Dayanışmacı Atölye". They made analysis, applied surveys, and hold meetings within the neighbourhood in the first year. Most of the times they gave technical support to the dwellers. And they proposed a planning model, which includes the gecekondu people through the planning process (Interview, 2008d).

<sup>31</sup> For example; "İmece", which is an organisation composed of mostly urban planners, trying to be an intervener in the intervention processes to the cities, mainly to Istanbul.

1. They could not have a chance to have learn about the regeneration processes of every neighbourhood and could not share their experiences and fragmentation weakens their solidarity,
2. The disunity in their language between neighbourhoods and political groups, and academicians, which can be get over by sharing common problems of gecekondu,
3. To realize that this process is not the problem of some of the gecekondu areas in Istanbul, it is the problem of all gecekondu areas.

In this context, in 2006 the Chamber of City Planners organized an Urban Regeneration Symposium in Ankara and set a session for the representatives of Neighbourhood Associations. It was the starting point of the Platform of Istanbul's Neighbourhood Associations (PINA). They firstly started with six neighbourhoods and now reached more than twenty neighbourhoods. In their founding declaration they illustrate the process through a plain way:

...Our story dates back to the 1950s. As we had not been able to live on in our villages and towns due to the lack of investment, we moved to large cities... State and capital encouraged us to be workers in their growing factories, without any social policy on low-income housing, [so that] we had to occupy public land... In spite of living in squatter areas, we created competitive industries and spectacular cities. But as these developed and became involved in spatially-wider networks, we began to be seen as rough workers unworthy to be living in inner cities. The state and companies are now seeking to evict us from our living places... (PINA, 2007: 103-4).

In two years, the organisation of the Platform became stable and organised according to the decisions of its members. While it organised workshops in the neighbourhoods and declared press statements with other social organisations, the main demands of the neighbourhood people are started to take its shape. On the one hand, some of the neighbourhoods compromised with municipality and MHA, such as Sulukule, Ayazma, and

Başıbüyük. On the other, most of the neighbourhoods are demanding not for their rights only, they also propose a new planning model:

We tried to design a planning model after series of meetings with academicians, social groups and proposed it to the municipality in one of the meetings with them. According to our model, in every neighbourhood a planning bureau will be established, which is composed of municipality representatives, academicians and people from neighbourhood. We may select two or three streets as prototype and prepare sample plans for the whole neighbourhood. We know that this kind of a planning model is a threat for the municipality. But we do not want only our right of housing; we want our **right of statement and decision** in the process of our lives assessment (Interview, 2008d).

Concurrently, the state has countered with its strategies, "ranging from subtle to brutal, to weaken the resistance" (Gündoğdu and Gough, 2008). The authorities used force to threaten the dwellers of gecekondu by using media, which illustrates the dwellers as 'invaders' and by using police force severely. For example, Başbüyük Neighbourhood was exposed to police force for several times<sup>32</sup>, but the interesting and unexpected part of the case was the political background of the neighbourhood. In the last national election, they supported JDP, the government party, with %72 proportion in total. On these grounds, according to Interview (2008e), this was the first encounter of the neighbourhood against "state". He declares that

Most of the people living in Başbüyük are conservative that not allow their wives to go out without men. Because of that in the first instance they were just 150-200 people in the Neighbourhood Association of Başbüyük. But by the impact of police attacks, they become 3500-4000 people composed of both the conservatives and women.

In this process, some of the neighbourhoods divided and mainly tenants and owners are divided in the process. The municipality and the investors also encourage it. Interview (2008c) declares that in their project they detached the 'invaders' and owners:

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<sup>32</sup> See documentaries (Arka Bahçede Yıkım, 2006 and Dikmen Vadisi: Direniş, 2008) for more information.

We put our criteria on who is invader, who is not. If someone lived in Tarlabası for twenty years but no access to formal authorities is an invader and we have no solution for them. Some professional chambers and

academicians criticise us according to our criteria, and they said that 'they have no other chance, they are poor'. We know that there is a huge problem of poverty in Turkey but we could not solve it through a project. Besides, we do not have that kind of responsibility, we are a part of a private construction company, at first we have to care about our profit (Interview, 2008c).

As in Tarlabası Renewal Project case, the authorities offer new social houses only to the owners. They pay the value of their houses in gecekondu areas, and indebt them for the social houses of MHA. In this process, some of the home-owners made deals but some of them do not want to make a deal, cause they don't have regular income. For tenants, the process is also varies into two: some of them leave the place where they live and consider the process as the problem of owners. But some of them do not want to leave their living spaces, because they do not have a chance of finding a place to live that cheap. One of the remarkable and dramatic cases is started in Ayazma Neighbourhood, where a huge number of Kurdish population was living. The demolition process came to a halt in Ayazma, but some of the tenants, who have no place to go and have no regular jobs, did not leave the neighbourhood and started to live in tents (Interview, 2008e; Interview, 2008d; Interview, 2008a).

Consequently, it is not easy to predict what will happen in this expansive regeneration process in Istanbul. According to Aslan (2008) and Interview (2008b) the projects will lead huge social problems in big cities of Turkey. Because the projects are not only urban regeneration projects, actually they are social exclusion projects. On this account, according to Interview (2008a) the future of gecekondu movement will face more severe attacks than it experienced, and different from the former intentions to gecekondu areas in 1970s, this time counter-side of gecekondu dwellers is more powerful that supported by nation state, global capital owners, and private construction companies in Turkey. According to Interview (2008d), the

PINA will decide its way to pursue in their meeting on urban regeneration in Istanbul in October 2008 with all of their partners in the process. He claims that:

We know that we don't have a chance if we could not create an alliance with academicians, intellectuals, architects, urban planners, professional chambers, political groups and parties, and NGOs. So we decided to establish a collective urban social movement with all the partners in this process, it is our only chance to survive and get our right of statement and decision. We know that none of the big cities are just composed of wealthy people. And they cannot create their purified upper-middle and upper class cities by evicting us from Istanbul. No one is talking about us, the poors of the city. They say that Istanbul is a global city; it is the centre of finance and tourism. These words are for the affluent upper classes of the city and they mention that there is no place for the poor people. Could you imagine a city without workers, civil servants, and its poor?

#### **4.5. Concluding Remarks**

This chapter presented a significant urbanisation period of the city of Istanbul under the implementation of neoliberal urban politics. The basic reflections of turning Istanbul into a global city by implementation of neoliberal governance regime are defined in four fundamental dimensions. Firstly, Istanbul has been the leading city of the country in every period. While it was the primary industrial city of the country in 1950s, it has been aimed to attract financial and service sector capital based on de-industrialisation policies starting from 1980s (Erkip, 2000; Keyder, 2005). Thus, the inner city of Istanbul is rehabilitated from the old industry and new industrial areas are moved to the far-peripheries of the city. The main facet of this transformation is the alteration on urban scale. It has been shifting toward urban-region scale, in which global cities are accepted as the central nodes. Accordingly, there is a shift in the urban planning where Istanbul is taken into consideration on a macro scale with micro scaled urban regeneration projects. In this process, the existent city management model was reorganised and in 2004 Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre was established within the scope of new governance model to be able to direct the city on a macro scale.

The second concern is related to the recent housing production in the city and the expansion of real estate market. Throughout the time, authorities have overlooked to the gecekondus areas but, in the last years, unlike the former politics of urban land depended on amnesty laws and renewals dealt with Improvement Plans; the urban land politics has changed that urban land itself has become a commodity in Turkey, mainly in Istanbul in the last decades (Buğra, 1998; Keyder, 2005). Therefore, the city of Istanbul has dominated by investment interventions through space, mainly gecekondus areas as such geographically high rented places, mainly after

2000. The dwellers of gecekondus are evicted from their housing areas and forced to move to the outside of the city. In addition to such process, it has been observed an increase in building sector resulted in significant transformation in urban space. Currently, the city is being restructured by urban regeneration projects. Nearly all these highly rented areas of the city of Istanbul are turning into shopping malls, business centres, luxury housing, gated communities that are built with the partnership of national and international investment. In other words, this transformation is interpreted as the shift from "spontaneous urbanisation" to the urbanization manipulated by the expanded real estate market of big business investments (Kurtuluş, 2005). Unlike the global cities of the First World, the strategy of real estate market investments in Turkey depended on the leading role of the nation state rather than local government. It is why the role and the power of Mass Housing Administration (MHA), which was established in 1984, have increase in the last years as an agent of the state.

The third consequence of the urban transformation after 2000 indicates a new period in the city of Istanbul. The modern city myth, in which the contradiction among urban social classes is declined (Kurtuluş, 2006), is undermined, and an unequal spatial distribution is experienced. There have been negative and unequal results on behalf of urban poor experienced through the rise of urban regeneration projects with the claim of rehabilitation and renewal of urban spaces. In this process, gecekondus

settlement areas are started to transform drastically, in the first instance. The impacts of the transformation have affected the dwellers of the gecekondus into two main distinctions: tenants and owners. Though, tenants have no rights on the houses they live in, but the opportunity of buying subsidized houses in the new peripheral neighbourhoods, constructed by MHA, is offered. On the other hand, the owners are proposed two chances, as such; to sell their houses to MHA or to be a part of the regeneration process. The effects of transformation of gecekondu areas are more crucial and severe for the tenants rather than owners. On the other hand, it is claimed that urban classes are segregated socially and spatially by the accelerated urban regeneration projects. The new rising spatial clusters; as such, gated communities, shopping malls, e.g., regard to class-based segregation and recent exclusion strategies of neoliberal urban politics. These projects in prestigious areas of the urban space are transferred on behalf of particular urban classes. As a result, while the urban transformation is arising, the possibility of the meeting on urban space with different classes is declining.

Lastly, in gecekondu areas a new movement potential has risen against regeneration projects. The distinctiveness of this resistance is owing to the radical transformation of housing areas, in which the dwellers are evicted from their houses and left by their own through the restructuring process via metropolitan urban planning studies of Istanbul Metropolitan and Urban Design Centre.

In this line, social classes in the city mainly fragmented in terms of socially and spatially. In this part of the study, it is argued that particular social classes are excluded from the city centre to create the idealized city model of neoliberalism. It is claimed that the city of Istanbul appears rather than the spaces of meeting, relation and connecting among social classes but that of borders, exclusion and fragmentation. Furthermore, such process has been associated with certain urban governance and planning approach conducted by urban professionals.

Consequently, it is argued that the exclusion process in the city is mainly affected the people who live in gecekondu areas. It is clearly mentioned by the authorities that main target areas of this drastical change is the gecekondu areas. In relation to this process, it is aimed to illustrate civil resistance of gecekondu people against urban regeneration projects, which are the main urban strategy of neoliberalism. While new "elite" classes are rising in the city centre, people of gecekondus are declared as the "unwanted other" in the city of Istanbul.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this thesis, I try to investigate whether the recent urban regeneration projects in Istanbul on squatter areas and old city centre lead to social exclusion of the dwellers of these areas, or not. It is argued that the city of Istanbul has experienced fundamental spatial restructuring mainly after 2000, paving the way for a new urbanisation process of Turkey that makes cities highly conflictual spaces.

On this basis, the conceptualisation of Henri Lefebvre, which clarifies the (social) production of space thorough constructing the relation between space and society dialectically, is used. In this perspective, urban space is defined as a social form, in which carries past experiences on transformation of urban space historically and the potential for the future. The methodology of Lefebvre constituted by representations of space and spaces of representation, for analysing production of urban space, provided us a rich ground to reveal the urban transformation process in Istanbul both on how it is conceived and how it is lived. While representations of space is the conceptual models used to direct land use (maps, plans, etc.) and expert knowledge (planners, professionals, developers, etc.), spaces of representation is the lived social relations of users to space (their symbols, jargons, images, everyday experiences).

The concepts of Lefebvre constituted the main methodological framework of the thesis, but it also remains as an abstract ground for revealing the dynamics of urbanisation process in the city. Therefore, on the one hand the leading approach of urban space analysis, examining the relation between the production of urban space and society in the means of political-economic dynamics, namely the Regulation School is investigated. However, the main basis of the School's approach disregards the diversity between both the modes of accumulation and dynamics in the actions of actors and institutions.

To deal with the recent urban restructurings in Istanbul, I develop a table of socio-spatial analysis of the city of Istanbul to investigate the presence of neoliberal urban regeneration policies, by revising the conceptual framework of Henri Lefebvre (Table 7). In this table (Table 7), the main argument of the thesis is subjected to a Lefebvrian analysis through his four main concepts: conceived space, lived space, perceived space and contradictory space. These concepts provide a fertile ground to examine the relations between main structures in the process of transformation and production of urban space. When Lefebvre conceptualise the production of capitalist urban space, he uses the conceived space as to reveal the meaning of, on the one hand; urban plans and approach, which I conceptualise as spaces of intervention, and on the other; legal arrangements and institutional organisations as the means of intervention. While urban space is envisaged through a technically determined process, the everyday experiences of the users of space create its symbols, images and jargons that Lefebvre conceptualise it as lived space. On the one hand, conceived space is visualised, on the other, lived space is experienced, but according to Lefebvre, it is the spatial practice (perceived space) that constructs the spatial patterns of everyday life in which conceived and lived space merge. Yet, while the spatial practice is the socio-spatial pattern of urban space, it is not stable and fixed. As Lefebvre illustrates us, the emergent socio-spatial 'order' of space carries conflictual dynamics and struggles, called as the contradictory space.

In this scope, the urbanisation process of Istanbul is examined historically, in three main periods: 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and post-2000, to reveal the changes in the relations of actors and institutions during the process (Table 7). It is claimed that a new period of urbanisation is started after the year of 2000, both in the means of capitalist restructuring of Turkey and focusing on urban space, essentially. In this period, Istanbul is subjected to be the centre of neoliberal restructuring processes via state and capital interest, and legal and institutional changes towards space. In this scope, what I tried to convey in the case study is to make clear the peculiarity of socio-spatial forms and relations of Istanbul as the key urbanisation phenomenon of Turkey.

<b>Table 7. Summary Table: Urbanisation as Social Exclusion: A Socio-Spatial Analysis of the City of Istanbul</b>		<b>1950-1980</b> Rapid Urbanisation Process	<b>1980-2000</b> Reflections of Social Segregation	<b>post-2000</b> The Urbanisation as Social Exclusion
<b>SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE PERIOD</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<b>multi party system</b></li> <li>-<b>liberal economy model</b></li> <li>-growth economy strategies: modernisation in agriculture, foreign aid</li> <li>-planned economy</li> <li>-import substitution model</li> <li>-huge migration</li> <li>-rise in population</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-1980 military coup</li> <li>-Internationalisation</li> <li>-export promotion strategies</li> <li>-neoliberal policies</li> <li>-liberalization of trade</li> <li>-enhanced capital mobility</li> <li>-World Bank and IMF stabilization packages</li> <li>-"becoming a global city" discourse</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-neoliberal urban politics</li> <li>-being a part of EU</li> <li>-privatisation</li> <li>-foreign capital investments</li> <li>-Internationalisation</li> <li>-global capitalism</li> </ul>
<b>CONCEIVED SPACE</b>	<b>Spaces of Intervention</b> (Urban Planning Approach and Master Plans & Other Plans)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-1950-70: Comprehensive: 1955 Plan of Istanbul's Industrial, Regions 1958 Piccinato Master Plan, 1963 Eastern Marmara Region pre-plan</li> <li>-1970-80: Incremental, project level approaches, strategic planning, infrastructure planning: 1971 Greater Istanbul Master Plan, 1980 Formal Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan, 1984 Informal Istanbul Transport Master Plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-structure planning</li> <li>-strategic planning</li> <li>-sustainable urban development</li> <li>-1995 Istanbul Metropolitan Area Master Plan</li> <li>-1995 Historic Peninsula designated as conservation area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- strategic planning</li> <li>-urban regeneration projects</li> <li>- 2006, 1/100.000 scale Istanbul Environmental Plan (non-authorized)</li> <li>- 2007, 1/25.000 scale Istanbul Master Plan</li> <li>-Strategic plan of Istanbul</li> </ul>
	<b>Means of Intervention</b> (Administrative Organisation and Legal Arrangements)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-1960 establishment of <b>Marmara Regional Planning Organization</b></li> <li>-1966 establishment of Istanbul Master Plan Bureau</li> <li>-new Expropriation Legislation</li> <li>-1951 (till 1983) High Council for Historic Conservation</li> <li>- 1965 Law of Condominium Ownership</li> <li>-1966 Gecekondu Law</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-1984 establishing Mass Housing Fund (MHF)</li> <li>-1988 establishing metropolitan sub-regional Conservation Boards</li> <li>-1983-88 amnesty laws</li> <li>-1984 decentralization legislation for the administration of the Municipalities of Large Cities (no.3030)</li> <li>-1984 Mass Housing Fund Legislation (MHF, no.2985)</li> <li>-1985 Development Legislation (no.3194)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2004, establishing of IMP</li> <li>-enhancement in the roles and authority of MHA</li> <li>- 2004 The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Fund Law (Number 5162)</li> <li>- 2005 The Municipality Law (Number 5393/2005)</li> <li>- 2005 The Provincial Local Government Law (Number 5302/2005)</li> <li>-2007 The Law of Change of Gecekondu Law (Number 5609)</li> <li>- The Draft Law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects</li> </ul>
<b>LIVED SPACE</b>	<b>The lived social relations of users to space</b> (their symbols, jargons, images, everyday experiences)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>new comer migrants and poor:</i> the need to housing, spaces of living, spaces of survival and hope</li> <li><i>urban middle and upper classes:</i> modern housing (solution for infrastructure: transportation, electricity, telephone, water, heating), spaces of modern life style, spaces for development and progress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>urban poor and forced migrants:</i> appropriating urban rent for compensating for market based policies, spaces of shelter, networks in citizenry associations</li> <li><i>upper and new affluent class:</i> spaces for identity, elite living spaces, spaces of luxury consumption, city as a elite playing field</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>urban poor and forced migrants:</i> dispossession and eviction process by rich people, spaces of civil resistance, right to housing</li> <li><i>upper and new affluent class:</i> security, spaces for identity, elite living spaces, spaces of luxury consumption, city as a elite playing field, space of leisure, entertainment and tourism, space as a commodity, space of competition, space of articulation to global networks, community behaviour towards lifestyle, city as a space serving to particular social classes through excluding</li> <li><i>new middle classes:</i> sterilized neighbourhoods, conquering historical heritage, purchasing "culture"</li> </ul>
<b>PERCEIVED SPACE</b>	<b>Spatial patterns of everyday life</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-authorized or non-authorized housing</li> <li>-build and sell system</li> <li>-cooperatives (limited number)</li> <li>-social housing (limited number)</li> <li>-gecekondu areas over the city</li> <li>-apartment settlements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-authorized or non-authorized housing: gecekondu areas, luxury housing, hygienic sub-cities, gated-communities, enclaves, gentrified neighbourhoods, cooperatives, mass housing estates</li> <li>-shopping malls, five-star hotels, international congress, culture, art and conference centres</li> <li>-highways, international airports and rehabilitate transportation systems</li> <li>-museums and archive centres</li> <li>-international stadiums and sports complexes</li> <li>-developing central business district</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Central business districts (CBDs)</li> <li>- mega urban regeneration projects</li> <li>- shopping malls</li> <li>- international congress, culture, art and conference centers</li> <li>- places for tourism</li> <li>-large scale urban projects</li> <li>-prestige spaces and centres</li> </ul>
<b>CONTRADICTORY SPACE</b>	<b>Emergent spatial 'order'</b>	softly segregated city within an inclusionary <i>modern city image</i>	Spontaneous urbanization as class segregations	Urbanisation as social exclusion led by neoliberal globalisation

Starting from the early 1950 to today, gecekondu are on the agenda of urbanisation process of Istanbul. In the beginning, gecekondu areas seen as the need of housing for the new comers of the city during rural to urban migration and overlooked due to the inadequate housing stock of the city and opportunist political attitude of the nation state. Then, while gecekondu areas grew in number and expanded, people who live in, became major actors in the urbanisation process of the city. In the period between 1950 and 1980, there was a dual structure among the city: settlements of urban poor (and migrant) as gecekondu areas and middle class settlements as apartments. However, this structure was not paving a way of concrete segregation among social classes. Thus, it was seen in accordance with modern city image per se, which allows coexistence of different social classes, side by side.

But, after 1980s, while the city turned into more separated spaces, it is claimed that fragmentation of spatial forms mainly based on class distinctions. It was also the first attempts of neoliberalism into cities through legal arrangements and main urban politics on Istanbul. Thus, the process leads a deepened social inequality among social classes, which also creates spatially segregated and disintegrated metropolitan macro form. In this period, the city was composed of diversified forms, which can be called as the "splitting" of social classes.

When coming to post-2000, it is argued that major changes occurred in the formation of society and urban space of Istanbul. It was the starting of domination and diffusion step of neoliberalism into urban politics, legal and institutional arrangements entirely. The development of the city is based on decentralisation of industry, enhancement of service sector, and turning urban economy into culture and tourism based economy.

There were also significant rearrangements on urban institutions and legislative arrangements in the post-2000. Firstly, a significant orientation to space based legal arrangements were on the agenda in which provide strengthened the roles of both local and state actors in the production of

urban space. In addition, newly-created city-region authority, the IMP, is established and the powers of national housing agency, the MHA, is strengthened in terms of the main actors of the process. The legal arrangements are depended on to reduce obstacles for transformation and make the process at ease. Moreover, differentiated from the former arrangements, they are prepared for the service of investors not the dwellers of the city.

Accordingly, the urban planning scale is shifted to a city-region scale, namely a macro scale, which provides to direct space through extensive power relations. While macro scale planning studies are promoting, micro scale nodal urban projects are also implementing as a part of urbanisation process, which provides autonomy and extensive rights for the investors. According to our analyses on Istanbul, the main tool for transforming the project areas in the city is urban regeneration, which is micro scaled projects, but also, arranging the macro scale relations. The logic of urban regeneration leads to create segregated spatial forms, which expose formation of new socio-spatial conflicts that transcend class divisions. Lefebvre conceptualises such process as transformation to a collection ghettos, which isolate, separate and disintegrate individuals.

In parallel to this process, there were also two major spatial cleansing attacks through old city centres and gecekondu areas via urban regeneration projects in the favour of particular social classes in the city. While particular social classes is promoting in the city, urban poor and migrants are exposed to an exclusionary manner. In parallel to this process, gecekondu areas are seen as the insecure places that have to be get rid of immediately. Thus, it is illustrated as 'tumours' of the city of Istanbul, which needs operation to demolish.

In this period, the role of social actors in producing urban space is also redefined. To exemplify, I may appraise the changing role of state in the production process of urban space: In the first instance all the public-owned lands are prepared to transfer these spaces to the global market.

Both gecekondu areas and spaces of state economic enterprises are on the agenda of such transformation. The roles of state is redefined to organise and arrange such spaces through evicting the existing owners of the place and make it appropriate for investment (make the place secure, provide infrastructure) and transform it to the real estate property investors. During the process, people who live in gecekondu areas are ignored and forced to leave their living spaces by the authoritarian face of the state, such as using police force and using exclusionary discourses.

Despite of the state's position against gecekondu dwellers, an urban civil resistance is started as a counter action to urban regeneration projects. More than 20 neighbourhood organisations established an association at city level, called the Platform of Istanbul's Neighbourhood Associations (PINA), to overcome the lack of communication, to strengthen their power against state authorities and act in solidarity with other social actors for right to housing. According to the thesis, the possibility of turning the politics of difference to an alternative spatialisation, in Lefebvre's words differential space can be flourished through such an association. On the one hand, the struggle for right to housing has deficiencies and problems, such as organisation capacity, contact with other social classes and producing an alternative project, on the other, it has the potential for an alternative spatial formation.

The process after 2000 is identified as a refraction period of urbanisation under the implementation of contemporary neoliberal urban politics. In this process, public-owned lands are turning into commodified lands, state is the coordinator of capital and plays a despotic authoritarian role over the dwellers, global and international capital became dominant in every field of urbanisation process, social segregation turned into social exclusion and normalized. Within this framework, the thesis conceptualises the urbanisation period of Istanbul in post-2000 as a new urbanism that constructs a new socio-spatial order, in other terms an ***urbanisation as social exclusion*** in terms of political, economic, social, spatial formations and relations.

Consequently, the thesis tried to draw the contours of recent socio-spatial changes in the city of Istanbul through a historical perspective. It paves the way to reveal the main dynamics behind such a massive transformation. One of the main possible consequences of the process is how the relation between the evicted gecekondü people, now start to live in the far peripheries of the city, and their work places, mostly in the city centre will be constructed? How the people who moved from their living spaces will be adapted to the new places? It deserves further investigations on the possible consequences of transformation process of Istanbul to understand and reveal the future of the city in terms of its socio-spatial pattern.

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## **INTERVIEWS**

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Interview (2006b) Funda Yürekduymaz, the vice-head of Urban Regeneration and Urban Design Group, Greater Istanbul Municipality

Interview (2006c) Taylan Dericiođlu, the head of National and Regional Planning Group, IMP

Interview (2006d) Zeynep Enlil, academician, Yıldız Technical University

Interview (2008a) Mücella Yapıcı, Assistant Secretary of General of the Chamber

Interview (2008b) Tayfun Kahraman, the Secretary of the Chamber of City Planners, Istanbul

Interview (2008c) Nilgün Kıvırcık, the project coordinator of Tarlabası Renewal Project

Interview (2008d) Erdoğan Yıldız, the committee member of Gülsuyu and Gülenbu Neighbourhood Association

Interview (2008e) Adem Kaya, the head of Başıbüyük Neighbourhood Association

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## APPENDICIES

### **A- ARTICLES:**

#### **A-1. The Municipality Law (Number 5393/2005) - Article 73:**

Belediye, kentin gelişimine uygun olarak eskiyen kent kısımlarını yeniden inşa ve restore etmek, konut alanları, sanayi ve ticaret alanları ... oluşturmak deprem riskine karşı tedbirler almak ve kentin tarihi kültürel dokusunu korumak amacıyla kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim projeleri uygulayabilir. ... Bir yerin kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim proje alanı olarak ilan edilebilmesi için; o yerin belediye veya mücavir alan sınırları içerisinde bulunması ve en az elli bin metrekare olması şarttır. ... Kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim projesi kapsamında bulunan mülk sahipleri açılacak davalar, mahkemelerde öncelikle görüşülür ve karara bağlanır.

#### **A-2. The law on Protection and Lively Used of Deprived Historical and Cultural Heritage After Renewal (Number 5366/2005) - Article 2:**

...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. 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. 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.

**A-3. The Law of Change in the Mass Housing Administration Law (Number 5162/2004) - Article 4:**

Başkanlık, gecekondü dönüşüm projesi uygulayacağı alanlarda veya mülkiyeti kendisine ait arsa ve arazilerden konut uygulama alanı olarak belirlediği alanlarda veya valiliklerce toplu konut iskan sahası olarak belirlenen alanlarda çevre ve imar bütünlüğünü bozmayacak şekilde her tür ve ölçekteki imar planlarını yapmaya, yaptırmaya ve tadil etmeye yetkilidir. Bu planlar, Büyükşehir belediye sınırları içerisinde kalan alanlar için Büyükşehir belediye meclisi tarafından, il ve ilçe belediye sınırları ile mücavir alanları içerisinde kalan alanlar için ilgili belediye meclisleri tarafından, beldelerde ve diğer yerlerde ilgili valilik tarafından, planların belediyelere veya valiliğe intikal ettiği tarihten itibaren üç ay içerisinde aynen veya değiştirilerek onaylanması suretiyle yürürlüğe girer. Üç ay içerisinde onaylanmayan planlar Başkanlık tarafından re'sen yürürlüğe konur.

**A-4. The draft law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects - Article 6-**

**(1)** Dönüşüm alan sınırının kesinleşmesiyle birlikte, dönüşüm amaçlı imar planları kesinleşinceye kadar bu alanlarda, plan, plan değişikliği ve plan revizyonu, parselasyon planı, ifraz, tevhit, irtifak hakkı tesisi, terkin, cins tashihi, yapı ruhsatı ve yapı kullanma izin belgesi düzenlenmesi ve onaylanması, kat irtifakı ve kat mülkiyeti tesisine ilişkin işlemler durdurulur ve kararın onayından evvel ruhsata bağlanmış olanlar dahil bütün yapım faaliyetlerine geçici olarak son verilir. ...

**The draft law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects - Article 7-**

**(2)** İdare, plan kararlarını gerçekleştirmek amacıyla; arazi, arsa ve proje

düzenleme işlemleri yapmaya, kamulaştırmaya, toplulaştırmaya, satın almaya, ön alıma, bağımsız bölümler dahil mülkiyetindeki gayrimenkullerle trampaya, sınırlı aynı hak, şahsi hakların tesis ve devri, gayrimenkul mülkiyetini veya imar haklarını başka bir alana aktarmaya, kamu ve özel sektör işbirliğine dayalı yöntemler uygulamaya, her hangi bir izne tabi olmaksızın bu amaçla şirket kurmaya, kurulmuş şirketlere katılmaya ve mevcut şirketleri eliyle uygulamalar yapmaya, kamu tüzel kişiliği olarak veya özel sektörle birlikte proje temelli gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklıkları kurmaya, kurulmuş olanlara katılmaya, kat karşılığı inşaat yapmaya veya yaptırmaya, arsa paylarını belirlemeye, Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu esaslarına göre paylaşmaya, hisseleri ayırıştırmaya veya bütünleştirmeye, yetkilidir. İdare; değerlendirme esaslarına uygun yapılacak mülkiyet haklarının dağıtımına göre, bağımsız bölüm, hisse ya da bedeli verilmek suretiyle alan ve hisse miktarlarını değiştirmeye, uygulama alanlarında inşa edilecek binaların, hak sahiplerine paylı veya tam mülkiyet halinde bağımsız bölüm tescillerini tapuya yaptırmaya re'sen yetkilidir.

**The draft law of Law about Urban Regeneration Projects - Article 7-(7)** Dönüşüm alanlarında yapılacak kamulaştırmalar, 2942 sayılı Kamulaştırma Kanunu'nun 3 üncü maddesi ikinci fıkrasındaki iskan projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesi amaçlı kamulaştırmalardan olup, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı alınmaksızın yapılacak **acele kamulaştırma** olarak değerlendirilir.

**A-5. The Law of Istanbul 2010 European Capital City of Culture – Article 9- (b)** Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin oluşturulmasına ilişkin olarak ilgili kurumlara önerilerde bulunmak.

## **B- THE OPENING SPEECH OF URBAN REGENERATION SYMPOSIUM,**

**2006-** (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.

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**

## **C- PRESS STATEMENTS:**

### **C-1. İSTANBUL MAHALLE DERNEKLERİ PLATFORMU (İMDP) BASIN AÇIKLAMASI – 05.01.2008**

Biz aşağıda imzası olan kurum ve kuruluşlar, kentimize ve yaşam alanlarımıza karşı "Kentsel Dönüşüm", "Kentsel Yenilenme" vb. isimler altında yapılmak istenen uygulamalara aşağıda saydığımız nedenlerle karşı çıkıyoruz.

Dönüşüm Alanları Yasa Tasarısı bugünkü haliyle yasalaştığında sosyal adalet, barınma hakkı, kamu yararı ve kent planlama bütünselliği hiçe sayılarak, şehirlerimizin emekçi mahallelerinin başlıca yaşam alanları, rantın yeniden paylaşımı ve pazarlanması sürecinin bir parçası olacaktır.

#### **KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜME NEDEN KARŞIYIZ?**

- Bugün kentsel dönüşüm adı altında yapılan uygulamalar, Anayasanın temel ilkelerinden 'sosyal devlet ilkesine' aykırıdır. Yönetenler sosyal adaleti, temel insan haklarını yok sayarak Kentsel Dönüşüm Projelerini yaşama geçirirken aynı zamanda toplum yararını, bilimi, hukuku, çevreyi, doğal, tarihsel ve kültürel mirası yok saymaktadır. Bu projeler, insanı kentten soyutlayarak bir nesne konumuna düşürmektedir.
- 1950'lerde sanayileşme sürecinde kente göç eden insanların barınma sorununu kendi yöntemleriyle çözmesine göz yumanlar, bu yapılaşmayı teşvik edenler şimdi ulusal ve uluslar arası sermayeye arsa yaratmak için, mahalle halklarını yaşam alanlarından kent dışına sürmek istemekte, yaratılan sosyal ilişkileri ve değerleri yok saymaktadır.
- Böylelikle şehir merkezlerinde zaman içinde oluşan rant, yönetenlere ve yandaşlarına aktarılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Yapılmak istenen, kentsel dönüşüm değil rantsal bölüşümdür.

- Tüm bu süreç, orta veya uzun vade hiçbir planlamaya dayanmamakta, bir veya birkaç kişinin direktifleri doğrultusunda gerçekleşmektedir.
- Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri, bu hali ile ancak temel insan haklarından biri olan barınma hakkını ihlal eden sosyal ve fiziki yıkım projeleri olabilir.

### **NE İSTİYORUZ?**

- Yapılacak uygulamalar, kentte yaşayan bütün yurttaşların mutlu olmasını hedefleyen, sadece zenginlerin değil yoksullarında daha iyi yaşayacakları koşulların sağlanmayı amaçlamalıdır.
- İnsanların yerinden yurdundan atılmadığı, kimsenin mağdur edilmediği bir planlama mümkündür.
- Meslek odaları, akademisyenler, uzmanlar, mahalle dernekleri, muhtarlıklar ve konunun tüm muhataplarıyla birlikte daha iyi bir planlama ve uygulama mümkündür.
- Yaşadığımız kentler tüm halkın sadece barınma değil eğitim, sağlık, su, çevre, ulaşım gibi diğer tüm kamusal hakları gözetilen bir biçimde, kentin tüm doğal, tarihsel ve kültürel değerlerinin tüm kent halkının yararlanacağı şekilde düzenlenmelidir.

### **TOKİ BAŞKANININ YERSİZ DAYANAKSIZ SÖZLERİNİ KINIYORUZ**

18 Kasım 2007'de Kayseri'de düzenlenen bir toplantıda konuşan TOKİ Başkanı Erdoğan Bayraktar, *"Bazı siyasi oluşumlar, açığözler, yanlış düşünenler, esrar, eroin ve kadın ticareti yapan yanlış insanlarımız, gecekondu ve kaçak yapılaşma bölgelerinden çokça beslendikleri için bu olgunun kaldırılıp atılmasına engel olmaya çalışıyorlar"* demiştir.

Bizler bu ülkenin vergi veren, askerliğini yapan emeğiyle geçinen onurlu yurttaşları olarak bu yalan ve safsatalarla dolu ifadeleri kabul etmiyor, yıllardır bu mahallelerde yaşayan yurttaşlar olarak TOKİ başkanını bu açıklamasından dolayı gecekondu mahallelerinde yaşayan halktan özür

dilemeye ve istifa etmeye davet ediyor ve aksi halde yasal işlemler başlatacağımızı bildiriyoruz.

Dar gelirli halkı daha çok yoksullaştıran her türlü uygulama karşısında, mahallelerimizi ve kentimizi sonuna kadar savunacağımızı kamuoyuna saygıyla duyuruyoruz.

### **İSTANBUL MAHALLE DERNEKLERİ PLATFORMU BİLEŞENLERİ:**

Armutlu (PSA)

Başbüyük (Maltepe)

BOÇEV

Derbent (Sarıyer)

Ferahevler

FSM Baltalimanı

Gülsuyu - Gülensu

Hürriyet (Kartal)

İç-Dış Kumsal (Küçükçekmece)

Karanfilköy

Kazım Karabekir

Kuzguncuk

Maden (Sarıyer)

Okmeydanı

Poligon

Reşitpaşa Doğaneyler

Yakacık (Kartal)

### **DESTEK VEREN KURULUŞ VE İNİŞİYATİFLER**

Mimarlar Odası

Şehir Plancıları Odası

Dayanımcı Atölye

İMECE Toplumun Şehircilik Hareketi

İnsan Yerleşimleri Derneği

Mimarlıkta Demokratik Açılım Platformu (MİMDAP)

Sarıyer Barınma Hakkı Platformu

Sosyal Haklar Derneği

Sulukule Platformu

## **C-2. TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Basın Açıklaması- 10.10.2006**

### **“KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM” değil RANT AMAÇLI TASFİYE YASASI**

Kentler ve kentsel mekan son yıllarda bir çok yasal düzenlemenin konusu olmasına karşın yasa yapımcıların sorun yumağı haline gelmiş kentsel sorunlar karşısında rant odaklı ve parçacı düzenlemelerde ısrarı, ne yığılan sorunlar karşısında yeni çözümler üretebiliyor ne de bu sorunların çözümünde toplumun geniş kesimlerince kabul gören bütünlüklü bir yasal zemin sunuyor. Her bir yasal düzenleme daha büyük kentsel sorunlara/çelişkilere yol açıyor ve hukuksal tutarlılıktan yoksun yeni yasal düzenlemeler birbiri ardına gündeme getiriliyor. Son yıllarda çeşitli çevrelerce dile getirilen ve bir süredir TBMM'nin gündemine getirilmek istenen Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı, gerek bu eğilimin vardığı son noktayı göstermesi gerekse yol açacağı yeni sosyal/mekansal ve hukuksal sorunlar açısından titizlikle irdelenmeyi ve toplumun geniş kesimlerince değerlendirilmeyi hak ediyor. Bu bağlamda TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası olarak anılan yasayı, sosyal adalet ve kamu yararını üstte tutan bir anlayışla değerlendirmeyi ve kamuoyu ile paylaşmayı meslek etiğinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak görüyoruz.

Sağlıklı ve yaşanılabilir kentsel mekan üretimi açısından oldukça sorunlu bir kentleşme tarihine sahip 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 bir yasal düzenlemenin, sağlıklı ve yaşanılabilir kentsel mekan sorununu tüm yönleriyle (sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve fiziksel) ele alması ve belirli bir mekansal bütün (kent, bölge ve hatta ulusal ölçek) içerisinde düzenlemeler getirmesi gerekmektedir. Ne var ki, çeşitli çevrelerin yoğun çabaları ile bugünlerde TBMM'nin gündemine getirilen “Dönüşüm Alanları Hakkında Yasa Tasarısı” bu tür bir düzenlemenin oldukça uzağında bir kaygı ve içerik taşımaktadır. Bu durum Yasaya gerekçe olarak sunulanlara da yansımaktadır: Yasanın gerekçesi olarak, yakın dönemde çıkarılan 5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel

Taşınmazların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanununun ve 5366 sayılı Belediyeler Kanununun eskiyen tarihi mekanların ya da afet ve kentsel riske açık kent parçalarının yenilenmesine olanak sağlayan 73. madde hükümlerinin, mekansal sınırları ve uygulamayı kolaylaştıracak eksiklikleri sunulmakta; ve bu sınırları ortadan kaldıracak genel bir düzenlemenin gerekli olduğu söylenmektedir. Böylelikle Yasa kentsel yenilemeye/dönüşüme yönelik mevcut hukuksal çerçeveyi geliştirmeyi değil tüm hukuksal bağlardan kurtulmayı temel amaç olarak belirlemektedir. Yasanın, "dönüşüm alanlarında planlama ve yapılaşma" (madde, 6), "dönüşüm alanlarında uygulama" (madde, 7), "gelirler, harcamalar ve muafiyetler" (madde, 8) ve " çeşitli hükümler" (madde, 9) başlıklı maddelerinde açıkça görülen bu amaç Yasayı bir muafiyetler ve olağanüstü durumlar yasası haline dönüştürmektedir.

Hukuk devleti ilkesi ile uyumsuz bu genel çerçevesinin yanı sıra Yasa, yenilenmeye ihtiyaç duyan kentsel mekanları sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik köklerinden soyutlayarak değerlendirmekte ve kentsel yenilenmeyi fiziksel yenilenmeye indirgeyerek piyasanın acımasız işleyişine terk etmektedir. Böylesine geniş ve olağanüstü yetkilerle donatılmış bir Yasa, ne dönüşüm alanları olarak tanımlanacak bölgelerde yaşayan halkın sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik koşullarına değinmekte ne de halkın katılımı/talepleri ile işleyecek bir dönüşüm süreci öngörmektedir. Aksine Yasa, sınırları belediye meclisinin kararı ile belirlenecek bütün ya da ayrı ayrı parçaların toplamı en az 5 hektar olan dönüşüm alanlarında tüm üst ölçek plan kararlarına son vermekte, "dönüşüm amaçlı imar planları" ile bölgeye kent bütününden ayrıkısı biçimde yeni yapılaşma kararları getirme hakkı tanımakta ve söz konusu plan (!) kararlarına karşı hak sahiplerinden gelecek olası itirazları/anlaşmazlıkları deprem, afet gibi olağanüstü koşullar için Bakanlar Kurulunu yetkisine verilen "acil kamulaştırma" kapsamında değerlendirerek "Bakanlar Kurulu kararı alınmaksızın kamulaştırma" (madde, 7(6)) yapma yetkisini Belediyelere vermektedir. Bu çerçevede Yasa, bir bölgede yaşayan insanların yaşam mekanlarına yönelik yenileme ya da dönüşüm gibi demokratik katılım kanallarının açık olması gereken bir mekansal düzenleme sürecini; bırakın yerel halkın ve ilgili çevrelerin katılımını

sağlamayı, bölge halkının itirazlarını dikkate almayı, olağanüstü afet koşullarında ancak Bakanlar Kurulunun alabileceği kamulaştırma yetkilerini, kısıtsız biçimde belediyelere, bırakmak suretiyle tersine çevirmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Yasa hak sahiplerinin itirazlarını sadece kamulaştırma bedeline olabileceğini belirlemektedir. Bununla birlikte Yasa, sorunlu kentleşme tarihimizin ürünü olan gecekondualarda kiracı ya da ev sahibi olarak yaşayan yoksul halkın barınma hakkının sağlanmasına yönelik hiçbir bağlayıcı hüküm içermemekte, nerede ve nasıl sağlanacağı belirli olmayan "sosyal konutlardan verilebileceği" (madde, 6(2)) temennisi ile bu temel sosyal sorunu yadsımaktadır.

Öte yandan Yasa, üzerinde plan kararları alınacak ve yeni yapılaşma koşulları belirlenecek dönüşüm alanlarının belirlenmesinde kent bütününe gözetir hiçbir karara referans vermemekte ve Belediye Meclisinin kentin herhangi bir mekansal parçasına ilişkin alacağı dönüşüm alanı kararını yeterli görmektedir (madde, 1(a)). Bu yolla kent bütününden ve kent planından kopuk dönüşüm alanları belirlenebilecek ve böylelikle kent planlamasının kentsel mekanların bir bütün şema içerisinde yenilenmesi, sağlıklılaştırılması ya da geliştirilmesine yönelik bütüncül işlevi ortadan kalkacaktır. Böylesi bir mekansal düzenleme biçiminin kentsel mekanlar arasındaki eşitsizlikleri daha fazla derinleştireceği, kentsel sorunlara/çelişiklere yenilerini ekleyeceği ve yeni çatışmalara yol açacağını kestirmek güç değildir. Halbuki deprem, afet ya da diğer kentsel riskler karşısında yenilenmesi ya da dönüştürülmesi gereken alanlar kent bütününe gözeterek kent planına bütüncül biçimde belirlenmeli ve bu çerçevede belirlenecek koruma-geliştirme-yenileme ilkeleri etrafında planlanmalıdır.

Bu çerçevede, doğal afetlere ve kentsel risklere açık kentsel mekanların kamu yararı doğrultusunda yenilenmesine ya da dönüştürülmesine yönelik hiçbir ciddi öneri sunmayan "Dönüşüm Alanları Hakkında Yasa Tasarısı"nın sorunlu kentleşme deneyimimizin getirdiği kentsel yenilenme ve dönüşüm ihtiyacına yanıt olarak düşünmek mümkün değildir. Yasa, konu ile ilgili sivil toplum kesimlerini, yerel inisiyatifleri ve meslek odalarını dışlayan yasa

yapım sürecine de yansıdığı gibi, mekansal rantlardan birikim sağlamayı amaçlayan gayrimenkul piyasası aktörlerinin ve bu yolla ekonomik gelişme hedefleyen yerel yöneticilerin ve merkezi hükümetin taleplerini yansıtmaktadır. TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası olarak, kamu yararı doğrultusunda gerçekçi bir çözümün, kentlerimizin koruma, yenileme ve gelişme sorunlarını bütüncül bir planlama ilişkisi içerisinde sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve fiziksel yönleriyle değerlendirecek, raflarda tozlanmaya terk edilen "İmar ve Şehirleşme Kanun Tasarısı"nın hayata geçirilmesinde olduğuna işaret ediyoruz. Bu doğrultuda, planlamanın bilimsel esaslarını ve kamu yararını göz ardı eden, kentleri planlama süreçleri içerisinde değil parçacı rant odaklı "dönüşüm projeleri" etrafında geliştirecek ve mekansal eşitsizlikleri derinleştirecek Yasaya tümüyle karşı çıkıyoruz ve Yasanın kentlerimizin/yurttaşlarımızın ihtiyaç duyduğu kentsel dönüşümü değil, rant amaçlı tasfiyeyi hedeflediğini kamuoyuna saygıyla duyuruyoruz.

**TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası  
Yönetim Kurulu**

## **D- INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:**

### **D-1. GÖRÜŞME FORMU –İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama Merkezi (İMP)**

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Adı Soyadı:

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Çalıştığı Kurum:

1. Kaç yıldır burada görev yapmaktasınız?
2. Bu kurumdan önce nerelerde çalıştınız?
3. Hangi planlama döneminde aktif olarak görev aldınız? Görev aldığınız planlama çalışmasının genel hedefleri nelerdi size göre?
4. Size göre 1980li yıllardan sonra planlama anlayışında ne gibi değişimler oldu?
5. İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama ve Kentsel Tasarım Bürosunun (İMP) pozisyonunu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
6. İstanbul kentinin üst ölçekli planlama çalışmaları 1960lı yıllardan bugüne değerlendirilirse, üst ölçek planlama çalışmalarında kent mekanındaki farklı gruplar için öngörülerin nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
7. Kentsel politikalardaki değişim ve dönüşüm sürecinde, kentlere yönelik yoğun ilgi, merkezden yerele yetki devri ve yerelde yeni yönetim modelleri ile yerel yönetimlerin yeniden tartışmaya açıldığını görüyoruz. İstanbul bu dönemde kentsel politikaların oluşturulması ve kentleşmeye dönük nasıl bir süreç geçirmekte?
8. Size göre planlama sürecine müdahil olan aktörler kimler ve planlama sürecindeki rolleri nelerdir? Ve en önemli rol kime düşüyor?

9. Bu süreçte TOKİ'nin rolünü nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
10. İstanbul kenti her dönem kırdan göç alan bir kent oldu. Kentteki göçmenlerin varlığı planlama süreçlerini nasıl etkiler size göre?
11. İstanbul kentindeki gecekondu mahallelerinin planlama sürecindeki yeri nedir size göre?
12. Son yıllarda kentsel yenileme, büyük kentsel projeler, uluslararası yatırımlar ve tarihi kent merkezlerine yönelik çalışmaların yoğunlaştığı görülüyor. Son dönemde İstanbul kenti için önerilen büyük projeleri değerlendirebilir misiniz?
13. Kentler her zaman dinamik ve değişen bir yapı içindedirler. Son dönemde bu değişimi yönlendirmek için kentsel dönüşüm projeleri uygulanmakta. Size göre kentsel dönüşüm ne demek? Kentsel dönüşüm projelerini değerlendirebilir misiniz?
14. Son dönemde yürürlüğe giren Belediyeler Yasası (5393) ve Yıpranan Dokular Yasası (5366) ve son olarak henüz yürürlüğe girmemiş olan Dönüşüm Alanları Yasa Tasarısı'nın nasıl etkileri olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?
15. İstanbul'da kaç tane dönüşüm alanı belirlendi ve seçilen alanlarda uygulanacak projeler hangi plan kademesinde alınan kararlara dayanmakta?
16. Bu dönüşümlerin topluma kazandırdıkları ve kaybettirdikleri neler sizce?
17. Son dönemlerde artan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri karşısında mahalle örgütlenmeleri ve hareketleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

18. Bu süreçte gerçekleştirilen uygulamalara karşı eleştiriler de geliyor. Bu eleştiriler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

19. İstanbul'un 2010 yılı Kültür Başkenti ilan edilmesini nasıl değerlendirebiliriz? Kısa ve uzun vadede kent gündemi açısından nasıl bir etkisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

20. İstanbul nasıl bir kent olmalıdır?

## **D-2. GÖRÜŞME FORMU – GÖRÜŞME FORMU – Meslek Örgütleri & Üniversiteler**

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Adı Soyadı:

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Çalıştığı Kurum:

1. Kaç yıldır burada görev yapmaktasınız?
2. Buradaki göreviniz nedir?
3. Size göre 1980li yıllardan sonra planlama anlayışında ne gibi değişimler oldu?
4. İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama ve Kentsel Tasarım Bürosunun (İMP) pozisyonunu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
5. İstanbul kentinin üst ölçekli planlama çalışmaları 1960lı yıllardan bugüne değerlendirilirse, üst ölçek planlama çalışmalarında kent mekanındaki farklı gruplar için öngörülerin nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
6. Kentsel politikalardaki değişim ve dönüşüm sürecinde, kentlere yönelik yoğun ilgi, merkezden yerele yetki devri ve yerelde yeni yönetim modelleri ile yerel yönetimlerin yeniden tartışmaya açıldığını görüyoruz.

İstanbul bu dönemde kentsel politikaların oluşturulması ve kentleşmeye dönük nasıl bir süreç geçirmekte?

7. Size göre planlama sürecine müdahil olan aktörler kimler ve planlama sürecindeki rolleri nelerdir? Ve en önemli rol kime düşüyor?
8. Bu süreçte TOKİ'nin rolünü nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
9. İstanbul kenti her dönem kırdan göç alan bir kent oldu. Kentteki göçmenlerin varlığı planlama süreçlerini nasıl etkiler size göre?
10. İstanbul kentindeki gecekondu mahallelerinin planlama sürecindeki yeri nedir size göre?
11. Son yıllarda kentsel yenileme, büyük kentsel projeler, uluslararası yatırımlar ve tarihi kent merkezlerine yönelik çalışmaların yoğunlaştığı görülüyor. Son dönemde İstanbul kenti için önerilen büyük projeleri değerlendirebilir misiniz?
12. Kentler her zaman dinamik ve değişen bir yapı içindedirler. Son dönemde bu değişimi yönlendirmek için kentsel dönüşüm projeleri uygulanmakta. Size göre kentsel dönüşüm ne demek? Kentsel dönüşüm projelerini değerlendirebilir misiniz?
13. Son dönemde yürürlüğe giren Belediyeler Yasası (5393) ve Yıpranan Dokular Yasası (5366) ve son olarak henüz yürürlüğe girmemiş olan Dönüşüm Alanları Yasa Tasarısı'nın nasıl etkileri olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?
14. İstanbul'da kaç tane dönüşüm alanı belirlendi ve seçilen alanlarda uygulanacak projeler hangi plan kademesinde alınan kararlara dayanmakta?
15. Bu dönüşümlerin topluma kazandırdıkları ve kaybettirdikleri neler sizce?

16. Son dönemlerde artan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri karşısında mahalle örgütlenmeleri ve hareketleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

17. İstanbul'un 2010 yılı Kültür Başkenti ilan edilmesini nasıl değerlendirebiliriz? Kısa ve uzun vadede kent gündemi açısından nasıl bir etkisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

18. Sizin bu süreçte yaptığınız çalışmalar nelerdir?

19. İstanbul nasıl bir kent olmalıdır?

### **D-3. GÖRÜŞME FORMU – Mahalle Dernekleri**

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Adı Soyadı:

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Bağlı Olduğu Dernek:

1. Kaç yıldır burada görev yapmaktasınız?
2. Buradaki göreviniz nedir?
3. Mahalle örgütlenmeleri nasıl başladı, kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?
4. Size göre planlama sürecinde en önemli rol kime düşüyor ve bu süreçte kimler yer almalı?
5. Kentler her zaman dinamik ve değişen bir yapı içindedirler. Son dönemde bu değişimi yönlendirmek için kentsel dönüşüm projeleri uygulanmakta. Size göre kentsel dönüşüm ne demek? Kentsel dönüşüm projelerini değerlendirebilir misiniz?
6. Başbakan Tayip Erdoğan yaptığı bir konuşmada gecekondu bölgelerini kentlerin çevresini kuşatan bir ur olarak tanımladı, bu açıklama ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?

7. İstanbul kentindeki gecekondulu mahallelerinin planlama sürecindeki yeri nedir size göre?
8. Bu dönüşümlerin topluma kazandırdıkları ve kaybettirdikleri neler sizce?
9. Bu süreçte mahallelerin taleplerini kısaca sıralayabilir misiniz?
10. Mahallelerinizde kiracılık ve ev sahipliği oranı nasıl?
11. Kiracılar ve mal sahipleri arasında bir birlik sağlanabiliyor mu?
12. Bu süreç başladıktan sonra belediyeye, kurumlarla ya da İMP ile görüşmeleriniz oldu mu? Bu görüşmelerde herhangi bir sonuç alındı mı?
13. Belediye ve kamu kurumlarının mücadelenize tepkisi nasıl?
14. Gecekondulu olmak size ne ifade eder?
15. Kentli olmak size ne ifade eder?
16. Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasa Tasarısı ile ilgili dernekler ne kadar haberdar? Yasalaşması durumunda sizlere neler getireceğini düşünüyorsunuz?
17. Bu süreçte sizi destekleyen kurum ve akademisyenler var, onlardan nasıl bir destek alıyorsunuz?
18. Bu süreçte TOKİ'nin verdiği evlere yerleşenlerin durumundan haberdar mısınız?
19. TOKİ'nin evlerine yerleşmeyen ya da yerleşmeyenler ne yapıyor?
20. Sizin bu süreçte yaptığınız çalışmalar nelerdir?

21. Bundan sonrası için neler yapmayı hedefliyorsunuz?

22. İstanbul nasıl bir kent olmalıdır?

#### **D-4.GÖRÜŞME FORMU - İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve TOKİ**

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Adı Soyadı:

Görüşme Yapılan Kişinin Çalıştığı Kurum:

1. Kaç yıldır burada görev yapmaktasınız?
2. Bu kurumdan önce nerelerde çalıştınız?
3. Hangi planlama döneminde aktif olarak görev aldınız?
4. İstanbul kentinin üst ölçekli planlama çalışmaları 1960lı yıllardan bugüne değerlendirilirse, üst ölçek planlama çalışmalarında kent mekanındaki farklı gruplar için öngörülerin nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Kentsel politikalardaki değişim ve dönüşüm sürecinde, kentlere yönelik yoğun ilgi, merkezden yerele yetki devri ve yerelde yeni yönetim modelleri ile yerel yönetimlerin yeniden tartışmaya açıldığını görüyoruz. İstanbul bu dönemde kentsel politikaların oluşturulması ve kentleşmeye dönük nasıl bir süreç geçirmekte? Size göre 2000li yıllardan sonra planlama anlayışında ne gibi değişimler oldu?
6. TOKİ'nin kuruluşundan bugüne nasıl bir değişim geçirdiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
7. TOKİ'nin bugün yaşanan süreçteki rolünü nasıl tanımlarsınız? TOKİ'nin hedefi ne?

8. Size göre planlama sürecine müdahil olan aktörler kimler ve planlama sürecindeki rolleri nelerdir? Ve en önemli rol kime düşüyor?
9. Şu anda ne kadar TOKİ konutu tamamlandı? Ve ne kadar daha kentin nerelerinde üretilecek?
10. TOKİ'nin konut üretimi dışında yetkileri neler?
11. Size göre kentsel dönüşüm ne demek?
12. İstanbul'daki kentsel dönüşüm projelerini ve kentsel büyük projeleri değerlendirebilir misiniz?
13. İstanbul'da kaç tane dönüşüm alanı belirlendi ve seçilen alanlarda uygulanacak projeler hangi plan kademesinde alınan kararlara dayanmakta?
14. Son dönemde yürürlüğe giren Belediyeler Yasası (5393) ve Yıpranan Dokular Yasası (5366) ve son olarak henüz yürürlüğe girmemiş olan Dönüşüm Alanları Yasa Tasarısı'nın nasıl etkileri olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?
15. Bu dönüşümlerin topluma kazandırdıkları ve kaybettirdikleri neler sizce?
16. İstanbul kenti her dönem kırdan göç alan bir kent oldu. Kentteki göçmenlerin varlığı planlama süreçlerini nasıl etkiler size göre?
17. İstanbul kentindeki gecekondu mahallelerinin planlama sürecindeki yeri nedir size göre?
18. Son dönemlerde artan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri karşısında mahalle örgütlenmeleri ve hareketleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

19. Bu süreçte gerçekleştirilen uygulamalara karşı eleştiriler de geliyor. Bu eleştiriler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

20. İstanbul'un 2010 yılı Kültür Başkenti ilan edilmesini nasıl değerlendirebiliriz? Kısa ve uzun vadede kent gündemi açısından nasıl bir etkisi olacağını düşünüyorsunuz? TOKİ'nin bu kapsamda hedefleri var mı?

21. İstanbul nasıl bir kent olmalıdır?