SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICES OF THE PRO-KURDISH MUNICIPALITIES:
THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR

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DUYGU CANAN ÖZTÜRK

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr.Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ	(METU, ADM)	
Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy	(METU, CRP)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ali Ekber Doğan	(Mersin U., ADM)	_____

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Name, Last name : Duygu Canan Öztürk

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICES OF THE PRO-KURDISH MUNICIPALITIES: THE CASE OF DİYARBAKIR

Öztürk, Duygu Canan

M.S., Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

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The first election of the pro-Kurdish parties to the municipalities in Turkey was the 1999 local elections. It was the first time in Turkey that a legal political party representing the Kurdish movement overtook of a state institution ruling local power in the cities where Kurds live intensely. The fact that the pro-Kurdish parties have run the municipalities in Diyarbakır since 1999 has great effects on the space production in the city. This thesis mainly focuses on the socio-spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır (the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır and its four district municipalities, namely Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar) since 1999. The major aim of the thesis is to reveal the roles of the municipalities in the production of space in Diyarbakır. The main hypothesis of this thesis is although all of the studied district municipalities are located within the borders of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır, run by the mayors who are the members of the pro-Kurdish party and supposed to act accordingly with the party's local government policies, their spatial practices vary due to the local differences caused by uneven development. Hence, this thesis will try to find out the differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities and the reasons behind them. Also, which policies they mostly concentrate on and how much they comply with the party policies will be revealed out.

Keywords: Pro-Kurdish municipalities, Diyarbakır, production of space, uneven development

ÖZ

KÜRT HAREKETİNİ TEMSİL EDEN PARTİ BELEDİYELERİNİN SOSYO-
MEKANSAL PRATİKLERİ: DİYARBAKIR ÖRNEĞİ

Öztürk, Duygu Canan

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

Temmuz 2013, 329 sayfa

Türkiye'de Kürt hareketini temsil eden partileri ilk kez 1999 yerel seçimlerinde belediyelere seçilmiştir. Türkiye'de ilk defa Kürt hareketini temsil eden yasal bir parti, Kürtlerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı kentlerde yerel iktidarı kontrol eden bir devlet kurumunu ele geçirmiş bulunmaktaydı. Kürt hareketini temsil eden partilerin 1999 yılından beri Diyarbakır'da belediyeleri yönetiyor olması kent mekânın üretiminde çok büyük etkiler yaratmıştır. Bu tez en temelde, Kürt hareketini temsil eden parti belediyelerinin (Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve onun dört ilçe belediyesi Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar ve Kayapınar) 1999 yılından bu yana sosyo-mekânsal pratikleri üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. Tezin temel amacı belediyelerin mekânın üretimindeki rollerini açığa çıkartmaktır. Bu tezin ana argümanı; çalışılan bütün ilçe belediyeleri Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesinin sınırları içinde olmasına, Kürt hareketini temsil eden partilerin üyeleri olan belediye başkanları tarafından yönetilmesine ve partinin yerel yönetimler politikalarına uygun olarak hareket etmeleri beklenmesine rağmen, eşitsiz gelişmenin yol açtığı yerel farklılıklardan dolayı bu belediyelerin mekânsal pratikleri farklılaşmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, ilçe belediyelerinin mekânsal pratiklerindeki farklılıkları nedenleri ile birlikte bulmaya çalışacaktır. Ayrıca, hangi politikalar üzerinde daha çok yoğunlaştıkları ve parti politikalarıyla ne kadar uyumlu oldukları ortaya çıkarılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kürt hareketini temsil eden parti belediyeleri, Diyarbakır, mekânın üretimi, eşitsiz gelişme

To *Bavê min Apo*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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AKP	Justice and Development Party	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
ANAP	Motherland Party	Anavatan Partisi
BARO	Lawyer's Union of Turkey	Türkiye Barolar Birliği
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party	Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi
BM	Bağlar Municipality	Bağlar Belediyesi
CH	Condolence House	Taziye Evi
CHP	Republican People's Party	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
DDKD	Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Associations	Devrimci Doğu Kültür Dernekleri
DEHAP	Democratic People Party	Demokratik Halk Partisi
DEP	Democracy Party	Demokrasi Partisi
DİE	State Statistics Institute	Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü
DİMOD	Diyarbakır Branch Office of Chamber of Architects	Mimarlar Odası Diyarbakır Şubesi
DİSİAD	Diyarbakır Industrialists and Businessmen Association	Diyarbakır Sanayi ve İş Adamları Derneği
DİTAV	Diyarbakır Culture and Aid Foundation	Diyarbakır Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Vakfı
DSP	Democratic Left Society	Demokratik Sol Parti
DTK	Democratic Society Congress	Demokratik Toplum Kongresi
DTP	Democratic Society Party	Demokratik Toplum Partisi
DYP	True Path Party	Doğru Yol Partisi
Eğitim-Sen	Education and Science Labors' Union	Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası
EMEP	Labor's Party	Emeğin Partisi
ESH	Education Support House	Eğitim Destek Evi
FP	Virtue Party	Fazilet Partisi
GABB	Municipalities Union of the South East Anatolian	Güneydoğu Anadolu Belediyeler Birliği
GAP	Southeast Anatolian Project	Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi
GMD	Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır	Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi
HADEP	People's Democracy Party	Halkın Demokrasi Partisi

HEP	People's Labor Party	Halkın Emek Partisi
İHD	Human's Right Association	İnsan Hakları Derneği
KCK	Union of Communities in Kurdistan	Komala Civakên Kurdistanê
KESK	The Confederation of the Public Labors' Unions	Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu
KM	Kayapınar Municipality	Kayapınar Belediyesi
LTH	Laundry and Tandır House	Çamaşır ve Tandır Evi
MSP	National Salvation Party	Milli Selamet Partisi
MNP	National Order Party	Milli Nizam Partisi
NH	Neighborhood House	Mahalle (Halk) Evi
OHAL	Emergency Rule	Olağanüstü Hal
ÖZDEP	Freedom and Democracy Party	Özgürlük ve Demokrasi Partisi
ÖZEP	Freedom and Equality Party	Özgürlük ve Eşitlik Partisi
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê
RP	Welfare Party	Refah Partisi
SDP	Socialist Democracy Party	Sosyalist Demoktrasi Partisi
SHP	Social Democratic Populist Party	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti
SM	Sur Municipality	Sur Belediyesi
TİP	Worker's Party of Turkey	Türkiye İşçi Partisi
TİSK	Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfedarasyonu
TKSP	Kurdistan Socialist Party of Turkey	Türkiye Kürdistan Sosyalist Partisi
TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects	Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği
TOKİ	Mass Housing Administration of Turkey	Türkiye Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı
TTB	Turkish Medical Union	Türk Tabipler Birliği
TUİK	Statistics Organization of Turkey	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu
UNDP	United Nations Development Program	Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı
WH	Women House/Center	Kadın Merkezi/Evi
YM	Yenişehir Municipality	Yenişehir Belediyesi

CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

Turkey witnessed the radicalization of both the political life and urban areas during the period between 1970 and 1980. The political currents such as the new municipal movement and the gecekondu[1] movements supported by radical oppositions were the examples of the radicalization of the urban politics. Meanwhile, Kurdish political movement started radically in the 1980s in the urban areas densely populated with Kurds. Indeed, the history of Kurdish movement dates back to the twentieth and early twenty first centuries. Kurdish activists have used many ways to achieve cultural recognition, democratic reforms and territorial authority in Turkey (Watts, 2010, p. 3). On the other side, last three decades witnessed a series of armed conflicts and clashes in the mountains between Kurdish movement and the Turkish army. In the 1990s, the conflicts shifted to urban settings in Kurdish areas; such as, civic organizations[2] and local government institutions. In the course of these events, several legal parties of the Kurdish political movement defined themselves 'pro-Kurdish'[3] parties have been founded. The most prominent ones are HEP (People's Labor Party), DEP (Democracy Party), HADEP (People's Democracy Party), DEHAP (Democratic People Party), DTP (Democratic Society Party), and finally BDP (Peace and Democracy Party).

HEP, as the first legal party of the Kurdish political movement was founded in 1990. HEP participated in the general elections in 1991 and as a result of the elections it gained 18 seats in the national parliament. In 1993, however, HEP was closed by the Turkish

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[1] In Turkish, gecekondu means "built over-night". Gecekondu is a house which was constructed on a private or public owned land illegally. Its English translations given as "squatter" or "slum" do not counterpoise fully to the cases in Turkey. After long debates on its usage in the academic field, the term gecekondu as Turkish is usually preferred as original in the English written studies (Poyraz, 2011).

[2] In this thesis, it is preferred to use 'civic organizations', rather than using 'non-governmental organizations'. Civic organization is also used by Gambetti (2005) and Yüksel (2011) in their studies on the city of Diyarbakır. The terms of "civic" here counterpoises with the term of "civil society". Moreover, the civic organizations are generally formed by more politicized and active associations, foundations and chambers in Diyarbakır. Some of them are the Human Rights Association (İHD), the Chamber of Architects (DİMOD), and the engineer chambers of the Union (TMMOB), Chamber of Doctors (TTB), the Union of Education Personnel (Eğitim-Sen) and the Confederation of Civil Servants' Unions (KESK), etc.

[3] In her book Nicole F. Watts (2010) defines "pro-Kurdish" parties and activists as not only having possession of ethnic Kurdish identity but also lobbying on behalf of the Kurdish political movement and its aims. In this sense the "pro-Kurdish municipalities" indicate municipalities which represent the Kurdish political movement.

Constitutional Court[4] and after that DEP was established. After the closure of DEP in 1994 by the state, party leaders founded HADEP and this party continued to exist until 2003. In the 1999 local elections, HADEP won thirty-eight municipalities, eight of which were central district municipalities in the Kurdish localities. It was the first time in Turkey that a legal political party representing the Kurdish movement overtook of a state institution ruling local power (Gambetti, 2008, p. 1). Gambetti (2009b, p. 62) asserts that the influence of HADEP's victory in this election regarding to Kurdish people was not only a political development, but also a social and cultural development which is about the space production at the same time. It was the first chance for the city of Diyarbakır which is one of the significant Kurdish dwellings to experience a huge transformation through a party which explicitly defines itself as pro-Kurdish (Gambetti, 2009b, p. 62). Diyarbakir, called also the "Castle of Kurds", is a city which has been exposed to the various "homogenizing strategies of the Turkish nation-building project" (Gambetti, 2008, p. 2). Diyarbakır experienced low-intensity war and huge state repression in the years of 1990s when the polarization between the center and local was intensified. Pro-Kurdish municipalities provided their legitimacy by supporting the social and civil actors who were trying to open a space for themselves in such a polarized public place (Gambetti, 2005, p. 43).

By the 1980s, political-administrative relations have been turning out as a result of structural transformations at the level of the political-economy. Therefore, the local governments were gradually being reshaped throughout the necessities of capitalist market which were imposed by the neo-liberal policies more strictly. Besides, after the 1990s, local governments which had been regarded as a symbol of the modernization politics of the Republic were taken hold by the political parties representing the Islamic line (Doğan, 2007a, p. 1). Since 2004, the Islamic current which AKP (Justice and Development Party) has been the main political actor localities. On the other hand, apart from the municipalism within the frame of Islamist conservatism and neo-liberal policies, there are some municipalities in Turkey presenting themselves on the basis of 'revolutionary', 'popular', 'opponent' and 'alternative' principles. Political parties representing the Kurdish movement had already declared that they have a popular and alternative local government model. Although the AKP gained the majority of votes in the last local elections conducted in March 2009, in the cities, where Kurdish people are

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[4] In Turkey, the Turkish Constitutional Court has the right to close legal parties. Pro-Kurdish parties have been stopped being active closed for "threatening the indivisible unity with the state and its nation" and supporting terrorism.

living intensely, DTP (currently BDP) procured ninety-seven mayoralties including seven central district municipalities and a metropolitan municipality in Diyarbakır.

A number of significant transformations occurred in Diyarbakır in the produced spaces (laundries, baking houses, cooperatives and social living areas, etc) by artistic, cultural, training and collective activities primarily oriented women, children and youths. On the other hand, it is crucial to express that Diyarbakır is a city which has always been exposed to the effects of neo-liberal transformations. It has a characteristic of being an appealing centre for private sector projects and profit hunting. Besides, the most drastic problems of the city are rapidly increased population resulted by the obligatory village evacuations, unemployment and poverty.

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This thesis mainly focuses on the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır since 1999. In this context, the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır and its four district municipalities, namely Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar will be analyzed. The major scope of the thesis is to reveal the role of the municipalities in the production of space in Diyarbakır. Also, this study aims to find out the differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities and the reasons behind them.

Despite having no local government policy in the 1999 local election campaigns, HADEP just after formulated a slogan that "We will manage ourselves and our city on our own". In 2005, DTP declared a local government policy in its party program. This policy offers a popular and democratic-participatory model. In 2009, by promoting DTP's party program, BDP clearly proposed a democratic, ecologic and social gender libertarian model for local governances. In 2010, BDP also declared a political attitude[5] regarding the project of Democratic Autonomy which was prepared by DTK (Democratic Society Congress). The district municipalities (Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar) will be evaluated in line with these local government policies.

Each of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar districts has different historical and socio-economic urban development, class composition, and politic mobilization patterns. As a result, everyday life practices, requirements and demands of these localities differ from each other. Therefore, the urban collective consumption services and spatial practices of the municipalities are determined by the local characteristics. By dealing all

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[5] A document for the political attitude of BDP which was entitled "Towards Democratic Autonomy along with Freedom Democratic Local Governments" was prepared for the local governments.

the specific dynamics of each municipality within the context of uneven development, this thesis aims to analyze spatial practices of the Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır (Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar, Kayapınar and the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır) since 1999 within the socio-spatial dialectic method. In this sense, major questions and sub-questions of this study can be built up as following:

Main Hypothesis: Although all of the studied district municipalities are located within the borders of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır, run by the mayors who are members of the pro-Kurdish party and supposed to act accordingly with the party's local government policies, their spatial practices vary due to the different local specificities[6].

Major questions:

1. What are the roles of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in the production of space in Diyarbakır since 1999?
2. How and why socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities differentiate between each other?

Sub-questions:

1. What are their spatial imaginations and socio-spatial practices?
2. At which scale have they materialized their socio-spatial practices? Which policies have they served for? Which classes and groups have they represented? Which groups have they allied with? To whom, how and how much have they served?
3. What are the local specificities of each district municipality? How these local variations affect the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities?
4. Which municipality has concentrated on which policies and why? How a spatial practice has each of municipality experienced according with the local government policies of the pro-Kurdish party? How much and why have the municipalities diverged from the local government policies of the party?

The first major question is to find out the roles of the pro-Kurdish municipalities that they have played in the production of space in Diyarbakır since 1999. The second major question is to search out the differences between socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities through tackling with their reasons.

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[6] The local specificities refer historical, social, economic structure, socio-spatial development, class composition and politic mobilization pattern of each district. Hence, in this thesis, the term 'local specificity' will indicate any kind of difference counted above.

The following sub-questions are to analyze spatial imaginations and socio-spatial practices of the municipalities in details. Answering them brings about a series of subsequent issues that should be dealt with. The scales and the policies of these practices will be probed. Also, which classes and groups they have represented and which groups have they allied with are tried to be revealed. Hence, to whom, how and how much they have served will be found out.

The third sub-question is to reveal out the local specificities of each district municipality. Why are the four districts different from each other and why are their social relations spatially uneven? How these local variations influence the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities? Are the specific practices of the municipalities stemming from the local variations? If so, which of these factors have mainly determine(s) the municipal practices? Either the class structure or political organizing power, or the individual preference of the mayor, or the instructional structure[7] (financial capacity, conditions of municipal employees and the structure of council and the administrative board) of each municipality can affect on and determine the municipal specificity. Answering all these questions through socio-spatial dialectic manner will help to find out the reasons of variations between socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities.

The last sub-question is set for comparison of the district municipalities and evaluation of their policies. Then, their harmony with the local government policies of the pro-Kurdish party will be probed. On which policies they have concentrated will be searched. Then, how much and why the municipalities become different from the local government policies of the party will be investigated. All in all, which variations can define these divergences? Are the municipalities effective actors regarding to their self social space production? Otherwise, do they give supports to the social and political actors taking place in this production process? These questions will reveal whether these municipalities take into account of the local demands and lead their urban practices.

1.2. The Selection of the Case

The main task of this study is to analyze of the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities run by the pro-Kurdish parties. Analysis of the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities in Turkey within the context of the production of space is not new, but

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[7] One of limits of this study is to investigate the instructional structure efficiently. Within the frame of this study, it was very hard to reveal the relations; i) between the greater municipality and the district municipalities, ii) between the district municipalities, iii) between the municipalities and the pro-Kurdish parties, vi) between the municipalities and the central government since 1999. Hence, this thesis will not focus on these factors.

they are still relatively scarce. The socio-spatial practices of the Islamist (the RP-FP political line) Municipalities with the case of Kayseri are well analyzed in the studies of Ali Ekber Doğan[8]. In his studies, Doğan (2005; 2007a) elaborated the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities run by ANAP, the parties of National View (MNP and MSP) and SHP after 1980. The author puts forth that during the period of the Islamist municipalities, an "apocrypha publicity" (*eğreti kamusallık*) has been emerged through different contexts of transparency and participation, aid services for poor people in partnership with the local Islamist circles and the neo-liberal policies which turn the municipality into a service sector.

There are ample studies dealing with socio-spatial analyses of the Kurdish movement. The issue of the production of space of Kurdish movement in the South-east of Turkey has attracted several scholars; the most notables are Zeynep Gambetti, Joost Jongerden, Marlies Casier, Nicole Watts. The articles of Gambetti "The Conflictual (Trans)formation of the Public Sphere in Urban: The Case of Diyarbakır" in 2005, Decolonizing Diyarbakir: Culture, Identity and the Struggle to Appropriate Urban Space" in 2008, "Politics of place/space: The spatial dynamics of the Kurdish and Zapatista Movements" in 2009 and "The Spatial (Re)production of the Kurdish Issue: Multiple and Contradicting Trajectories – Introduction" collaborated with Jongerden in 2011 mainly analyze the socio-spatial (re)production of the Kurdish movements. The book "Activists in Office: Kurdish Politics and Protest in Turkey" published in 2010 by Watts is a significant reference for local activists in the pro-Kurdish municipalities as well as the pro-Kurdish activist representing in the national governance level. The articles of Watts (2009a, 2009b and 2010) are compilations of the articles about the same issues. Certain studies of Jongerden (2009 and 2011) and Casier (2010 and 2011) also inform about the socio-spatial dynamics of Kurdish issue in Turkey. These studies primarily deal with socio-spatial analyses of the Kurdish movement and partially engage in the role of the Kurdish movement's municipalities in the production of (social) space. Gambetti (2005) handles the pro-Kurdish metropolitan municipality in Diyarbakır between 1999 and 2004 as one moment of the conflictual transformation of the public sphere in Diyarbakır. Again Gambetti (2008) analyzes the role of DEHAP metropolitan municipality (1999-2004) in the spatial "decolonization-cum-recolonization" processes through the activities of social

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[8] His master thesis is entitled "İslamcı belediyelerin on yılı (1994-2004): Kayseri örneğinde sosyo-mekansal bir çözümleme" (Doğan, 2005); his book is entitled "*Eğreti Kamusallık: Kayseri Örneğinde İslamcı Belediyecilik*" (Doğan, 2007a) and his article is entitled "*Mekân Üretimi ve Gündelik Hayatın Birikim ve Emek Süreçleriyle İlişkisine Kayseri'den Bakmak*" (Doğan, 2007b).

actors in Diyarbakır. In these studies, Gambetti emphasizes some socio-spatial activities and social space production of the metropolitan municipality in Diyarbakır. Also, in her article "Rescaled Localities and Redefined Class Relations: Neoliberal Experience in South-East Turkey", Ayşe Seda Yüksel provides a significant critical analysis of the place-making processes and their relation to neoliberal policies in the South-east Turkey through focusing on Diyarbakır. On the other hand, in his master thesis, Bilgesu Sümer (2012) examines opportunities, motivating factors and reasons that pushed the pro-Kurdish local activists to mobilize the local governments in Van (provincial municipality) and Diyarbakır (the greater municipality as well as Sur and Yenişehir municipalities). He mainly focuses on the structural constraints of the neo-liberal policies in mobilizing pro-Kurdish municipalities during recent period. He also briefly touches upon the space production of these municipalities. However, these studies do not engage in the spatial practices of all the district municipalities apart from the greater municipality between 1999 and 2014.

In this study, the differentiating practices of the municipalities represented by pro-Kurdish parties from the other municipalities in Turkey will attempted to be put forward. Starting with the claim of an alternative local government model, this study will analyze the pro-Kurdish municipalities. The reason of choosing Diyarbakır as a research field in this thesis depends upon three motivations. First, Diyarbakır which is well known as "Kurdish Castle" has been an important area for the Kurdish movement. Second, Diyarbakır is the only city in Turkey where the pro-Kurdish parties continuously have won the greater municipality and its four district municipalities since 1999. The last motivation is that Diyarbakır has been known as the capital city of the Mesopotamia region in terms of its cultural and economic meanings. Therefore, Diyarbakır is a significant place to investigate in terms of the production of social space.

1.3. Research Method of the Thesis

In this thesis, it is attempted to construct a strong research strategy and methodological structure so as to reply the major questions and sub-questions given above. Hence, an exploratory and descriptive data analysis will be set forth through using qualitative and quantitative research methods. As Doğan (2005, p. 19) points out, the exploratory and descriptive survey method testifies how the urban politics and production of space processes should be analyzed while the practices of the local governments are evaluated as structures and actors.

The quantitative and qualitative method will be used in order to answer the major questions and sub-questions which are postulated within the scope of the main hypothesis. By using quantitative analysis, the output of the observations in the research field become more solid and consolidated, and comparison of the data become easier. Hence, the main characteristics of the relevant area are underlined. On the other side, qualitative analysis is indispensably required to get meaningful deductions. While investigating a tangled problem, examining a group or a population and identifying the variables acquired via quantitative analysis, qualitative method provide to reveal the dynamics and mechanisms behind the structures. Thus, in this study statistical data was mainly gathered from the electronic library of TUİK (Turkish Statistical Institute).

The field research conducted in Diyarbakır lasted approximately two months. Besides, two or three days trips to Diyarbakır were made within the scope of survey. The field research is based on in- observations, negotiations and in-depth interviews which were conducted on the semi-structured question forms. First, the greater municipality and its four district municipalities (Sur, Bağlar, Yenişehir and Kayapınar) were visited. The semi-structured questions were asked to the mayors during the in-depth interviews. Also, negotiations with several staffs from each municipality were made during the visiting. Furthermore, related departments of the municipalities are often visited and gathered data about the municipalities (activity reports, strategic plans, periodically published newspapers, magazines and brochures, etc.). Then, several affiliated units in the neighborhoods as the produced spaces of the municipalities were visited, photographs were taken and short-term negotiations were made with the stakeholders. In addition, the GABB (The Municipalities Union of the South East Anatolian), Diyarbakır Provincial Administration and Diyarbakır Provincial Organization of BDP were visited and interviews with the stakeholders were conducted. Furthermore, a chamber, an association and a charity in Diyarbakır were visited. The DİMOD (The Diyarbakır Branch Office of Chamber of Architects), the Sarmaşık Association for the Struggle against Poverty and Sustainable Development and the DİTAV (Representation of Diyarbakır, Culture and Aid Foundation) were visited and negotiations with the stakeholders were conducted[9].

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[9] Apart from the mayors, in-depth interviews through the semi-structured questions were also made with Şeyhmus Diken as a chair of Cultural Affairs Department of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır, Necati Pirinççioğlu as a chair of DİMOD, Suzan İşbilen from the Ecology and Local Governments Unit of Diyarbakır Provincial Organization of BDP and Fatma Sünbül as a vice chair of the Diyarbakır Provincial Council.

Besides, the Central Office of BDP was visited in Ankara[10]. All the information about in-depth interviews and negotiations are provided in the Appendix Table 1.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                      Research Map of the Thesis                       │
│                                                                       │
│         Theoretical Framework    ⟺    Field Research                  │
│                                                                       │
│   ┌──────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────────┐     │
│   │ • Lefebvre's theory  │      │ • Observations on the field  │     │
│   │   on the production  │      │   research                   │     │
│   │   of space           │      │ • Semi-structured in-depth   │     │
│   │ • Uneven development │      │   interviews with the major  │     │
│   │   theory  of Local   │      │   actors                     │     │
│   │   Duncan & Goodwin   │      │ • Short negotiations with    │     │
│   │   on local states    │      │   the relevant people        │     │
│   └──────────────────────┘      └──────────────────────────────┘     │
│                                                                       │
│   ┌──────────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────────────────┐     │
│   │ • Information about   │      │      Statistical Documents   │     │
│   │   the political       │      │ • Turkish Statistical        │     │
│   │   background          │      │   Institute's database       │     │
│   │ • Information about   │      │ • Municipal Statistics       │     │
│   │   the historical and  │      │          Publications        │     │
│   │   economic structure  │      │ • Activity reports of the    │     │
│   │   of the field        │      │   municipalities             │     │
│   │ • Information about   │      │ • Strategic plan reports of  │     │
│   │   the socio-spatial   │      │   the municipalities         │     │
│   │   development of the  │      │ • Local and national         │     │
│   │   field               │      │   newspapers, magazines      │     │
│   └──────────────────────┘      │ • Books and academic studies │     │
│                                 │          Visual Documents    │     │
│                                 │ • Photos from personnel      │     │
│                                 │   archives                   │     │
│                                 │ • Photos from the internet   │     │
│                                 │   and publications           │     │
│                                 │ • Posters, proclamations,    │     │
│                                 │   etc.                       │     │
│                                 └──────────────────────────────┘     │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 1 Research map of the thesis

[10] In the Central Office of BDP in Ankara, in-depth interview through the semi-structured questions was also made with Demir Çelik who is a deputy from Muş and chair of the Ecology and Local Governments Unit of BDP.

Furthermore, to find more information and data, newspapers, internet sources and other publications are scanned. Especially, due to the plenitude of news related to the focused issue, it is planned to add a section that clarifies the situations experienced during the project. Thus, this section provides detailed information whilst preparing the reader to the field research findings of this study. Additionally, to put the case clearly and comprehensible, plenitude of graphics, maps, photographs and other visual materials are used. Consequently, the research map of the thesis[11] with its theoretical and field research aspects can be demonstrated as in Figure 1.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

As it is mentioned before, this thesis mainly focuses on the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır since 1999. This study aims to reveal out the role of the municipalities in the production of space in Diyarbakır. Also, differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities and the reasons behind them will be searched. In this context, a well organized thesis structure is inevitably required.

In Chapter 1, after a brief introduction, aim and scope, methodology, case selection and structure of the thesis are provided. The main body of the thesis consists of five chapters. Establishing relationship between theory and practice is one of the major scopes of these main chapters. Chapter 2 will elaborate theoretical instruments with the aim of gaining information about underlying mechanisms of the municipalities' spatial practices. Lefebvre's theoretical framework on the production of space will be handled to explain the socio-spatial dialectic relations founded between spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces. Hence, the roles of the municipalities in the production of space are put forward through analyzing their spatial practices. Also, to comprehend differences in the spatial practices of district municipalities, the uneven development theory on local states of Duncan and Goodwin will be taken into consideration in the analyzing local variations in terms of social structures. On the other hand, as the selected district municipalities and the greater municipality of Diyarbakır have been run by the parties under the control of the Kurdish movement, an investigation about these parties will be required. Hence, in Chapter 3, historical background and socio-political context as well as representation in national and local levels of these parties will be provided. In Chapter 4, historical, cultural, demographic and economic structure of Diyarbakır will be evaluated respectively. After that, socio-spatial

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[11] The research map of thesis was prepared by referring the unpublished master's thesis of Ayhan Melih Tezcan (2010, p. 8).

development of each district in Diyarbakır until 1999 will be probed in Chapter 5. Urbanization dynamics and planning processes; housing supply and housing development; socio-spatial structure and transformation of the districts will be analyzed in the chronological order.

In Chapter 6, the spatial practices of the municipalities since 1999 will be analyzed. In consideration of research questions of the thesis, in-depth interviews, observations and short negotiations were conducted so as to collect data and findings. The field research data and the findings for the core of this study will be examined through applying quantitative and qualitative analysis method. Taking the data sets into consideration, the comments and arguments of the interviewees will be discussed within the Lefebvrian frame of socio-spatial dialectic manner. At the end, the information on the research field will be grasped. In the first section of the case study (6.1), an introduction to the spatial practices of the municipalities was provided. Definition and scope of each spatial unit and activity were provided. Also, an attempt for their classifications based upon scale, class and policy will be made. In the following section (6.2), spatial practices of the greater municipality of Diyarbakır (GMD) and as a representation of space, their role in the production of space will be analyzed. After brief information about the history is presented, legal frame and administrative structure of the GMD will be given, the planning practices, role in the residential areas and housing supply, urban transformation processes and restoration of the historical structures will be analyzed. Then, the socio-spatial practices (laundries and tandır houses, the Sümerpark social living area, art and culture centers, cultural events) of the GMD will be handled in a socio-spatial dialectic method. In the next section (6.3), socio-spatial practices of district municipalities as representations of space will be presented. Each of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipality will be elaborated respectively. After brief information about their administrative structures will be provided, the projects for representations of space and socio-spatial practices will be scrutinized. In the subsequent section (6.4), comparison of the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities will be provided. The comparison is made through three steps: i) socio-spatial practices which are common for all municipalities; ii) those which are common in only two or three municipalities; and iii) those which are peculiar to one municipality were given respectively. Also, each of spatial practice will be evaluated through the comparison of the district municipalities. The scale, the class and the policy which that spatial practice serves for will be given in details. Besides, the variations between municipalities in terms of selected location, commenced period, number of beneficiaries and usage purposes of that spatial practice

will be analyzed. In the next section (6.5), socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities will be evaluated in terms of their policies applying the theory of uneven development between local units. In the final sub-section (6.6), spatial practices of the district municipalities will be handled in line with the party policies which are offered for its all local governments. The local government policies of the pro-Kurdish parties are the compilation of the party program and the political attitude of BDP. In line with the Democratic Autonomy model, all the local government institutions of BDP are supposed to adapt the participatory-democratic, gender egalitarian and ecologic principles. In this dissertation, the district municipalities were basically evaluated over these principles.

In the conclusion part, the findings of the study will be briefly elaborated. Then, some policies and strategies will be offered to the municipality administrators who play significant roles in the production of space in Diyarbakır since 1999. Finally, further studies that seem adequate and untouched within this context will be proposed at the end of the thesis. It is ultimately believed that this thesis serves the purpose of explaining the role of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır in the production of space and the differences between their spatial practices along with their reasons. Thus, any confusion will be left in the readers mind while facilitating the emergence of more questions for the further studies.

CHAPTER II

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

When the municipalities are evaluated within the frame of the production of space, it can be seen that they have an influence in the perceived and lived (social) space through becoming an actor in the representation of space projects of the social class and groups. Furthermore, the municipalities do not reply the demands coming from "up", but also coming from "down" (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 20-21). Besides, the municipalities make arrangements to cope with the socio-spatial unevenness of the localities. Hence, the socio-spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities should be analysed within the theoretical frame of "the production of space" and "uneven development of the local-social relations". The socio-dialectical approach which is the synthesis of structural factors peculiar to capital accumulation processes and social, cultural, political and class factors will be guiding for the applying of these two theories in tandem. As Doğan points out, this approach is based upon that the social dimension and the spatial dimension of urban place are within a dialectical relation and affect each other mutually (2007a, p. 11).

Place and Space

The real meaning of space has been always open to discussion in the social sciences. The term, space has been used in various senses, such as place, area, field, location, extent, natural space and social space (Çetin, 2012, p. 73). In Turkish, the term space is translated from English as *mekân*[12] or *uzam* or sometimes *boşluk*. Besides, place is generally translated as *yer*[13]. In Turkish, space is synonymous with place.

In the Oxford English Dictionary, the meanings of place and space are given in details. Denoting area or extension, space is defined as "an empty place or part; a void; a gap; linear distance; interval between two or more points, objects, etc". Space is also defined as "continuous, unbounded, or unlimited extent in every direction, without reference to any matter that may be present; this regarded as an attribute of the universe, describable mathematically (in modern science usually conflated with time". Along with its

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[12] *Mekân* (in Turkish) is derived from the infinitive of "to become" (*olmak*, in Turkish) of Arabic letter (*kevn*) and means "the place where becoming occurs". Its lexical meaning is given as yer, bulunan yer; ev, yurt; uzay (www.tdk.gov.tr).

[13] *Yer* (in Turkish) has different meanings. Its first definition is given as "the space which a thing or an individual covers" (www.tdk.gov.tr).

architectural denotation, it is defined as "a room or specific area within a building, esp. considered in terms of its function or architectural qualities." With its topographical meaning, space is identified as "The physical or mental sphere within which a person lives or operates; a notional region private to an individual within which he or she feels comfortable or unrestricted; (also) a mental position or state of mind." On the other hand, the first meaning of place is given as "a (public and residential) square". The other meanings of place are given in a down-scaling manner. Place is defined as "a particular part or region of space; a physical locality, a locale; a spot, a location; a region or part of the earth's surface". The other meaning is provided as "a particular spot or area inhabited or frequented by people; a city, a town, a village. Place can be also a building, establishment, dwelling, a house, a person's home. In the dictionary, space and place are also substituted each other. Place is defined as "space (especially as contrasted with time); continuous or unbounded extension in every direction; extension in space."

There have been longstanding debates on the terms space and place among various geographers since the nineteenth century. How they differ from and similar to each other become the foci point of the quarrels. Giving priority to the term of place in the political geography, Agnew (2011, p. 316) strongly offers that place and space should be examined separately from each other. The author makes this warning because sometimes these two terms, "space and place, are not clearly distinguished from one another analytically or their meaning is reversed" (2011, p. 318). Pointing that space and place become quite complex words, he gives simplest definitions of them:

> [P]lace refers to either a location somewhere or to the occupation of that location. (…) Thus place becomes a particular or lived space. Location [space] then refers to the fact that places must be located somewhere. Place is specific and location (or space) is general (Agnew, 2011, p. 318).

Marxist geographers give a priority to use the term space in their abstract spatial analysis. Giving reference to Brenner, Jessop, Harvey, Smith and others, Agnew (2011, p. 322) claims that for these authors, place indicates the past, local and traditional; whereas space refers the global, present, progressive and radical. Space becomes a commodity within the forces and relations of production. On the other hand, neo-Marxist thinkers put emphasis on "places as sites in the flow of social relations". For Agnew, they perceive place as "constituted out of space-spanning relationships, place-specific social forms, and a sense of place associated with the relative well-being, disruption, and experience of living somewhere." (Agnew, 2011, p. 326).

As Çetin (2012, p. 73) puts forth, the terms space and place are mostly used in the same meanings by several authors. For example, Urry uses space and place together in his article "The Sociology of Space and Place". Besides, Massey argues that space and place coincide with each other (Çetin, 2012). Space and place are commonly conceptualized in daily, political life and in academy by Massey. She attempts to formulate concepts of space and place together in terms of social relations (Massey, 1994).

For Agnew (2011, p. 325), the perspective on relating space and place is well presented in the social production of space theory of Henri Lefebvre. Not using the term place, Lefebvre comprehends space and place as dialectically related with each other. Agnew comments Lefebvre's approach to space and place from the point of the relationships between "abstract space" and "concrete place". He also cites Merrifield's interpretations on Lefebvre that:

> [S]pace is a "rootless, fluid reality of material flows" or "the realm of dispassionate 'objects' rationally 'ordered in space,'" that Lefebvre called the "realm of the conceived," whereas place "comprises the locus and a sort of stopping of these flows," what Lefebvre called the "realm of the lived" (Agnew, 2011, p. 325).

Through using the terms "everyday life" and "lived space" together instead of using the term place, Lefebvre claims a richer meaning is yielded. Indeed, most of the cultural geographers attempt to separate the terms space and place. They add up to a meaning to place which is concrete, immediacy and cultural effects. On the contrary, they define space as abstract, districted and lucent. For Lefebvre, such a distinction is needless and fallacious since it weakens the meanings of either space or place (Soja, 1996, p.40; cited in Çetin, p.74).

Within the scope of this thesis, the approach of Lefebvre to place and space will be taken into consideration. While place refers fixity and the constructor element, space indicates fluidity and relativity. Spaces are produced through relative relations. While place is one of the founding units of the space; space is a relationship between places. Hence, the constructed units of the municipalities coincide with the term 'place'. Yet, the place is once constructed; it is likely to be turn into 'space' within socio-dialectical processes. This thesis does not bring a dichotomy of 'space *vs.* place' up for discussion. Rather, the terms of 'space', 'production of the space', 'spatial units' and 'spatial practices', etc. are decided to use in order to provide a consistent analysis throughout the study.

Time vs. Space

Space was generally omitted in the social theory until a short while ago. In modernization theories, sociology held a "historical rationality". The "sociological imagination" was a "time-centered imagination" (Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 375). As Massey (1994) asserts, time was corresponded to becoming, space to being; time to change, space to stasis; time to active, space to reactive; time to the agent and space to the object. For her, time was counted as "qualitative" and "operationalized" in the sense of a shift that offers "new social relations" in a society; whereas space was counted as "quantitative" in its universal context.

As Çetin (2012, p. 83) states, after the age of enlightenment when philosophical issues and social processes attempted to be analyzed within historicity rather than geography, space remained in the background vis-à-vis time in the social sciences. On the other hand, during the 19th century, time and space had a privileged position within the praxis of Marxism. In the meanwhile, socialist criticism constitutes the core of historical materialism of Marx. This approach put forward that capitalism is more of a historical process, but also a geographical process even if having less aspect. Soja explained such an approach as "making the history become with place-less" (Çetin, 2012, p. 84). As Gambetti and Jongerden also raise the issue:

> Conceptualizations like 'stages of development' etc. were expressions of space turned into time, since difference was not considered a product of uneven development, a spatial 'process' of capitalism, but as intervals on a timescale. Historical materialism 'marginalised space, and privileged time and history'. Soja, approvingly referring to Foucault, states: 'The nineteenth century obsession with time and history [...] continued to bracket modern critical thought', while according to Anderson, social sciences lost their 'spatial consciousness. (2011, p. 376).

Thanks to the works of Marxist geographers and sociologists, the emergence of space as a descriptive agent began from the second half of 21th century under favor. Contrary to time-centered social theories, Lefebvre, Soja, Massey, Harvey, Castells, Löw, Urry "reintroduced a spatial consciousness in social sciences." (Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 376). Despite coming from different theoretical origins, all of them approve that space is shaped as a consequence of its own social, political, economic and cultural conditions. Hence and more importantly, they achieved to implant the theory of a social production of space to the core of social theory. Bearing in mind that historical analysis is a *sine qua non* for explaining the social phenomena to "uncritically naturalize" it, space, along with time, became one of major axis of the reality (Çetin, 2012, pp. 81, 89; Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 376).

Gambetti and Jongerden (2011, p. 375) assert that most of the studies on Kurdish issue and movement have a time-centered approach. Yet, they stated that there are some other authors who have recently developed space-centered approaches in their Kurdish studies. In this thesis, a space-centered analysis is preferred as the scope of the thesis is related to the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities. In the beginning of the study, it was considered that a time-centered analysis for the practices of the municipalities could be required. In other words, when the municipalities started to build a spatial unit and in what municipal periods that the spatial unit was mostly build could be important. Yet, such a time-centered analysis for the spatial practices of the municipalities could not make general inferences and the analysis generated unjustifiable data. On the other hand, the historical analysis is not totally refused in this study as it is "indispensable in producing genealogies of social phenomena that would otherwise remain uncritically naturalized" (Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 376). The critical temporal narratives are very important in referring to the historical background of the pro-Kurdish parties as well as the history of the city of Diyarbakır. Also, the historical development of the districts is referred as a distinctive factor while analyzing the differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities.

2.1. The Production of Space

The foundations of the socio-spatial approach are laid by the studies of Henri Lefebvre towards to the end of 1960s. Lefebvre (1901-1991), as a French neo-Marxist philosopher and sociologist, intended to extend Marxist theory with its spatiality dimension. His opinions based upon the analysis that he made regarding Fordist-capitalist space of the modern era. In this sense, most of his writings are on the importance of space in the capitalist society and the role of space in the production processes. As opposing to dualist approach, Lefebvre reintroduced the third dimension though his space project (Çetin, 2012, pp. 93-94).

Lefebvre dealt with the subjects of 'everyday life' and 'praxis' through the concepts of "urbanity" and "space" on the sociological basis (Doğan, 2007b, p. 97). In the 1930s and 1940s, Lefebvre analyzed everyday life of modern capitalist society through taking philosophy apart from its traditional purposes[14]. He pointed that the very concrete aspect of structure of everyday life which is indeed quite hidden and complicated could be comprehended in virtue of analysis of space production (Doğan, 2007b, p. 94).

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[14] Although Lefebvre presented the everyday life theme in his many studies,   it was most particularly outlined in his book *Critique de la vie* (The Critique of Everyday Life) published in three volumes.

His books *Le Droit à la ville* (The Right to the City), *La Révolution Urbaine* (The Urban Revolution) and *La production de L'Espace* (The Production of Space) published respectively in 1968, 1970 and 1974. In the first one, Lefebvre developed a dialectical approach to the space. Emphasizing the freedom pledge that the space bears, he analyzed how capitals and symbols, meanings and ideas circuit within and outward from the urban space (Smith, 2008). In his books *La Survie du Capitalism* (Survival of Capitalism) and The Production of Space published Lefebvre manifested that production of the space is an important means in the reproduction of capitalist social relations which is 'inextricably bound up with' commodity production (1991, p. 32). In his book Survival of Capitalism, Lefebvre argued the fact that capitalism could smooth (even unless raveling) conflicts and make the 'development' possible because the capital accumulation could be realized on the space and the capitalism produce the space, in turn. Lefebvre asserted that capitalism and the state are enemies of the city and the most strategic agents of this couple are urbanism and urban planning while they are masterminding the splintered city and producing the controlled space (Doğan, 2007b, p. 97).

2.1.1. Means of the Production of Space

In the plan of the present work of his book The Production of Space, Lefebvre (1991, p. 1) states that the term of space was used in a completely "mathematical" sense and brought the idea to the minds of "an empty area". He argues that the mathematicians appropriated space as "indefinity", "non-Euclidean", "x-dimensional", "abstract", etc (1991, p. 2). Besides, he points out the ideographic epistemologies that used the space as "literary", "ideological" and that of the "dream", "psychoanalytic topologies", etc (1991, p. 3). Applying the concepts of "production", "praxis" and "everyday life", Lefebvre saved the space from being merely a "mental concept" and handled the space through its sociological and physical attributes. He points out the requirement of a "unitary" space theory which allows the space to be analyzed with its three united "fields". Lefebvre (1991, pp. 11-12) defines the fields and then indicates his pursuit as following:

> The fields we are concerned with are, first, *physical*-nature, the Cosmos; secondly the *mental*, including logical and formal abstractions; and thirdly the *social*. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and Utopias.

Discussing the concepts based on this theory, Lefebvre states that the concepts could not be borrowed from physics (1991, pp. 13-14). Eventually, he finds out that the concepts must be related with 'production' or 'act of producing', what Hegel called as 'concrete universal' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 15). Lefebvre admits that reaching beyond philosophy

these concepts were deduced from Marx's writings about political economy. Then, sorting out the production of space on the basis of his approach on production, Lefebvre reached his major theory, that is, "(Social) space is a (social) product" (1991, p. 30).

Lefebvre explains the implications of his theory. The first is that (physical) natural space is vanishing in spite of its resistance. The second implication is that every society and every mode of production produces its own space. For example, the primitive-slaver society produced absolute space; the feudal society produced historical space and the capitalist society produced abstract space of surplus value (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 30-33). On the other hand, Lefebvre pays attention to the analysis of social space in every respect. He accounts for its authenticity and for its invoking of the real and formal complexity. Assigning convenient places to, the social space involves the social relations of reproduction and the relations of production which are inseparably linked to each other. On the other hand, Lefebvre claims that social space differs from these two forms of relations in the capitalist societies. He offers three interconnected levels: biological reproduction (the family); the reproduction of labor power (the working class) and the reproduction of the social relations of production. For Lefebvre, the role of space in this triple scheme should be analyzed in its idiosyncrasy (1991, p. 32).

Lefebvre states that representations of the relations of production including power relations occur in space. In addition, space encapsulates them "in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). For Lefebvre, their hidden features are not completely revealed through facial and rough expressions of these relations.

The social space, which is produced by the everyday life in the city centre as the condition of social density, embraces natural and social objects and their relations and hence, it emerges as a set of relations between those. The dynamic of the set of relations provide us to meet numerous overlapping social spaces. Social spaces in the urban space emerged with all their diversities penetrate to or supervene with each other. The concept of social space, which is important with regards to the production of space, also refers to concrete space as a living area. Because this concept does not only consider the space as an 'abstract space' related to its exchange value, but also considers as a 'concrete space' related to its use value shaped by "social classes, inter-layers and class fractions" (Doğan, 2007b, p. 98). Doğan points to existence of an important conflict between those (who demand for urban policies increasing the urban rents, the infrastructure-superstructure projects that make the city attractive for capital and the investments on urban space including also speculative dimensions) who evaluate the city in terms of its exchange

value referring to the abstract space and those (who demand for healthy housing, spaces having employment opportunities, urban policies that provide their social improvement, meet their cultural requirements and for these reasons introduce various demands for ranging from using public resources to land using) who evaluate the city in terms of its use value referring to the 'concrete space' (Doğan, 2007b, p. 98).

2.1.2. The Triple Dialectic of Lefebvre

The real spaces as physical and social areas are produced as a result of the material processes and processes of perceiving. Thus, perceived, conceived (conceptualized) and lived processes are interconnected to each other. Lived space is also perceived between routines of everyday life and urban reality. Lived and perceived spaces are being coded or shaped by main socio-politic actors in accordance with their abstract imaginations regarding concrete space (Doğan, 2007b, p. 99). However, lived, perceived and conceived spaces dissociated from each other in scientific practices. Lefebvre (1991) defines the production of space with its three different but inseparable essential dimensions as a triple dialectic process (*dialectique de triplicité*). In other words, there is a dialectical relation between lived, perceived and conceived spaces and the concrete space analysis becomes fragmentary in the absence of anyone of these (Doğan, 2007b, p. 99). The triple dialectic also demonstrates how three moments of the production of space with its whole entanglement penetrates into social arena from its all levels (material production, savoir production and the production of mean). Therefore, Lefebvre re-conceptualized the triple schema of lived, perceived and conceived spaces in such a way that these three moments of the production of space could be encapsulated in the capitalist society. The components of this schema are defined by Lefebvre (1991, pp. 33, 38-40) as 'spatial practice' (*la pratique spatial*), 'representations of space' (*les représentations de l'espace*) and 'representational spaces'[15] *or* 'spaces of representation' (*les espaces de representation*).

a. Spatial Practice

Including production and reproduction processes, spatial practice refers to particular locations and spatial aspects of social formations. Spatial practice provides "continuity and some degree of cohesion". This cohesion ensures "performance" of people as being actors and guarantees a spatial "competence" for them (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33).

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[15] In this thesis, the term 'representational spaces' is preferred to use rather than to use the term 'spaces of representation'.

Lefebvre asserts that the spatial practice of a society conceals space of that society. Therefore, by the way of decoding of society's space, its spatial practice is unveiled. By propounding and presupposing in a dialectical relation, Lefebvre (1991, p. 38) asserts that spatial practice of each society produces its own space since the spatial practice "masters and appropriates it"

Lefebvre states that spatial practice as perceived space forms a close collocation between "daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure)" (1991, p. 38). Lefebvre points this collocation out to be conflicted within itself, since it comprises the most furthest division between the places that it bounds together.

Lefebve (1991, p. 38) emphasizes that spatial practice should have a main "cohesiveness", which does not mention "coherent". According to Merrifield, Lefebvre hesitates over "the precise manner in which spatial practices mediate between the conceived and the lived, about how spatial practices keep representations of space and representational space together, yet apart" (2000, p. 175).

The reproduction of social relations is a precondition in the spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 50). For Lefebvre, the (social) spatial practice includes all the conflicts in everyday life. It is a practical thing that makes savoir accumulation of people functional in terms of material reproduction and comprises meaning processes (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 50). In this sense, empirical method is needed to evaluate each society's specific spatial capability and performance. Therefore, "modern" spatial practice of the capitalist society should be determined by everyday life practices (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). According to Edward Soja and Andy Merrifield, the spatial practices of each society can be revealed out analytically through deciphering of its own space. Lefebvre associates routines of ongoing everyday life practices, such as routes, networks, business offices with private life and free time activities. Materialized and socially produced empiric space – which is defined as perceived space – is defined as people's world perceptions and their own world's everyday life routines. Soja redefines perceived space as a "firstspace" rendering the concrete material (physical) status of spatial forms and emprically mapped spaces (cited in Çetin, 2012, p. 99).

b. Representations of Space

The representation(s) of space which remain(s) under the domain of savoir and power is the conceived space itself. The Representation(s) of space refers to various professionals

and technocrats, such as urbanists, planners, architects, geographers, social engineers, and other scientists in this field. They attempt to describe "what is and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). They wanted to regulate the urban space in a specific order. In other words, the representations of space tell about what they desired to see in a space in a specific time. In a capitalist society or mode of production, for Lefebvre, the representation of space is the "dominant space" (1991, pp. 33, 38-39). Those who hold knowledge (savoir), signs, codes and power in their hands use linguistic and graphic symbols in their abstract space fictions. Since the representations of space are a mixture of approach and ideology of the rulers, the representations are always relative and varied (Doğan, 2007a, p. 99). Therefore, representations of space have an important role and a major impact in the production of space (Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 1991, p. 42), since this space belongs to the space of capital, state and bourgeois (Merrifield, 2000, p. 174). For Lefebvre, this space finds "objective expression in derivative ways" out such as monuments, towers, office buildings and the "bureaucratic and political authoritarianism immanent to a repressive space" (1991, p. 49).

The representation of space is redefined by Soja as "secondspace" referring the conceived space in the mental level. In other words, that space recites re-representation of humankind's spatiality in his/her range of consciousness. For Soja, firstspace is real space and second space is imaginary one. In fact, geographical imagination is evolved within the context of these two spaces at least in the past century (cited in Çetin, 2012, p. 99-100).

c.   Representational spaces

Representational space(s) or space(s) of representation is the form of lived space presenting itself as dominant attitudes and interests in a main space. The border-lines of the representational spaces are drawn through works, images and memories. On a representational space, the users of that space become both writers and players of this representation. The representational space, as the active centre of everyday life and the "discourse of space", encapsulates the places of passions, actions and lived circumstances and indicates the time (Doğan, 2007b, p. 99). For Merrifield, representational spaces are "a café in the corner, a building having a park in front and the third street after Sedar Tavern close to the post-office" (cited in Çetin, 2012, p.100).

The representational space which belongs to "inhabitants" and "users" is directly lived space by the way of its related "symbols" and "images". In the words of Lefebvre (1991, p. 39):

> This [representational space] is the dominated– and hence passively experienced– space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.

Representational space can be associated with "underground and clandestine sides of social life" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 173) and does not comply "any rules of consistency or cohesiveness" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 41). Lefebvre states that:

> Representational space is alive: It speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42).

Merrifield defines lived space as an "elusive space" that is often attempted to be appropriated and dominated by thoughts and perceptions. Therefore, the conceived and ordered space will eventually "intervene in, rationalize, and ultimately usurp" lived space (2000, p. 174). The lived space coincides with the "thirdspace" term of Soja. It refers to a kind of spatiality different from both (physical) firstspace and (mental) secondspace. In the meantime, it is both real and imaginary. It is the socially produced space (cited in Çetin, 2012, p. 101).

Consequently, Lefebvre emphasizes that there is a dialectical relation within the perceived, conceived and lived space and if one treats this triad as an abstract model, it gets lost its force and its importance remains limited (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40). Lefebvre remarks the presence of three (not two) elements in this dialectical relation. As Merrifield (2000, p. 175) clarifies:

> It's not, he [Lefebvre] says, about a simple binary between lived and conceived, but a 'triple determination': each instance internalizes and takes on meaning through other instances. Relations between the conceived-perceived-lived aren't ever stable and exhibit historically defined attributes and content. So it follows that Lefebvre's triad loses its political and analytical resonance if it gets treated merely in the abstract: it needs to be embodied with actual flesh and blood and culture, with real life relationships and events.

2.1.3. Analysis of the Production of Space: Dialectical Materialism

Space is not only an abstraction; neither a concrete, nor a physical thing. It is also a social notion, a social reality, a social instance with its all aspects and forms. Furthermore, space is not dead, inert or fixed; it is alive, organic and fluidal; flows and

clashes with other spaces. These fluids, collisions and penetrations, which occur in different times, mount on one another or one former and produce space (Merrifield, 2000). In the words of Lefebvre (1991, p. 110) regarding social space:

> Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and directly experienced, practical and theoretical. In short, every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature, in natural conditions that are at once primordial and unique in the sense that they are always and everywhere endowed with specific characteristics (site, climate, etc.).

As space is a social production process, it is both output and precondition of the production of society. In order to reveal this process out and reestablish in a theory, one must go back to the activity that produces and generates it from existing space and reestablish the production and meaning process. For Lefebvre, going back "from the object (product or work) to the activity that produced and/or created it" becomes very hard. (1991, p. 113).

Merrifield (2000, p. 171) refers to the spatial remark of Marx's theory on the fetishism of commodities from Capital. For Marx, once commodities begin to be exchanged in the market, they obtain a strange 'thing-like' qualification. Indeed, social relations between people become "fantastic relations inter-things" and they are perceived just like that. Exchange scarcely precludes the social relations, actions and exploitation emerging from labor processes. Marx identifies this 'masking' effect as 'fetishism'. The conceptual and political emphasis of Marx on 'social production processes' rather than 'things in exchange' arise from this reason (Merrifield, 2000, p. 172). Through going beyond the production of commodities, Marx indicated that the reality of social relations in which they are produced can be comprehended. Likewise, Lefebvre looks for the production of space rather than 'things in the space'. Hence, political economy of commodity mode of space can also be developed through theoretical, analytical and conceptual devices such as dialectic, concrete-abstraction, exchange of commodities, use and exchange values that are offered in Capital as production, social labor and social phenomenon (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9). Emphasizing on production, as Marx does in his works, Lefebvre concerns about "going to the root of things" in capitalist society, cutting across phenomenological fetishism, tracing deep dynamics and revealing the secrets of capitalist social processes within the inner dynamics of the space with its all forms and aspects (Merrifield, 2000, pp. 170-171). Furthermore, Lefebvre aims to deepen and extend the dialectical materialism. For Lefebvre, historical materialism should not only be based upon the production of things and labor as well as dual history of this production. The concept of production should be expanded as including of production of time, space and nature.

Furthermore, for studying both the production of space and output of this production, space ought to be conceptualized as a process containing space, commodities, objects and labor (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9; Merrifield, 2000, pp. 171-172)

As mentioned before, each mode of production produces its own spaces. However, the produced space is not only shaped by the existing mode of production. The relations of production reflect their inner conflicts on the process of the production of space. Therefore, each space has a history that was inscribed on that space (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9). This history is related to abstractions, symbols, empirical experiences, perception and the relations between them. The spatial transformation of social practices cannot be perceived through traditional dichotomous dialectical method, savoir of the space, temporal and spatial rhythms of the nature and the history; it must be mediated via processes of social production and reproduction. Such a materialist involvement is also the first step for the removal of ideological disillusion concerning space. As long as becoming material within its produced spaces, the society also produces itself. Reproduction is the condition of subsequent production; yet, space should be produced before its reproduction (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9). The fact that space is conceptualized as a production primarily bears emphasize of the participation and involvement of the space to the relations of production with all its aspects. Hence, Lefebvre attempts to unveil the social relations embedded to the space as well as class relations and point out the production of space to which conflicted social relations are transferred (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9)

The space of the capitalism is an abstract space and space – like other things – is also a commodity in the capitalist society. Instrumentalization and commoditize of lived space for the state and capital are established by an abstraction processes, representations and codes. Yet, space – like commodity – is an objective abstraction. It is an abstraction for the reason of not only being thing-like character; but also being a social thing detached from social materiality, utilization, requirements, act from which it is produced; and it is concrete for the reason of holding a practical force (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 9) One should decode and reveal tangled transactions, real dynamics and multifaceted and non-perceived processes of the space (buildings, monuments, neighborhoods and whole city). However, Lefebvre's implication with "decode" of the space is not to observe social space as traces and signs on natural space marked by social practices and to read and interpret these traces like linguistic or textual symbols. Space concurrently points out, perceives and tells about main things. However, space does not tell about social and

spatial practices of the broader urban context on which it is settled. Uneven development and power is hidden behind the signals of space. Also, space was produced before being read; and furthermore, was not produced for being read. Perceiving the space as a discursive one and decoding it through its relation with language is abstraction of the abstract space in virtue of language. This will lead the social space to an extreme formalism, fetishism of consistency and determinism in theory and practice; this will not lead it to 'reality of space'. The theory of space, which is inaccurate or ignorant, does not develop a holistic approach by analyzing discourse in space, space in discourse and discourse of space separately. Yet, its pursuit is not the "true space" but the "reality of space." (Arslan Avar, 2009, pp. 9-10).

All in all, within the frame of this thesis, 'representations of spaces' are corresponded to the spatial imaginations of municipal administrators as well as their spatial perspectives, projects, plans, etc. The municipal administrators desire to put urban space in an order which eventually turns into dominant space. Those who posses knowledge, signs, codes and power use linguistic and graphic symbols in their abstract space models. Representing a mixture of approach and ideology of the rulers, representations of space have an important role and a major impact in the production of space. 'Representational spaces' coincide with the users of a main space; throughout their works, memories, and symbols. They indicate the urban dwellers as 'users of the spaces' which are directly linked with the lived spaces. 'Socio-spatial practices' which are dealt with this thesis point the spatial practices of the municipalities determined by the social relations in the localities. Including the production and reproduction processes, spatial practice refers particular locations and spatial aspects of social formations. In a dialectical relation, spatial practice produces its space since the spatial practice masters and appropriates it. Reproduction of social relations becomes predominant in modern spatial practice of the capitalist society which will be determined through everyday life practices.

2.2. Differences of the Localities, Uneven Development and Local Governments

In order to analyze the municipalities in a socio-spatial dialectic method, a theoretical framework on local government is necessary for this thesis. Also, to comprehend differences in the spatial practices of district municipalities, the uneven development theory on local states should be addressed. Hence, in the following sub-sections, after a brief evaluation of uneven development theory, its application on the local governments will be discussed in order to comprehend the differences of the localities.

2.2.1.   Uneven Geographical Development and the Cities

Uneven development[16] in space and time, as an important doctrine of Marxist theory, is a pivotal to the processes of capitalist production and reproduction. For Lefebvre, in spite of the some conceptual modifications, the imperialism-uneven development relation, which was used to indicate the development differences between countries and societies in terms of their developments, was still valid in 1970s (Doğan, 2005, p. 43). In the words of Lefebvre (1991, p. 65):

> Within this global framework, as might be expected, the Leninist principle of uneven development applies in full force: some countries are still in the earliest stages of the production of things (goods) in space, and only the most industrialized and urbanized ones can exploit to the full the new possibilities opened up by technology and knowledge.

After Lefebvre, the term uneven development was reintroduced into spatial transformation and functions of local governments in the 1980s. The most prominent Marxist urban theorists on this issue are David Harvey, Neil Smith, Simon Duncan and Mark Goodwin. The fact that capitalism creates not only social unevenness, but also spatial unevenness attracts these urban theorists to deal with and understand the localities and local government with its politics.

David Harvey and his student Neil Smith put emphasis on the uneven-combined development theory in their studies so as to analyze the different social relations within individual localities in a more concrete way (Doğan, 2007a, p. 14). Most especially, in his book Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space, Smith united the Lefebvre's social space production analysis with Harvey's view which focuses on the relations between spatial structures and social relationships. Smith further systematized his concept within the context of the relations between the spatial one with social one, human-nature relations and spatial differences-capitalist production (Doğan, 2007a, p. 12). Doğan takes notice of these studies of Harvey and Smith, since different forms of spaces' experience which embraces different social relations also determine intra-class and inter-classes relations and divisions. From the point of existing variations within the space, these studies can be a guide if one combines the Lefebvre's multifaceted dialectic that consists of the processes of social production of space and externalizes itself through the term of "contradictory space" (Doğan, 2007a, p. 14).

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[16] Uneven (and combined) development was first used by Lenin to identify the overall dynamics of human history. Lenin paid special attention in the brochure of "Imperialism" published in 1916.

In Lefebvre's work, the term of contradictory space, which embraces multiple meanings in today's capitalism, expresses a space full of conflicts and possibilities. The capitalism turns the social space into a global space. It makes the localities fluid by interpenetrating them and fixed, ironically, by deepening the spatial differences. However, Lefebvre's emphasis about the transition from abstract space of capitalism to differential space contradicts with the surplus value theory (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 14-15).

2.2.2. Uneven Development and Local Governments

Each local government theory must refer to a state theory as a point of origin. Although all of the local government theories must analyze the local governments within the analysis of the state apparatus, Şengül (2009, p. 70) points out to the special importance of each theories in terms of both their definitions of state and local governments. Şengül analyzes the theories on local governments through incorporating them into three paradigms (pluralist, Weberian and Marxist paradigms) in reference to the state.[17] Pluralist views gives emphasis on pressures of different interest groups on local governments and their effects on policy making processes. Weberian or manageralist approaches gives prominence to the values of bureaucracy and internal operations of local governments. Marxist views lay weight on the class conflict and capital accumulation processes through criticizing pluralist and manageralist approaches (Şengül, 2009, p.94). By choosing to study the local government practices from the viewpoint of Marxism[18] rather than on the pluralist or Weberian/manegeralist paradigms, this sub-section mainly deal with the uneven development theory.

An important study that provides more explicit attention to local state and the politics within the context of uneven development theory is the book of Simon Duncan and Mark Goodwin, entitled "The Local State and Uneven Development: Behind the Local Government Crisis" published in 1988. Through analysis of local policy of three industrial towns in North-West England between 1979 and 1985, "this study is an application of 'local social relations' approach to urban politics" (Pickvance, 1995, p. 263)

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[17] For detail information about three paradigms on local governments, see: Şengül, 2007, pp. 69-96, and Ersoy & Şengül, 1998

[18] For detail information about Marxist approaches to local governments as well as their historical background and experiments, see the master thesis of Engin Bozkurt, 2011.

Starting statement of the author's study is that social and economic development in the capitalist societies is uneven and there are spatial divisions within society. Hence, as Pickvance (1995, p. 263) claims, each locality has a specific form of local social relations. Besides, central state ought to manage localities 'in all their diversity' (Pickvance, 1995, p. 263). As Şengül (2009, p. 91) clarifies, the local state is either an ordinary appendage of the central state as the instrumentalist Marxists put forth, or only a representative of local interest groups as the pluralist approach propounds. On one hand, the local state has the regulatory duties to cope with the socio-spatial unevenness and local differences; on the other hand, it becomes representative/agency of local powers. While the local state is interiorizing these two simultaneous contradictory positions, how such an entanglement will be untangled is determined by political struggles (Şengül, 2009, p. 91).

The Local State and Uneven Development

The aim of Duncan and Goodwin is to give an extensive analysis of the relation between local state[19] and central state within their social, economic and political frame (1988, p. xiii). Their main research questions are why the local states emerge, how the politics of local state differentiates and where these differences are stemming from (Ersoy & Şengül, Yerel Yönetimlerin Yeniden Yapılandırılması: Yerel Yönetimlere İlişkin Kuramsal Yaklaşımlar ve Yerel Yönetimlere İlişkin Yabancı Ülke Deneyimleri, 1998, p. 93). These authors do not to concentrate on the functions of the local state, as Pickvance argues (1995, p. 263), "even deny that the local state has specific functions." Also, the term 'differentiation' in their approach correlates with the degree of specificity or autonomy of local state (Pickvance, 1995, p. 263; Ersoy & Şengül, 1998, p. 99). The most remarkable claim of Duncan and Goodwin (1988, p. xv) is that local state emerged as a respond of the central state to uneven development. Referring to the statement of Miliband, these authors attribute that "local state is both agent and obstacle to the central state" (Pickvance, 1995, p. 263).

Local Policy, Local State and Local Social Relations

According to Duncan and Goodwin (1988, p.4), as the local government autonomy based on the representative democracy, this autonomy requires paying attention to the local interests. Also, a local government has its own structure, internal dynamics and

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[19] Duncan and Goodwin clarify why they use the term 'local state' (rather than local government) that local state "refers to all those separate state bodies, organizations and offices which exist on a subnational level" (Duncan, Goodwin, & Halford, Policy variations in local states: uneven development and local social relations, 1988)

personnel. These have important effects on local policies. Such distinctive characteristics rebounded in policy differentiations and service provision on different levels (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 5). In the words of the authors:

> [T]he local state is not only a major provider of collective welfare services and a substantial spender of public money, (…) but also a site where experiences and expectations how society works – or should work – are established through the provision of alternative services and facilities. Furthermore, local states do not just administer central policy in local areas. Local government in particular also represents local interests and views and has even had some autonomy in creating particular local policies (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. xiii).

Duncan and Goodwin (1988, p. 38) argue that in the recent studies, the local state is handled as "a static thing, more a collection of physical intuitions than a process of social relations." They suggest rather than focusing on things and structures, by hinging upon the causes that social processes ravel them out. After arguing the existing approaches to the local states and the local policy differences, the authors ask where the local states fit well in. They emphasize that "social relations including class relations are just that – relational between people and formed socially." These relations are unevenly formed, "over space, in time, even for the same person in different situations. For example, political (local) cultures, gender roles, class relations, etc. do not emerge in the same way in a local unit, and differs from those in another local unit. As the social relations are unevenly formed, every local state should formulate and put into practice different policies in different localities. "Local state institutions are rooted in the heterogeneity of local social relations, where central states have difficulty in dealing with this differentiation." (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 41). On the other side, the authors point that "the second structural role of local states is this representational role". Duncan and Goodwin underline the representational role of the local state, since local groups can be under the pressure of national state or become marginal, yet the local state can provide them to access to state and gain local legitimacy (1988, p. 41). "[D]ifferent local state institutions can behave differently because they are acting in different places where different social interests are differentially important." (Duncan, Goodwin, & Halford, 1988, p. 107).

Uneven Development

Most of the discussions of Duncan and Goodwin on uneven development theory are based on the studies of Smith "Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space" in 1984 and Harvey "The Limits to Capital", 1982 and "The Geopolitics of Capitalism", in 1985. On the other hand, Duncan and Goodwin point that uneven

development is associated to both economic, and social, and natural processes. Uneven development does not only emphasize spatial imbalances of the socio-economic activities, rather emphasizes the "uneven" process of the development (1988, pp. 61-62). In their words:

> Capitalism does not just develop unevenly because of pre-existing social and natural variation, nor because of the influence contingent spatial effects. Uneven development is not, therefore, simply that the types and quantities of socio-economic activities vary from place to place so that there will be imbalances between them. Rather, uneven development refers to the *uneven* process of development that derives from the particular characters of capitalism. Indeed, uneven development in space and time is central to the process of capitalist production and social reproduction (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 62)

According to Duncan and Goodwin, the social relations that are produced 'relationally' between people results in the unevenness between societies. One should comprehend the term of 'uneven development' which is used within the frame of this thesis that the relations between people are founded arbitrarily and disorderly in different times, spaces and forms.

Uneven Development and the Local State

Duncan and Goodwin (1988, p. 45) put emphasis on two points in order to establish the relation between uneven development and the local government. The first point is that the uneven development is materialized in the capitalist society in a most ripe and dynamic manner. The second is that states and its institutions are well formed in the capitalist societies. These two inter-related points raise that issue: The societies are incrementally different and unceasingly re-evolve in capitalism and this differentiation further complicates the management of the local units. Hence, a response given for this differentiation is the local states so as to deal with the specific local situations. That is to say, unless uneven development came into existence, there would be no necessary for local (sub-national) institutions (1988, p. 45).

> [W]e establish a rationale for distinguishing specifically local social processes and develop this concept by referring the formation of local social processes more concretely to spatial divisions within society – spatial divisions of labour, spatial divisions of civil society, spatial divisions of imagined community. These combine in particular ways at the local level to produce the need for, and specification of, a spatial division of the state – the local state (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. xv).

To deal with the local differences is one of the structural roles of the local states. The other structural role of the local states is the representative (agent) role. As mentioned before, the local groups can be under the oppression or become marginal. However, the local states turn into an agent for these local groups though providing them to reach the

central state and hence the local states legalize the system (Ersoy & Şengül, 1998, p. 101).

'The Difference that Space itself Makes'

Through numerous epitomes, Duncan and Goodwin demonstrate the existence of the spatial differences in social process. For them, the concrete spatial differences belonging to the different spatial localities are the values of which one is specific and differs from other. Duncan and Goodwin disclaim the absolute space view and embrace the approach of relativity in space (Ersoy & Şengül, 1998, p. 102). According to these authors, one should not ignore the spatial fetishism, nor ignore space altogether. Local variation, as Duncan and Goodwin argues, is not only a concern of the contingent effects of spatial regulations, but also includes local causal (social) mechanisms (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 59). Eventually, they put forward "a three-stage hierarchy" regarding how space influences and differentiates the social process.

> The first two elements in this hierarchy are based on the distinction between contingent and necessary relations, namely (1) 'contingent local variation' (where spatial contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice), and (2) 'causal local variation' (where the social mechanisms themselves are locally derived). Finally, we argue that a third level (3) 'locality effects', could occur (where a bundle of complementary and locally derived processes and outcomes produce some sort of local social system). This is likely to be a rather rare occurrence (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, pp. 60-61).

The reason why the "locality effects" scarcely occur is that the locality does not have sufficient power. If locality had power, the locality effects would be tremendous (Ersoy & Şengül, 1998, pp. 104-105). "Pre-existing social and physical variations, or the varying distribution and effects of contemporaneous changes, will influence how, to what extend and even if particular social process work" (Duncan, Goodwin, & Halford, 1988, p. 109).

Uneven Development, Nature and Civil Society

In order to be able to survive, the capitalism needs both nature and civil society. For Duncan and Goodwin, nature and civil society are important, because "rather than existing as a mere reflection of the uneven development of capital, state intuitions are placed in a complex mediating position between capital, civil society and nature" (1988, p. 68). According to authors, "relations of kinship or gender, or the imagined communities of ethnicity or nation" which are the practices of civil society produced and continuously reproduced by the mechanisms of capitalism so that the capitalism can survive.

On the other side, the capitalist state is developed as a mean for capitalists and other dominant groups to regulate and intervene in these autonomous systems (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, pp. 68-69). For Duncan, Goodwin and Halford (1988), the local policy differences are the outputs of the local social dissimilarities as well as differences in the local economy (spatial division of labor). They argue that the local policy variations are stemming from the extended social changes on one hand; and on the other hand these social changes can only be observed in certain localities (1988, p. 123). These authors underline the importance of the civil society since it has different forms of 'oppositional political cultures at the local level" and the social forces within the civil society influence the local state policies (1988, p. 120). They claim that the influences of "spatially distinct patterns of production will always be combined with and mediated through, spatially distinct social practices" such as cultural, political, religious and linguistic practices which emerge local civil society and are carried "culturally through an imagined community" (Duncan, Goodwin, & Halford, 1988, p. 118). In this context, Pickvance (1995, p. 263) provides an important epitome of the claim of these authors that each locality has a specific form of local social relations: "[G]ender relations which may reflect the differing occupational participation of women in different local needs and interests."

For Duncan and Goodwin, functions of the local state will be specified by changing economic structure, political context and local power balances (Şengül, 2009, p. 91). But what make a local government specific is not related with its functions; rather it is related with its position during the uneven development processes. These positions do not remain fixed; they continuously evolve according to the circuits of capital during the capitalist accumulation process and vis-à-vis the responses given in the local level. For that reason, the local state is a social relation. By becoming effective within the social relation in localities, different groups may become powerful in determining the local state politics. Each locality is a layered socio-spatial formation in a different spatial division in a different time period that culminates in the formation of a distinct local (political) culture (Şengül, 2009, p. 92).

The attitudes which prioritize the pluralist approaches neglect the class relations by just pointing out the categories of the political economy; such as capital accumulation processes. Şengül (2009, p. 92) claims that the most significant dimension of the uneven development approach of Duncan and Goodwin is to define the local governments within the context of such concepts. In addition, these authors criticize the economic determinist

approaches of the pluralists. Also, Pickvance points out: "This study shows the importance of local social relations' in understanding local policy. The emphasis on gender relations shows how Duncan and Goodwin's theory of the local state can be applied.

Şengül (2009, p. 92) defines the deficiencies of Duncan and Goodwin on two major points. The first is that they left the question of "what are the specificities of the local states and local governors" unanswered. The second deficiency is about the civil society. It is not clear that how the relation is constructed between the horizontal organizing of civil society (urban, social movements, associations, foundations, chambers, etc) and the vertical organizing of civil society (class organizing and class relations). For Şengül, since this approach does not locate the class analysis and the analysis of the capital accumulation process into its center, it remains eclectic and weak in terms of its explanatory power (Şengül, 2009, pp. 92-93).

Doğan (2007a, p. 16) asserts that the analysis of an accumulation process has an important role in the space analysis which is conceptualized through the socio-spatial dialectic. However, as he adds, the socio-spatial development does not directly take place as the changes in the accumulation processes. Besides, the national differences in terms of the accumulation processes are the results of spatial uneven development dynamics, labor divisions emerged from these differences, distinct forms of economic and social relation within cities, different forms of urban experience, and alliances spring up as a result of the contentions of social actors in the cities. This situation may also culminate in a radical or reformist insurgency. Yet, both form of resistance creates problems for the existing system. The city as a social space carries both past and current socio-spatial developments along with its social and spatial infrastructures, economic structure, class struggles and alliances as well as the factors influencing the accumulation process; and hence it is being re-shaped in line with these developments (Doğan, 2007a, p. 16). The current capitalist system, on the one hand, homogenizes the world; on the other hand, capitalism diversifies it through breaking it into pieces in order to exploit spatial differences of existing territorial unities to the utmost degree. Such contradictory processes refer to Lefebvre's term of contradictory space. His imagined space, as utopia of Lefebvre, is the point where representational space realizes itself without oppression or inducement of representations of space (Doğan, 2007a, p. 20).

When the municipalities in Turkey are reviewed within the frame of the production of space and uneven development, one comprehends that the municipalities try to be

effective in the conceiving and handling the social space. The municipalities as representations of the spaces have projects for the representational spaces that consist of the social classes and groups in the local units. The contradictory spaces of Turkey, on one hand, impose the municipalities to deal with the local differences which are emerged as a result of the uneven developed social relations and on the other hand, make the municipalities to be a representative (agent) of the local capital circles. In this context, this thesis will analyze the socio-spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır from the point of the Lefebvre's theory on the production of space. In addition, how the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır deal with the local differences and how the local differences influence the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities will be handled. Furthermore, how the social, economic, spatial and political conditions of each distirct influence the spatial practices of each district municipality will be tried to be found out. All these research questions will be analyzed with with the concepts of Duncan and Goodwin on the uneven development and the local state.

CHAPTER III

3. POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTING THE KURDISH MOVEMENT

The selected district municipalities and the greater municipality of Diyarbakır have been run by the parties under the control of the Kurdish movement since 1999. Hence, in this section, the legal parties of the Kurdish movement in Turkey will be investigated. First, historical background and socio-political context of these parties will be elaborated. Then, participation of the pro-Kurdish parties in national politics will be chronologically examined. Finally, local representation of the pro-Kurdish parties will be probed. Within this sub-section, municipal experience of Mehdi Zana in Diyarbakır before 1980 and local electoral activities of the pro-Kurdish legal parties will be evaluated.

3.1. Historical Background and Socio-political Context of the Pro-Kurdish Parties

This sub-section provides a historical background and socio-political context of legal parties which have been representing the Kurdish political movement in Turkey. Thus, why the legal parties representing the Kurdish political movement began to use local governance policies and powers primarily in Kurdish regions in Turkey becomes an important for the aims of this study.

This study does not analyze the Kurdish movement and its municipalities from within an ethnicity based identification. Therefore, in this thesis, the term "pro-Kurdish parties" was preferred rather than Kurdish parties, by referring to Nicole F. Watts' works (2006; 2009; 2010). "Pro-Kurdish parties" indicate the legal parties which represent the Kurdish political movement in Turkey. Also, the municipalities which are run by the pro-Kurdish parties are called "pro-Kurdish municipalities" in this thesis. Here, the term refers not simply "Kurdish" but much more than it. Watts (2010, p. 12) pronounced that:

> A pro-Kurdish actor is an individual or organization that publicly and explicitly lobbies on behalf of the movement and its goals. Not all pro-Kurdish activists are ethnic Kurds (some are Turks, for instance), and, as I have indicated, not all people identifying themselves as ethnically Kurdish support pro-Kurdish politics (many, in fact, do not).

In addition, Watts (2010, p. 13) claims that the pro-Kurdish parties as "challenger parties" can be defined by their restricted and restrained distribution of the legal and political resources and other appropriated materials by the Turkish nation state. Watts (2010, pp. 16-17) provides the definition and characteristics of challenger parties in detail. She describes a challenger party of which political groups or programs perceived by

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authorities as a main challenge to the ruling institutions. As challenger parties, along with socialist and communist parties, the pro-Kurdish parties are thought to be "extra-systemic". However, they cannot be seen anti-systemic because, they do not intend to abolish the whole present political system (Watts, 2010, p. 17).

The pro-Kurdish parties have a mixed ethnic, socio-political and ideological composition. They are not just composed of Kurds[20] but also by Turks, Arabs, Alevis, and some other ethnic identities. Furthermore, the pro-Kurdish parties do not include not only those who struggle for the ethnic based rights but also those who are socialists and communists, and those who are from labor and public labor unions and various civil society associations.

In Turkey, the Turkish Constitutional Court has the mandate of closing legal parties. The Pro-Kurdish parties have been generally closed for "threatening the indivisible unity with the state and its nation" and supporting terrorism (Watts, 2006, p. 17). Also numerous Kurdish deputies and administrators were attacked, murdered by unknown assailants. Moreover, they were sued by the Turkish courts and sent to jails. However, the legal Kurdish parties were not created by Kurdish armed movement, namely PKK. However, most of the Kurdish politicians and activists support these parties, as they see them as "sympathetic to or as a surrogate for the PKK" (Watts, 2010, p. 14). Again Watts (2010, pp. 14-15) argues that the pro-Kurdish parties are strongly influenced and confined by PKK in their party principles, strategies, decision making processes and practices.

Turkey's first Kurdish parties did not simply advocate PKK but arose from within the Turkish political system itself (Watts, 2006, p. 133). Before the1960s, Kurds involved in politics but they did not struggle for the issues based on Kurdish ethnicity and government policies (Watts, 2010, p. 26). On the contrary, during the 1960s, the Kurdish activists started to participate in especially leftist parties and they gained seats in the national parliament. Watts (2010, p. 36) distinguishes the Kurdish electoral activism into two phase until 1980s. He defines the first phase from 1959 to 1971[21] when a close relationship between Turkish leftist groups and Kurdish elected politicians took place. The second lasted from the early 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s[22] when the leftist

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[20] Watts (2006, p. xii) clarifies the cultural diversity between Kurds on linguistic and religious bases. Kurdish language has four dialects: Kurmanji, Zazaki, Sorani and Gurani. While, most Kurds in Turkey speak Kurmanji, a small part of Kurds from Dersim, Bingöl, Elazığ and a few districts of Diyarbakır speak Zazaki. On the other side, while most Kurds are Sunni Muslim, the other Kurds are Alevi.

[21] In 1971, there was a coup of memorandum in Turkey.

[22] A military coup was staged in Turkey in the 12 September, 1980.

Kurdish politicians worked out of the Turkish political parties. Thus, the leftist Kurdish electoral activities sprang out about local governance's issues in the second phase (Watts, 2010, pp. 36-37).

One of the important 'non-Kurdish' political parties for the Kurdish movement was Workers Party of Turkey (TİP) which was founded by the trade union leaders in 1961. TİP was the first party to recognize the existence of Kurds and it publicly discussed the Kurdish issue. As Gambetti argues, "the universalizing discourse of Marxism-class struggle, workers' rights, rights of oppressed peoples was able to encompass the Kurdish problem while at the same time liberating it from the local (and archaic) confines in which it had been trapped by the Kemalist discourse" (Gambetti, 2008, p. 7). In the 1970s, the "East Meetings" were organized by the activists of TİP in the eastern and south-eastern of Turkey. TİP provided Kurdish politicians and activists with resources, channels and allies so as that they could use electoral politics in the 1960s and 1970s. However, after the 1970s, the close relationship between the Turkish socialists and the Kurdish activists start to weaken and towards the end of the 1970s the Kurdish activists began to work within legal and illegal organizations in their own cities like Diyarbakır. In this period, the Kurdish political activists in the Kurdish cities established local offices of their movements. Thus, the Kurdish movement increased its influence. Likewise, Kurdish electoral activism was broadened with local elections in that era. As Watts (2010, p. 49) states, "Municipal government offices were sites that could become, in the words of Mehdi Zana, 'castles' for Kurdish national advocacy." Independent candidate Mehdi Zana was elected as mayor of the city of Diyarbakır in the December 1977 local elections. This was the most noteworthy achievement for the local politics of Kurdish movement (Watts, 2010, p. 46). However, after the military coup in 1980, the Kurdish political movement came into quite different phase from early ones.

3.2. Participation of the Pro-Kurdish Parties in National Politics

As a part of "non-violent domestic struggle" of the Kurdish movement in Turkey, the pro-Kurdish legal parties have maintained their existence within the national political system since 1990 (Watts, 2006, p. 125). In this subsection, the pro-Kurdish parties, their politics, general electoral activities, and their participation and representation in the national level will be discussed.

People's Labor Party (HEP) (1990-1993)

In 1989, Kurdish activists were selected under the umbrella of Social Democratic Party (SHP) as deputies to the national parliament. However, a few months later, attendance of

seven Kurdish members of the SHP at a Kurdish conference in Paris created a series of crisis within SHP and this ushered in the formation of Turkey's first legal Kurdish political party, called HEP (Watts, 2006, p. 133). As soon as being organized under a legal party, the Kurdish movement gained an urban character through spreading out metropolitan cities and the region which were heavily populated by the Kurdish people (Sümer, 2012, p. 1).

HEP was founded by ten deputies who had just left from SHP in the 7th June of 1990. Fehmi Işıklar, as the party chairman of HEP, made a press statement to a one of famous newspapers, *Cumhuriyet,* that the party's basic principle was to encourage freedom, democracy and human rights as against the heavy state oppression in Turkey (Watts, 2010, p. 51). In 1991, HEP participated to the general elections by making an alliance with SHP and as a result, it gained a right to be represented by eighteen deputies in the national parliament. But, in 1993, HEP was closed by the Turkish Constitutional Court on account of "threatening the indivisible unity with the state and its nation" and supporting terrorism. HEP was followed by the many pro-Kurdish parties which have sustained its policies and challenged the Turkish politics so far. On the other hand, Watts (2010, p. 52) emphasizes that the importance of HEP is to be a turning point in Kurdish electoral activism and prompt a Kurdish national agenda as a competitor and winner party in both local and national levels. Also, Watts (2009, p. 13) states that practicing through the electoral politics provided access to "state-allocated material, legal and political resources" which would empower the movement at the local level. Watts (2010, p. 53) argues that despite sharing common typologies with the other pro-Kurdish parties, HEP was certainly different from the other pro-Kurdish parties due to ideological stance and sociological character. It was defined as ethno-political, left-wing and secular character. In addition, its militants were the urban and lower-middle class activists who founded powerful relations with the members of democratic mass organizations and left-wing parties (Watts, 2010, p. 53).

Democracy Party (DEP: 1993-1994)

As a precaution to HEP's closure; the party deputies had founded ÖZEP (Freedom and Equality Party) in June 1992 and ÖZDEP (Freedom and Democracy Party) in October 1992. When the case was opened by the court against HEP, these two parties participated to HEP. After the closure of HEP, DEP was established on May 7, 1993 and most of the HEP deputies immediately joined DEP so as to keep their seats in Parliament. Far more than HEP, as Watts (2010, p. 69) claims, DEP was closely associated with the Kurdish

nationalist lines and the party members often participated in the Kurdish demonstrations and transnational negotiations.

In September 1993, fourteen mayors participated to DEP from various political parties, such as SHP, CHP, DSP, ANAP and DYP. DEP projected to enter the 1994 local elections. Yet, nearly a month before the local elections, DEP declared to boycott the local elections since the constitutional court opened another case to close the party and the several party buildings were bombed. The heavy state oppression, the Turkish nationalists' attempts to lynch the party activists and unidentified murders of the party deputies, administrators and activists did not cease, as well. (Bianet, 2009). Furthermore, the immunity of the party deputies was evoked and they were sent to jail. Eventually, DEP was closed by the same court in June 1994 (Sümer, 2012, p. 10).

People's Democracy Party (HADEP: 1994-2003)

HADEP was founded in May 1994 and its party chairman was Murat Bozlak. Emphasizing on democracy and human rights, Bozlak endeavored to enhance the party more and save it from a contradictory discourse (Watts, 2010, p. 69). Unfortunately, Bozlak and a lot of party leaders were arrested and jailed for several times during his leadership (Bianet, 2009).

In the national elections of December 1995, HADEP did not participate in any alliance gained the 4.16% of the national votes. Since it was required to get at least 10% of the total votes get into the parliament, this score was not sufficient for have seats in the national level (Sümer, 2012, p. 10). In March 2003, the constitutional court president announced that HADEP was closed on account of becoming a center of terrorism (Bianet, 2009).

Democratic People's Party (DEHAP: 1997-2005)

Democratic People's Party (DEHAP) was founded in 1997 under the presidency of Mehmet Abbasoğlu. DEHAP did not participate to the 1999 general elections but took part partially in the 1999 local elections[23]. DEHAP entered the general election 2002 by making an alliance with HADEP as well as with some other labor and democratic organizations. But, as a result, this alliance could not send any deputy to the parliament because of remaining under the 10% election threshold. After the closure of HADEP in

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[23] 1999 was an important milestone for the Kurdish movement. In February, 1999, PKK's leader Abdullah Öcalan was captured by Turkish Security Forces. In the mean while, the unilateral ceasefire of PKK began and continued until 2004.

2003, thirty-five mayors of HADEP participated to DEHAP. A road map which included some proposals about solving the Kurdish issue and democracy problems in Turkey, was announced by Tuncer Bakırhan as a new president of DEHAP. During the local elections of March 2004, an election block involved DEHAP, SHP, SDP, ÖDP, EMEP and Freedom Party was put together and the block won sixty-nine municipalities throughout Turkey (Bianet, 2009). The Pro-Kurdish candidates gained thirty municipalities, including again the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır. DEHAP abolished itself in 2005 and it was followed by the Democratic Society Party (TUİK, 2013).

Democratic Society Party (DTP: 2005-2009)

DTP was founded under the co-presidency of Ahmet Türk and Aysel Tuğluk on November 2005. The excessive success of HADEP in the 1999 local elections and the peaceful political climate in Turkey motivated DTP to take part in the 2007 general elections. Before the elections, DTP received the support of the Left-wing political parties (ÖDP, EMEP and SDP) in the western metropolitan cities and hence a coalition called "Candidates for Thousand Hopes" (*Bin Umut Adayları*) was established. On the other hand, the independent candidates, not the coalition or party itself, were nominated so as to exceed the election threshold (Sümer, 2012, p. 14). At the end of the elections, this coalition picked 4.7 percent of the total votes. As they exceeded 10% election threshold, twenty independent candidates (four candidates in Diyarbakır and two candidates in Van) became deputies in the parliament. Just after, the deputies founded the DTP group in the parliament. As Sümer (2012, p. 15) points out, within the perspective of the Kurdish movement, representation of the Kurdish people in the national level strengthened DTP locally and this resulted in increasing success in the upcoming local elections in 2009. In fact, in the March 2009 local elections, DTP won ninety-nine mayoralties. Eventually, DTP was closed by the court in December 2009 and replaced by Peace and Democracy Party (Bianet, 2009).

Peace and Democracy Party (BDP: 2008-...)

BDP was founded in May 2, 2008. Old mayors of Bağlar and Sur during the period of 1999-2004 Cabbar Leygara and Cezayir Serin were among the founders of BDP and its first president was Demir Çelik. After the closure of DTP, the ninety four mayors, except four politically banned mayors, and the deputies of DTP transferred to BDP in 2009. In the party charter, BDP defined itself as a "democratic left massive political constitution" which adopts and internalized the rights and liberties regarding human rights, political rights, social and economy rights; seizes upon a libertarian, egalitarian, peaceful, pluralist

state mind; advocates a multi-cultural, multi-colorful social structure; rejects every kind of racialism, discrimination, repression and despotism and asserts women's and children's rights" (BDP, 2009). In the 2009 local elections, DTP won ninety-nine mayoralties. In the last general elections which were held in June 12, 2011, BDP participated to the elections through getting supports of the left-wing groups. Hence an independent candidate platform called The Labor, Democracy and Freedom Block (*Emek, Demokrasi ve Özgürlük Bloku)* was established for the elections. At the end, this Block managed to send its thirty five deputies to the parliament (TUİK, 2013).

In Table 1, results of the general elections that the pro-Kurdish parties participated in are given. The total rates of the votes throughout Turkey and the number of deputies are also provided. The HADEP run the 1995 general elections, and scored 4.2 percent of the total votes. However, as it could not exceed the 10 percent election threshold, it could not send any deputy to the national parliamentary. The pro-Kurdish party also could not send any deputy in the 1999 and 2002 general elections due to the 4.7 and 6.2 percent of total rates. For the first time, in the 2007 general elections, the existing party achieved to send 20 deputies to the parliamentary under favor of the coalition with the left-wing party and organizations. Running as independent candidates, it sent deputies without exceeding the election threshold in spite of the 4.2 percent of the total votes. In the 2011 general elections, the party again applied the same method by making coalition with left-wing groups and sent 35 deputies through the scoring 6.6 percent. Sümer (2012, p. 17) puts forth that: "All these electoral successes were due to the meticulous organization and knowledge produced due to mobilization at the local level in the last decade."

Table 1 Results of the general elections that the pro-Kurdish parties participation between 1995 and 2011

Years of the general elections	Party	Rate of the total votes (%)	Number of deputy
1995	HADEP	4.2	-
1999	HADEP	4.7	-
2002	DEHAP	6.2	-
2007	DTP/Independent*	4.2	20
2011	BDP/Independent*	6.6	35

* As the 10% election threshold is not applied to the independent candidates, independent deputy candidates have a chance to access the parliament. Source: TUİK, 2013.

3.3. Local Representation of the Pro-Kurdish Parties

As the social production of space of pro-Kurdish municipalities between 1999 and 2012 will be evaluated in this thesis, it is important to give general information about the

historical and political tendencies of their municipal practices. Watts grounds the "pro-Kurdish mayoral activities" on two main mechanisms (2009, p. 143):

> Pro-Kurdish elected officials provided alternative, "Kurdified" kinds of answers to these questions through two main mechanisms. First, they engaged in bureaucratic activities and modernization projects that could serve to build a competing vision of state-society relations as well as legitimize Kurdish activists' demands for more local or regional autonomy. These projects can be understood as a pro-Kurdish effort to develop, in Michel Foucault's classic formulation, a new governmentality, a style of governance in which the welfare and aspirations of a population become both object and subject of rule (Foucault 1991, 87-105). Second, pro-Kurdish mayors made extensive use of symbolic politics that helped routinize explicitly Kurdish norms and practices, re-marked the cultural and physical landscape as Kurdish, and perpetuated pro-Kurdish mayors' images as anti-systemic challengers.

It should be also underlined that the first municipal activity of the pro-Kurdish movement is not the period starting with the 1999 election. The municipal experience of Mehdi Zana, in this regard, between 1977 and 1980 in Diyarbakır is pointed to be first. His experience might be the most radical one in the Kurdish movement urban history. Hence, in this sub-section this municipal experience will be briefly summarized as it is still evaluated as a significance municipal governance model for the current pro-Kurdish municipalities.

3.3.1. An 'Extreme' Municipal Experience in Diyarbakır in 1977-80: Mehdi Zana as "A child of the People"

Although the Kurdish political movement was shaped by ethnically integrated and nationally collaborated between Kurdish and Turkish socialists until the late 1960s, a distinct political agenda became to be seen between those during the years of 1970. Some Kurdish activists broke their relationships with Turkish socialist groups and started to found new organizations based upon Kurdish cultural and political issues. After the 1971 coup, left-wing Kurdish organizations became more effective at the local levels, especially in urban areas. The more autonomous Kurdish organizations developed and the more new resources and strategies for Kurdish politicians were provided. For example, local election campaigns without the alliance of mainstream parties allowed the Kurdish movement to put forth b a national discourse more plainly and this strategy gained the local attentions (Watts, 2010, pp. 41-43).

During the December 1977 local elections, several independent Kurdish politicians who explicitly devoted themselves to the Kurdish rights and recognition ran for local governments and won in Diyarbakır, Batman and Urfa. The election of Mehdi Zana as a mayor of Diyarbakır was the most remarkable event as regards to both Kurdish

movement and Turkish socialists as an alternative local governance practice. As Dorronso and Watts (2009, p. 457) claim that his election signifies a significant milestone of falling down of the triumvirate of the elite classes, the parties and the state which have been shaping the local policies in Diyarbakır since the 1940s. Different from previous mayors of Diyarbakır, Zana was not a son of a well-known family of local notables, he, on the contrary, came from a working class family. He was also a tailor with a middle school education and interested in Kurdish politics and activism due to his left-wing ideologies. Diken expressed the municipal experience of Mehdi Zana during in a depth-interview as "the municipalism of childhood of the people". As also Watts (2010, p. 46) renders:

> Zana had a local and regional reputation as a charismatic "child of the people", as an activist, and as a local leader. He was known as an unabashed Kurdish patriot and spoke openly about the need to defend Kurdish culture and community.

In Diyarbakır, unions and mass organizations began to be effective actors in socio-political life in the 1970s. As Diyarbakır was not an industrialized city, civil-servant unions, such as TİSK (Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey) and TÖB-DER (Teachers' Association of Turkey), were the important and powerful actors. Many activists of them were Kurds and these were active in left-wing parties or movements (Dorronsoro & Watts, 2009, p. 464). As discussed previously, despite Turkish and Kurdish left-wing activists and politicians acted together before the 1970s, a cleavage started between them and they acted separately from each other and Kurdish political movement organized more autonomously and powerfully in the southern-eastern of the country in the late 1970s. The DDKD (Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Associations) *Rızgari* (in Kurdish, Emancipation) and the TKSP (Kurdistan Socialist Party of Turkey) were illegal groups of that period in Diyarbakır. TKSP regularly published the journal of Özgürlük Yolu (Freedom Path) which became a significant political discussion arena for Kurds in Diyarbakır. (Dorronsoro & Watts, 2009, p. 465). Zana had been a member of TİP, active in DDKD and supported the organizations of eastern meetings in the 1960s. Also he made a great effort in publishing of Özgürlük Yolu (Watts, 2010, p. 46). As Dooronso and Watts (2009, p. 470) assert:

> Zana was thus well positioned during the election to offer a class-based counter frame that emphasized the existence of rich and poor, privileged and underprivileged, and to link these class differences to Diyarbakır's poor services.

During the 1977 local election running, Zana as an independent candidate manifested that he would be against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and feudality and reveal the playing ignorance of the official ideology on Kurds. Zana received 35 percent of the vote

and won the mayoralty of the city of Diyarbakır in December 1977. Although DDKD and TİP did not corroborate Zana in elections, he could get supports of several local grassroots movements including union activists, members of Özgürlük Yolu/TKSP and Kurdish national organizations (Watts, 2010, p. 47). Thus, Zana could "break the traditional hold of the national parties and local notables over local politics" (Dorronsoro & Watts, 2009; cited in Watts, 2010, p. 47). The municipality of Diyarbakır underZana which is also defined to be "a Kurdish patriotic castle" was endedby the 1980 military coup and he was sent to jail for eleven years (Sümer, 2012, p. 74; Watts, 2010, p. 471).

The importance of Zana as a pioneer mayor is quite tremendous for the following pro-Kurdish municipalities in many aspects. His experience provided to the pro-Kurdish parties and movements new resources, allies and methods (Dorronsoro & Watts, 2009, p. 472). Also, the experience offered new insights for the Kurdish movement about the local government issues and gave clues about the historical dynamics of local politics in Diyarbakır (Sümer, 2012, p. 75). To illustrate, it was the first that Zana and the municipal governance preferred to use Kurdish in the municipality itself and in city council meetings. On the other hand, his municipal experience left its mark on history as a successive local autonomy model not only for pro-Kurdish municipalities, but also for the successive left-wing municipalities in Turkey.

3.3.2. Local Electoral Activities of the pro-Kurdish Parties

When the first legal party HEP was in active, no local election in Turkey was held. During the DEP period, local elections were held in 1994. The party administers had decided to enter these local elections at first. Yet, DEP receded from the local elections due to the opening of the party closure case and several attacks to the party buildings as well as its members (Bianet, 2009). Furthermore, the immunity of the party deputies was suspended and they were sent to jail. Hence, RP swept the municipalities in the Kurdish localities in the 1994 local elections.

Table 2 Results of the local elections scored by pro-Kurdish parties

Years of local elections	Party	Rate of the total votes (%)	Number of municipality
1994	DEP	Boycott	Boycott
1999	HADEP	3.48	37
2004	SHP	5.15	69
2009	DTP	5.51	99

Source: TUİK, 2013

The 1999 local elections held on April 18 witnessed an impressive election victory of the pro-Kurdish parties in the local politics arena. The Candidates of HADEP won 37

municipalities, involving the greater municipality of Diyarbakır. This victory was the first for the Kurdish movement to gain a control on a large scale in the south-eastern of Turkey, in addition tithe Mehdi Zana's achievement in Diyarbakır in 1977 (Watts, 2006, p. 135). Before the local elections, Abdullah Öcalan was captured on February 1999 and the political atmosphere throughout Turkey was venomous. On behalf of the Kurdish movement, as Sümer (2012, p. 11) states, "The channels that were clogged for national politics have been opening up for local politics in the region". Despite having no local government policy during the 1999 local election campaigns, HADEP, after its victory, formulated a slogan that "we will manage ourselves and our city on our own". Watts (2006, p. 135) argues that, the mayors of HADEP experienced an extensive self-government practice and a partial self-rule for the Kurdish region.

In another round of the local elections held on March 28, 2004, the pro-Kurdish candidates again won 38 municipalities, including the greater municipality of Diyarbakır (Toplum ve Kuram, 2011, p. 33). During the election campaigns, DEHAP aligned with SHP, Free Party, SDP, ÖDP and EMEP. This block which was called "Democratic Power Union" entered the elections under SHP lists and won 69 municipalities throughout Turkey. After four months, the unilateral ceasefire of PKK became to an end and the demonstrations against the state sharply increased in the Kurdish cities.

In 2005, DTP declared a local government policy in its party program. According to this policy, a popular, democratic-participatory and transparency model would be provided. In 2009, by promoting DTP's party program, BDP clearly propose a democratic, ecologic and a gender libertarian model for the local governances. BDP also declared a political attitude for its local governments which was prepared in line with the decisions about local autonomy given by DTK (Democratic Society Congress) in 2007 (Toplum ve Kuram, 2011, p. 44).

In the March 2009 local elections, DTP won ninety-nine mayoralties. Keeping the previous municipalities, the pro-Kurdish party also won the provincial municipalities of Van, Iğdır, and Siirt. Moreover, the several district municipalities of Urfa, Mardin, Muş, Kars, Bitlis and Akdeniz from Mersin were captured (Sümer, 2012, p. 15). This expanded victory of the pro-Kurdish party caused a big disappointment on AKP which had launched a charity project before the elections in the Kurdish region through the promotion of numerous civic organizations. After a while, a series of arrests under

the name of KCK operations[24] were initiated against the members of DTP, including the local government cadres. Hence, the new strategy of AKP to decrease the political strength of BDP's local governments was to damage the main political organization of the Kurdish movement and weaken its mobilization capacity (Toplum ve Kuram, 2011, p. 49).

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[24] The so-called KCK (in Kurdish, *Koma Civakên Kürdistan* and in English, People's Community of Kürdistan) operations were launched by the AKP government in 14 April 2009, a month after the 2009 local elections. According the Kurdish movement, the KCK operations were unlawful and they politically target the active members of DTP (currently, BDP). 6 members of Parliaments, 32 mayors, hundreds of chairs and members of city councils and municipal councils, staff of municipalities and more than 7,000 members of BDP were detained. (Source: 10.06.2012 http://kurdistantribune.com/2012/bdp-press-release-kck-raids-against-kurdish-mayors/)

CHAPTER IV

4. HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF DİYARBAKIR

This chapter focuses on the historical and economic background of Diyarbakır by applying literature review and using statistical data about the city. The aim of this section is to reveal the differences between the localities that are caused by the uneven development and to determine the historical and economic factors that influence the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities. In the first section of this chapter, historical and cultural structure of the city will be investigated. In the second section, demographic structure of the city will be probed. Finally, economy in Diyarbakır will be analyzed in the third section. After a statistical analysis of the urban economy, a political-economic evaluation will be presented.

4.1. Historical and Cultural Structure of Diyarbakır

Diyarbakır is situated in a plentiful crescent region which is the one of the three regions where the history of humankind and civilization germinated and agriculture and stockbreeding firstly commenced. The city was located in the north of the Mesopotamia[25] denoting the zone between the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers (Çiçek, 2011, p. 99). "The history of Diyarbakır is as much as the history of the city walls." (DBBFR, 2011, p. 11). The entire city walls called as "Sur" in Turkish becomes one of the most significant assets of cultural heritage of Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the world. The walls of Diyarbakır are regarded as the longest, widest and the most durable walls in the world except the well known Chinese wall. Although their exact construction date is unknown, the city walls are assumed to be built for protection of the city against the foreign enemies. The Castle of Diyarbakır, which was assumed to be built in 3000 B.C. by Hurries, is located on the east of a wide plateau lying from the Karaca Mountain to the Tigris River. Diyarbakır, the first name of which was Amida used by Assyrians in the 1300s A.D., took the names of 'Amid', 'Amed', 'Dikranagerd', 'Kara-Amid', 'Diyarbekir', respectively. After the foundation of the Republic, the name of Diyarbekir was changed as 'Diyarbakır'. Diyarbakır is one of the significant cities that have lasted

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[25] Mesopotamia means piece of land between two rivers in Greek, and in Kurdish, spelled as *Mezrabotan,* a compound word formed by arable field (*mezra*) and Botan. As a tributary of the Tigris River, Botan takes its name from the Botan Seigniorial and covers the region of Şırnak, Siirt, Mardin and Batman.

since it has been founded eight thousands ago (Çiçek, 2011, pp. 100-101; DBBFR, 2011, p. 11).

The province of Diyarbakır has 17 districts, including four central districts (Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar), 30 municipalities and 803 villages now. The area of the province equals to 15,355 kilometer square (TUİK, 2013). The first settlements emerged in the İçkale (inside the Castle) region in 3000 B.C. Throughout the history, Diyarbakır has been a transit zone between Anatolia and Mesopotamia, Asia and Europe. In spite of a long term urbanization, configuration of the settled fabric of the city coincided with the late Roma period when Diyarbakır became a capital city in the middle of 4th century. During this period, the city grew through the administrative and commercial activities. In 1515, population of Diyarbakır was approximately 50,000. The city reached a population of nearly 100,000 after coming under the domination of Ottoman Empire. In the travel book of Evliya Çelebi, Diyarbakır is referred as the most magnificent and prosperous city in the 17th century. During the 18th century, Diyarbakır was an important textile centre and famous for raw silk production (Yüksel, 2011, p. 442). However, owing to the epidemics and migrations after the 18th century, the population decreased to 21,372 in 1870. The socio-economic decline deepened further due to the transition from manorial system to provincial system in the Ottoman Empire in 1863 and this narrowed the boundaries of administrative and economic territory. The spatial development and transformation was confined inside of Sur until the 19th century. Main public service constructions such as hospital, military post, mosque and civil service bureau were built outside of Sur between 1868 and 1875 (Çiçek, 2011, pp. 101-102). In the pursuit of founding the Hamidiye Troops in the late 19th century, a series of massacres and rebellions burst out in the region. The city of Diyarbekir witnessed to the Armenian deportee in 1915 and the Sheik Said rebellion in 1925.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the city of Diyarbakır has various ethnic groups which lived together. In the Suriçi region, there were a Christian neighborhood, a Muslim neighborhood and several settlement areas of other ethnic groups. Üngör summarizes the cultural and economic structure of the Diyarbakır in the late 19th as:

> The city boasted a formidable diversity of ethnic and religious groups, small and large, scattered and concentrated, urban and rural. These included Turks, who had historically occupied most administrative positions. Until the 1915 genocide, Armenians inhabiting the city made their livings as merchants in the bazaar, or crafts such as silk production. Kurds worked in the livestock trade and the transportation sector and were counted among some of the most powerful notables. The Jews of Diyarbekir owned one small synagogue and mainly engaged in small-scale trade and some horticulture. The few Arabs of the city too

worked in the bazaar as merchants. The Syriac community owned several churches and engaged in trade and agriculture. All in all, the population of Diyarbekir province had a very heterogeneous ethnic and social composition (Güngör, 2012, p. 4).

During the pre-Islam, there were three major religions prevalently in Diyarbakır. These were *Şemsilik*, Christianity and Judaism. Christians within themselves split up sectarians, such as, Orthodox Gregorian Armenians, Syriac Orthodoxies, Rum Orthodoxies, Eastern Syriacs (SBFR, 2011). However, along with the transition to the Republican era, the heterogeneous cultural structure of Diyarbakır gradually sank into the depth of history.

4.2. Demographic Structure of Diyarbakır

The province of Diyarbakır is the third most populated city of the Southeast Region. Having a population of 1,570,943, Diyarbakır is in the 12th stage in the ranking of provinces with reference to their population magnitudes in 2011. Its annual growth rate of population between 2010 and 2011 is 27.09‰. This rate is quite over the rate of 13.49‰ for Turkey. Also, with a net migration rate of -6.48‰, Diyarbakır is a perpetual emigrant city. On the other hand, the central city of Diyarbakır is known to attract very huge migration from the rural areas in the last 20 years (TUİK, 2013).

Within this part of the thesis, only central district's demographic structure will be evaluated. This analysis comprises total population, urban and rural population ratio and annual growth rates of population between 1927 and 2000. As Diyarbakır gained the greater municipality statue in 1994 and the borders of the central city was changed in 2004, the data after 2000 will not be provided in this part. The data of four central districts will be evaluated under the title of each municipality in the chapters 5 and 6.

The central district population is 97,997 with respect to 1927 population census. Total population, urban and rural population ratios of central district of Diyarbakır between 1927 and 2000 were given in Table 3. It should be stated that since a few districts were extracted from the central city, the population of the central district decreased between 1935 and 1940. Hence, ratio of the rural and urban population was simply reversed. The annual growth rates of population of the central district were calculated according to the formula given by TUİK and the calculated rates are provided in Table 4. Even though the rural-urban migration began in the 1950s in Turkey, the first migration wave and demographic transformation began in the 1960s in the central district of Diyarbakır. Between 1955 and 1960, the population highly increased from 94,665 to 132,520 and the annual growth rate of population of this period is 67.2%. Then the population gradually increased until 1975. The central district experienced the second migration wave after

1975. The population drastically increased from between 1975 and 1980 the annual growth rate of population of this period was 55.8%. The excessive population rise took place during the forced migration period between 1990 and 2000. The annual growth rate of population between 1990 and 2000 scored its highest value as 86.2%. When the results are compared within Turkey, the annual rates of the central district of Diyarbakır are quite higher than the other cities whose populations were 100,000-500,000.

Table 3 Total population, urban and rural population ratios of central district of Diyarbakır between 1927 and 2000

Census years	Total population	Urban population ratio (%)	Rural population ratio (%)
1927	97,997	31.9	68.1
1935	100,432	34.5	65.5
1940	66,429	64.1	35.9
1945	64,703	63.5	36.5
1950	74,790	60.3	39.7
1955	94,665	64.7	35.3
1960	132,520	60.3	39.7
1965	163,691	62.7	37.3
1970	216,963	68.9	31.1
1975	244,686	69.3	30.7
1980	323,448	72.8	27.2
1985	409,127	74.8	25.2
1990	468,830	81.3	18.7
2000	721,463	75.7	24.3

Source: TUİK, 2013

The urban population ratio of the central district gradually increased since 1965. In the 1990s, this ratio reached the peak point (81.3%) through receiving the population from its rural regions. According to the address-based population registration system of TUİK, the total population of four central districts is calculated as 950,000 in 2012. The borders of the central city were expanded in 2004. Hence, total urban population ratio of the central districts is now 93.96%.

Table 4 Annual growth rates of population of the central district between of Diyarbakır between 1927 and 2000

Period	Annual growth rates of population (‰)	Period	Annual growth rates of population (‰)
1927-1935	30.6	1965-1970	56.3
1935-1940	-82.6	1970-1975	24.0
1940-1950	23.7	1975-1980	**55.8**
1950-1955	47.1	1980-1985	46.9
1955-1960	**67.2**	1985-1990	27.2
1960-1965	42.2	1990-2000	**86.2**

4.3. Economy in Diyarbakır

In this sub-section, economic structure of Diyarbakır which is one of the most important factors on the socio-spatial structure will be evaluated. Rather than historical development of local economic structure, recent conditions of the economic sectors which form the economic structure will be elaborated through capitals accumulation process and the inter-relations of the sectors. As the most important issue of Diyarbakır is unemployment and impoverishment, the data on labor force and impoverishment of the city will be analyzed. Hence, the economic structure in Diyarbakır will be handled within the frame of local social structure and its relations.

It can be sketched for Diyarbakır that the economic growth was marked by several increases and decreases between the early republic period and the 2000s. Afterwards, stagnation and recession became two significant characteristics of the economy. In the early republican era, textile, silk production and mining were the major activities of the Diyarbakır's economy. Diyarbakır was the third biggest silk producer after İstanbul and Bursa in the country. After the rebellion of Sheik Said, plenty of notable families had been deported from the city. Depending upon the displacement law, economic activities had been frozen for almost ten years and the city's economy hardly met the demands of the new national economic program. In the late 1940s, there were only eight industrial plants in Diyarbakır. The industrial plants which were consisted of small and medium-sized ateliers were run by traditional methods of productions (Yüksel, 2011, p. 442).

4.3.1. Statistical Evaluation of the Urban Economy

Economy of the Diyarbakır province has relied on agricultural sector for years. According to the final report of TUİK (2012), the numbers 40% of the gross income which is obtained from agriculture and 10% of the gross income which is obtained from industry show that, Diyarbakır's economy relies on agriculture. Employment rates based on main sectors are given in Table 5. Throughout the province, the employment takes place on the agricultural sector as 63.86% percentage. The other sectors in the province are provided as; 5.76% of trade sector and 3.82% of industrial sector. When those rates are compared with the rest of Turkey (48.38% in agriculture, 13.35% in industry and 9.67% in trade), Diyarbakır gives the impression of a rural city rather than an industrial city (Çiçek, 2008, p. 110)

Table 5 Employment population by economic activity in the Diyarbakır Province (%)

Census Years	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Services	N.D.*
1980	71.9	3.4	4.3	20.4	0.1
1985	71.4	2.8	3.8	21.7	0.3
1990	69.0	3.5	4.2	23.1	0.2
2000	63.9	3.8	3.7	28.4	0.2

*Activities not adequately defined. Source: DİE, 2002

Economy of the Diyarbakır's central city has based upon service sector[26] (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 116; Çiçek, 2011, p. 110). The following table (Table 6) quoted from the report of the GMD comprises the employment population rates based on the agricultural, industrial and service sectors between 1980 and 2000 (DBB, 2006, p. 28).

Table 6 Employment population by economic activity in the central city of Diyarbakır (%)

Census Years	Agriculture	Industry	Services	N.D.*
1980	4.44	24.37	71.19	0.32
1985	4.04	19.40	75.80	0.90
1990	4.92	20.72	73.80	0.70
2000	2.60	19.90	77.20	0.40

*Activities not adequately defined. Source: DBB, 2006

In the central city of Diyarbakır, the percentage of service sector which was 71.19% in 1980 increased to 77.20% in 2000. On the contrary, the percentage of the industry sector which was 24.37% in 1980 decreased to 19.90% in 2000. Likewise, percentage of the agricultural sector which was 4.44% in 1980 decreased to 2.60% in 2000. In 2000, the employment indicators in the construction and trade sectors were recorded as 10% and 18%, respectively (DBB, 2006, p. 36). According to final report of TUİK (2012) the major improvement happens in the construction sector in the recent years. Besides, micro-scale industry, such as weaving, coppersmith and jewelry, are also improved in the city. The province has a developed marble sector and most of the marble is exported. On the other hand, there is a limited number of large-scale entrepreneurship is run in Diyarbakır. There are one public sector and one private sector which employ more than 500 workers. The number of enterprises is nine which employ more than 150 workers. Two of them are in the public sectors (Çiçek, 2008, p. 113). There is an organized industrial district established in 1992. Also, there are six small scale industry sites in Diyarbakır.

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[26] The service function is defined by TUİK as public services, collective and individual services and determined as public administration and defense, social and related public services, individual services, environmental health, general services, entertainment and culture services and international organizations.

The most significant issue of Diyarbakır from the point of economy is unemployment and impoverishment. It is asserted that forced migration in the 1990s increased the unemployment in the city. This thesis will be reviewed by favor of the DİE/TUİK[27] database. Yet, DİE/TUİK gives the unemployment[28] data of the province.

Table 7 Labor Force and Unemployment Rates in Diyarbakır

Census Years	Labor Force Participation Rate (%)			Unemployment Rate (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1980	81.1	46.6	64.4	10.1	1.6	**7.1**
1985	79.0	47.3	63.4	9.80	1.3	**6.7**
1990	79.1	44.7	62.1	15.6	4.2	**11.5**
2000	66.2	39.3	52.8	18.0	7.8	**14.2**
2010	-	-	31.8	-	-	**13.5**

Source: DİE, 2002; TUİK, 2013

As it can be seen in the Table 7, there is a striking increase in the unemployment rates between the years of 1980 and 1990. Also, the rise between 1990 and 2000 is also noteworthy. Thus, it can be claimed that the forced migrated population, who came to the city and involved in the urban labor market, resulted in the increasing rates of unemployment in Diyarbakır (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 133). According to final data (TUİK, 2013) the unemployment rate of 2010 in Diyarbakır is recorded as 13.5%. Also, the labor force participation rate is 31.8% and employment rate is 27.5%[29]. Hence, it can be stated that there is a decrease in the unemployment rate in Diyarbakır between 2000 and 2010. On the other hand, the unemployment data of the central city highly diverges from the data of province. The unemployment rate is given as 30.3% in the central city of Diyarbakır. This rate is 27.7% for males and 41.0% for females (DBB, 2006, p. 25). As Çiçek (2008, p. 109) asserts, the unemployment rate has been recently increasing throughout the central city. The studies conducted in 2006 point that most of the population who can participate to the labor force (12 years of age or over on the reference date) are unemployment.

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[27] The State Statistic Institute (DİE) was renamed soon as the Turkey Statistic Institute (TUİK).

[28] DİE determines the 'unemployed' that "Among the ones who are not employed, and who have been seeking a job and who have used at least one active method in seeking a job in the last three months and the persons who are 12 years of age or over on the reference date. Besides the ones who found a job or who established their business but waiting for starting the job are also considered as unemployed" (DİE, 2002).

[29] In Turkey, the unemployment rate is 11.9%, labor force participation rate is 48.8% and employment rate is 43%. Diyarbakır is in the 15th level in the unemployment ranking of Turkey (TUİK, 2012).

Economic underdevelopment emerged as a consequence of lasting, absence of state and private sector investments political problems as well as the forced migration which brought about a major urban impoverishment in Diyarbakır. According to data provided by governorship of Diyarbakır in 2007, the rate of population who has a social security to total population is 36%. Hence, a 64% part of total population has no social security. The rate of those who use green card is 41% of total population. This rate becomes much bigger in the poor settlement areas where mostly forced migrated group live (Çiçek, 2008, p. 109).

4.3.2. Political-Economic Background of Diyarbakır

In order to comprehend the dynamics behind production of space in Diyarbakır, a political-economical analysis regarding to local economic structure and political dynamics within the historical development of the city is required. In this sub-section, after discussing the effects of GAP and OHAL on the local economy, introduction to neo-liberal policies in Diyarbakır will be made.

The Southeast Anatolian Project (GAP) and Emergency Rule (OHAL)

Southeast Anatolian Project (GAP) and Emergency Rule (OHAL) are two institutional frames on the local economy and directly related to the material and discursive construction of Diyarbakır. As Yüksel (2011, p. 443) argues, the spatial pattern of the south-east is "inevitably embedded in the material and discursive modalities of construction by the Turkish state". Within this framework, how two institutional frames affected on local economic structure and repositioned the city in the neo-liberal topography will be investigated.

In the 1980s, GAP was offered as a "highly modernizing project" of massive economic subsidies and social development programs of the South-east Anatolia region by the Turkish state (Yüksel, 2011). This 'underdeveloped' region covers the nine cities (Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Şırnak) which are located in the area of the Euphrates and Tigris watersheds and the upper Mesopotamia plains (GAP, 2011). As Yuksel (2011, p. 444) states that GAP was a contentious issue in Turkey after the appropriation of export-led growth by the state between the 1980s and 1990s and the transition to flexible modes of production at the national level. The foci point of GAP has changed to "a growth-based integrated planning approach" and its purposes have been restated in the sense of "sustainable development" with the concord of UNDP since 1990s (GAP, 2011). As Yüksel (2011, p. 444) argues, such a progressive

transformation in GAP's policy, which has arisen from the state-led regulatory perspective to a market-led one, clearly points out the state's endeavors to appeal international funds. On the other hand, as Yüksel (2011, p. 444) definitely claims, these endeavors to shift the region into an agro-industrial area tore apart as of the year of 2010. Only Gaziantep, "the paragon of the Anatolian Tigers", has become a major industrial zone of export-oriented growth regime within the GAP region (Yüksel, 2011).

Despite the assumed efforts of the Turkish state for the economic and social improvement of the GAP region, the state had arranged the region with the Emergency Law. By the time this law was announced in 1987, OHAL included Bingol, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli and Van of which Adıyaman, Bitlis and Muş. As Yüksel (2011, p. 445) asserts, "OHAL served as an institutional mechanism to shape the south-east cities as zones of disorder and chaos". She continues her assertion that in order to last the state of emergency in those cities and legitimize it, the government displayed the situation as "the internal border separating order from disorder" (2011, p. 445). Although OHAL was lifted in 2002 in Diyarbakır, it has continued to impose a heavy burden on the city. Evacuations of villages, human rights violations, paramilitary forces and extrajudicial executions are only outcomes of its affects. In Diyarbakır, actual brunt left its marks on the internally displaced people in terms of socio-psychological traumas, economical deteriorations and urban life disharmonies. Furthermore, OHAL gave extensive authorities and privileges to the OHAL governor and military forces in order to rule Diyarbakır and its economy. Yüksel claims that "As part of the economic elite structure, such a discursive frame was materialized in the form of massive out-migration by the upper middle classes and an 'economic insecurity and instability' that carried the city to the neoliberal era" (2011, p. 445). She also refers to the local businessmen in Diyarbakır who complain about the lack of investment of both the state and elites who migrated from the city and has not come back (2011, p. 445).

The 1990s witnessed to the erosion of local business circles in the urban economy. As the prime minister of that period, Tansu Çiller declared that she had a list of Kurdish businessmen who had helped the PKK. Many Kurdish businessmen were murdered by unknown killers and the rest of the businessmen had already run away from the city as they felt themselves at stake. Even though there has been a wide discourse that the devastating influences of the clashes between the Turkish army and the PKK hit the local economies in the south-east region, the strained environment and severe political polarization between the state and Kurdish population directly harmed the Diyarbakır's

local economy. Yüksel mentions about the establishment of DİSİAD (Diyarbakır Industrialists and Businessmen Association) in 1990s. Yet, a lot of businessmen were usually taken into custody on account of making 'illegal' meetings or followed and threatened, which caused them to get anxiety about their lives.

OHAL also resulted in the delay of GAP's project. Because the fact that OHAL was an intensively centralized and oppressive regime, the local business circles were strictly bounded to the relations with the OHAL governor as well as the central government during the 1990s. However, by the ends of 1990s, GAP underwent an institutional transformation and it was redefined as an integrated social development plan. As Özok-Gündoğan (2005, p. 109) asserts, this institutional shift regarding GAP refers to the endeavors of the state for "re-establishing its legitimacy and sovereignty in the region" and for "dealing with the Kurdish question". In this regard, these two challenging institutional frames, GAP and OHAL, should be questioned "how neoliberalism as a temporally and contextually bounded process has permeated in a 'graduated' and layered fashion over the national geography in the 1980s and 1990s". "Graduated sovereignty" of the state is claimed to involve "a spatial dimension". Therefore, these two frames which are spatial projects of the state were applied to "constrain and channel the strategic options and tactical behavior of local actors" (Yüksel, 2011, p. 446, as cited in Aihwa Ong, pp. 55–75.) Moreover, it is highlighted that out-migration of the local elites of Diyarbakır between 1960 and 1980 paved a way for a drastic mobility of rural migrants as well as urban dwellers in Diyarbakır (Yüksel, 2011, p. 445).

Introduction to Neo-liberal Policies

Main reasons of the neo-liberal policies in Diyarbakır are shown as an insufficient entrepreneurialism by virtue of political and economic out-migration of capitalists and structural complications arising from import substitution industrialization period. In spite of its subsidies and incentives, Turkish state coming under the purpose of creating a homogenous motherland has been implemented various and conflicting economic strategies to the region (Yüksel, 2011, pp. 434; 442-443).

Diyarbakır came through a big transformation in terms of its economic structure in 1990s. A massive forced migrated people[30] came to Diyarbakır from the neighboring cities as a

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[30] Although Turkish government counts that between 3,000 and 4,000 villages and arable fields populated with 350,000 and 380,000 people were evacuated, human right organizations announced that 1.5 or 4 million people were displaced by force (Jongerden, 2009).

consequence of village evacuations and forced migration. Hence, a drastic poverty and unemployment came into existence in the city. A local elite structure and a newly arising "entrepreneurial class of rural migrants and small merchants" had built a fragile economic structure in Diyarbakır, when the forcibly migrated populations came to the city. "Due to the inability of the market structure to accommodate the newcomers, forcibly migrated populations have gone through not only a 'horizontal displacement', but also a 'vertical and downward displacement'. They became destitute consumers in urban economies." (Yüksel, 2011, p. 443) Internal displacements, as Yüksel claims, strictly imposed a heavy burden on the evacuated villagers, policy makers of municipalities and inhabitants of Diyarbakır (2011, p. 443). On the other hand, the local cultural and political circles which emerged as a result of economic and social policies of the pro-Kurdish municipalities and civic organizations in the 2000s leave the old economic circles out of the policy implementations. In other words, these capitalists become to take side against political and intellectual elites in this "pro-cultural" arena of Diyarbakır. Yüksel narrates her observation that a common discourse held by local businessmen is that their investments in the city were never rational but emotional choices and for the common good of the city. They frequently mention emotional and local attachments to Diyarbakır worded as 'to create employment opportunities for the local people' and 'to contribute to the local economy of Diyarbakır'. Some of them state that they 'strive to make a difference' in the city by staying and continuing to invest in the city. This partly stems from the tense relation between the pro-Kurdish municipalities and local businessmen who vote for AKP (Yüksel, 2011, p. 448).

The cultural decolonization which was initiated by the Diyarbakır's municipalities enables the political elites to pass the central state over and to open a space for challenge and struggle with the central state. On the other hand, the local entrepreneurs opened a space for themselves in Iraqi Kurdistan where they could expand their impact area by favor of investments and transactions (Yüksel, 2011, p. 448). 56 per cent of exported goods which are produced in Diyarbakır are conveyed to the Iraqi market. Moreover, in Iraq numerous entrepreneurs have investments including transportation, construction sectors, restaurants and food industries. However, the transactions with Iraqi market are far less than other industrial sites such as Gaziantep in the region as a matter of the fact that manufacturing sector in Diyarbakır is inadequate. Although the economy of Diyarbakır mainly depends on "the domestic market and transactions with neighboring cities, the marble and construction sectors are significant networks and linking Diyarbakır

to Europe and the Middle East". Having "a 78 per cent share of Diyarbakır's exports", the Middle East market has become heart of the city's economy with regards to exports and economic transactions. (Yüksel, 2011, p. 443). Besides, it is clearly observed that construction sector in Diyarbakır and its relevant trade branches have turned into the "locomotive of the local economy" and therefore local businessmen have leaped forward (Yüksel, 2011, pp. 443, 449). Yüksel explains this case for Diyarbakır as:

> [In Diyarbakır,] [t]he politically induced inability of business circles to effectively mobilize global and regional networks and the poor economic performance in the manufacturing sector, have led to a flow of capital into the construction sector. In the last decade, the city has sprawled with new neighborhoods and new forms of life, while housing and land markets became strategic instruments of capital accumulation. This definitely converged with the transformation at the national scale, and brought the metropolitan municipality, local economic elites and the Turkish state together on a terrain of not only contestation but also concession and compromise under neoliberal demands (Yüksel, 2011, p. 449).

Yeğin concludes the economy in Diyarbakır in his one of the columns which was published in the Özgür Gündem newspaper (2011). Yeğin asks what is produced in Diyarbakır. He replies that there is no industry in Diyarbakır after the TEKEL distillery and the Sümerbank carpet weaving and the SEK dairy products industries were closed. He also adds that any agricultural product is not produced in Diyarbakır; only a few ateliers process animal products now. He asserts that there is an 'invasion economy' in Diyarbakır. There are great deals of apartment buildings which are plotting and plundering the soil as well as the some small retails. He puts forward that Diyarbakır is in a turning point: the lands of the city will leave to the either transnational monopolies or collective people's economy (Yeğin, 2011). In this point, all the attentions have been turned to the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır which have already claimed to create an alternative economy.

To sum up, this chapter focused on the historical, cultural, demographic and economic structure of Diyarbakır. It was observed that the heterogeneous cultural structure of Diyarbakır was disappeared in time. The demographic data demonstrated the perpetual immigration to Diyarbakır. The rates of unemployment and impoverishment as the most important issues of the city were supported by the statistical data. In addition, the postulate that GAP and OHAL influenced on the local economy through introducing the city to the neo-liberal policies was scrutinized.

CHAPTER V

5. SOCIO-SPATIAL PRACTICES IN DIYARBAKIR UNTIL 1999

In this chapter, the socio-spatial development of each district in Diyarbakır until 1999 will be probed. Urbanization dynamics and planning processes, housing supply and housing development, socio-spatial structure and transformation of the districts, namely Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar, will be analyzed in the chronological order. The aim of this chapter is to find out the differences in the socio-spatial development of these districts from the Republican era until the 2000s. Hence, in the following chapters, the differences in the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities after 1999 will be researched in the basis of the socio-spatial specificities of each district.

5.1. Urbanization Dynamics and Planning Processes in Diyarbakır

Throughout history, the city of Diyarbakır has become a significant settlement area. As Kejanlı clarifies, its significance stems from being a cradle to various historical civilizations, protecting the urban unity with the ancient walls, functioning as a trading centre due to the location in an important historical, commercial, military and transport axis and holding a special place in terms of being a regional centre, becoming dominant in terms of urban development having a mixed urban morphology, having a diversified population potential and showing a living urban archaeological site (2009, p. 12). In addition, the differentiation in the socio-spatial structure has been quite noteworthy in the city (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 12).
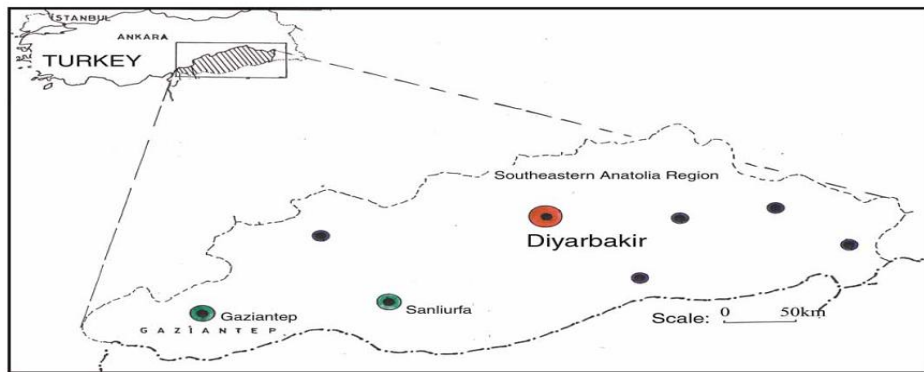
Figure 2 Diyarbakır and its location in the South East Anatolia and in Turkey
(Source: M. O. Sinemillioglu, C. T. Akin & N. Karacay)

The whole city of Diyarbakır had been surrounded by the city walls until end of the nineteenth centuries. The major sprawl outward Suriçi[31] began in the 1930s (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 48). The ancient city, like the rest cities of Turkey, was exposed to modernization right after foundation of the Republic (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 110). In the early Republican era, significant transformations on both social and urban construction were experienced in the city (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 48). The several state institutions always influenced the development of the urban fabric through their plans (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 12). The city dwellers who had learnt to live in a confined and closed environment in Suriçi for many centuries became acquainted to a new planning and landscape which were influenced by social and political structure of this period and tried to become familiar with the new form of life (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 48).

Due to the fact that the Tigris River flows from the south of the city, the urban growth axis became towards north, northeast and northwest. The socio-spatial growth in Diyarbakır from the Republic to the 2000s has 4 main phases in Diyarbakır:

1) Early Republican Period (1930-1950)
2) The years between 1950 and 1980
3) The years between 1980 and 1990
4) The years between 1990 and 2000

5.1.1. Early Republican Period (1927-1960)

The first urban sprawl in the city of Diyarbakır started in the 1930s. The city expanded outside the Suriçi district. The property owners in Suriçi who moved outside of Suriçi sold or rented their evacuated houses to the immigrants who came to the city from the country sides after the 1940s. Through this filtering process, most of the immigrants found an opportunity to settle in the Suriçi. Those who went outward Suriçi settled in one or two storey houses which had relevantly fine infrastructures and gardens in the new district, called Yenişehir a city is in the full sense of the word "New City".

The city of Diyarbakır had two distinct centers during the early Republican era. The first centre became the Yenişehir district where military and government buildings, public institutions and new housing zones around them were located. The second one was Suriçi

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[31] Suriçi means inside of Sur (city wall) in Turkish. After the city was opened outside and the new settlements emerged outside of the city walls, the ancient city surrounded by the city walls was started to be called as Suriçi.

where the old and new urban fabric coincided. The İçkale region in Suriçi had been the government centre with the main public buildings of the city until the 1930s. That the First General Inspectorate was established outside of Suriçi in 1928 and this became the turning point in the urban growth of Diyarbakır (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 49).

The first planning activities in the city

The first development operations were employed in the Suriçi region in 1916. The main street between the Dörtyol-Saray Gate, the İzzet Paşa Main Street was constructed and a wide exit from Dağkapı was opened towards new improvement areas. Hence, the Dörtyol-Dağkapı main street was built and integrated with the boulevard linked with Elazığ road. Also, a main street, now called İnonü Main Street, which internally passes parallel to west walls between Dörtyol-Urfa Gate, opened as a transportation axis in Suriçi (see, Figure 2). Thus, Dörtyol became a traffic focus (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 12).
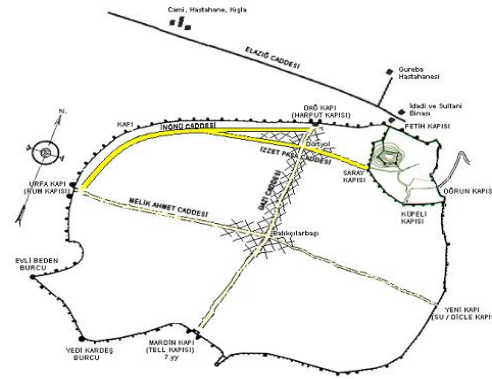
Figure 3 New roads included to the city and the trade's spreading areas in Suriçi in 1916
(Source: Kejanlı, 2009)

In Diyarbakır, along with the proclamation of Republic, a planned improvement on a small scale had been envisaged and the Belediye Park was opened in front of the Ulu Mosque located in the centre of bazaar. Main transformation in the city was derived from the idea of demolishing the ancient walls in 1930. The walls which had surrounded the city and had never lost its integrity by that time were thought to prevent the air currents penetrating into the city (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 13). Eventually, it was decided to destruct city walls on the ground of enabling air circulation within Sur, facilitating the expansion of the city outwards Sur and catering the easily transit of transportation vehicles. In 1931, the walls on the west of Dağkapı were demolished in patches by being dynamited (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 49). In addition, the city's exit road at the side of Dağkapı was dynamited and extended to the wide of 50 meter. Likewise, the inside and outside of Sur

were linked to each other by a wide street through the destruction of the gap between two bastions on the right side of the Mardin Kapı. Two new gates were built at the side of the Urfa Kapı's entrance. Nowadays, a single wall body and the wall gap around it as well as the city's exit road at the side of Mardin Kapı and the road of Urfa Kapı were artifacts of that era (Kejanlı, 2009, pp. 13-14). Hence, the wide zone emerged from the destruction of the walls which constituted the starting point of the new city's exit. Fortunately, the destruction was stopped due to the reactions. Yet, afterwards the stones of the ancient city walls were dismantled by the people and used in construction of their houses.

The 1932 development plan of the city

In the beginnings of the 1930s, Jansen Hermann visited the city of Diyarbakır and made certain suggestions to the 1932 development plan. One of these suggestions was the expropriation of the wide region in outside of Sur where the first state institutions were settled. The scope of the development activities after the proclamation of Republic was to get out the city of Diyarbakır which had been compressed within Suriçi and to found a new modern city (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 14). Wide and straight zone which is in the north of the Suriçi and suitable for the settlement was chosen for the new public buildings (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 46). Between the years of 1923 and 1940, the First General Inspectorate building with its lodging, the Corps Commander house, a train station, the Halkevi building with its library, the Officers' Club, the Governorship House, the Prosperity Building, the Municipal House, the Tekel Distillery and the İnönü primary school were built in the new urban landscape (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 14; Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 46).

Dalkılıç (2011, p. 46) argues that establishing of the First General Inspector in Diyarbakır in 1928 is the most important factor influencing the urban development in that era. The fact that this institution required a restructuring on the territorial scale and that the spatial configuration program of the Republic within its first years resulted in constructing of the central government buildings on the territorial scale and numerous public buildings (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 46). These public buildings as the first representatives of the Republic period architecture and the first samples of the transition from traditional architecture to the traditional one in Diyarbakır are enormous and spectacular constructions (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 46). The first government enterprise in Diyarbakır was the Tekel Distillery founded in 1932. This alcohol industry was established near Dağkapı by Tekel Administration. For many years, it had remained the biggest enterprise in Diyarbakır. Today, this industry building is utilized as a child and youth centre. The Diyarbakır

Halkevi (public training house established initially as a part of modernization project of the early Republic era) which was one of the fourteen Halkevi in Turkey was built in the north of Dağkapı. After years, the Halkevi building was utilized as "the City Cinema" and as an institute in 1950s and eventually was demolished in 1991 (Dalkılıç, 2011, pp. 52-53). A great majority of these buildings constructed during the early Republic era were demolished or devastated; only a few of them were registered for preservation (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 57).

Since the 1932 development plan was made under the influence of the new Ankara development plan and the modernization attempts, the idea of creating a new and modern landscape in the city of Diyarbakır was dominant. In addition to the public and military constructions of the young Republic, new and modern buildings (houses, hotels and workplaces) were constructed not only outside but also inside of Sur (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 14). Yet, the 1932 development plan assumed a construction of new settlement area outside of Sur. As Dalkılıç (Dalkılıç, 2011, p. 56) points out, this idea was inconsonant with the traditional urban fabric and urban architecture. It was made in accordance with aesthetic concerns and a modernist plan as well as other plans implemented in Turkey during the early Republic era.

In 1939, the Diyarbakır Municipality initiated planning activities for the both new and old city. The municipality saw monumental constructions of the ancient city as datum point and produced green areas around them. Also, a few main streets towards the walls and a road along the urban sighting facades of the city walls were constructed. This planning took the last form in a large zone lying between Yenişehir, Dağkapı, Urfakapı and the train station. The juncture was obtained through building roads between two boulevards. The reasons of selecting this region for the new city which has a plain land, it is close to the railways and the station, and it is located nearby to water resources which are significant for the county life. The settling of the symbolic structures which represented the power of the state on, the building of railways, trade and housing areas to meet the provisional needs gained a momentum (Arslan, 1999; Kejanlı, 2009; Dalkılıç, 2011).

In the 1940s, due to the emergence of new trade centers and existence of traditional bazaars in Suriçi, an artificial gate called Çiftkapı was opened into the city walls in order to easily provide the relation between inside and outside of Sur (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 15). The religious and training buildings, and the structure of neighborhoods, which had traditionally been shaped in accordance with the occupational groups in the trade sites

and the structure of the ethnic groups in the housing areas, preserved its traditional character as a physical space during the 1940s (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 111). On the other hand, most of local dwellers left this region and low income groups came and settled here. In addition, new houses incompatible with the previous housing fabric were built in empty areas. Most particularly the Ali Paşa neighborhood which is a settlement area in the south-west of the Suriçi began to expand towards the places where the new migrants settled (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 111). The local dwellers who were leaving from Suriçi in the 1940s accommodated in one or two-storey houses within gardens in the plain area which is just outside of the city walls between Dağkapı and Urfakapı.

Another important period that the public buildings were intensely constructed was the years of 1940 and 1950. During this period, the urban growth accelerated and a modern landscape became sharper. A military hospital, a teachers' school, the Ziya Gökalp high school, a post office, the Provincial Agriculture Directorate and the Provincial Tekel Directorate buildings were constructed in the new region of Diyarbakır. The new and modern constructions which were initiated to be built outside of Sur in the 1930s lasted until the beginning of the Second World War in 1939. The investments which ceased to exist in this period restarted after the war finished in 1945 (Dalkılıç, 2011, pp. 53-54).

5.1.2. The years between 1950 and 1980

In the 1950s, numerous new neighborhoods were formed with modern apartments preferred by the upper-middle class, boulevards, squares and buildings of local state offices in Yenişehir. In the subsequent years, Yenişehir turned into the unique trade and administrative center of Diyarbakır. Besides, a country site called Bağlar (literally "Vineyards") which was 3-5 km away from the city centre and accommodated vineyard houses became one of the newly emerged districts in the 1960s (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 155)

Planning activities between 1950 and 1980

As well as preparing the cadastral map of the city, the city planners designated parcel borders in 1951. After the 1950s, the population growth and density emerged on and around the central business areas which had been zoned and planned regions of the city. The one or two- storey traditional houses were demolished and replaced by the multi-storey houses and apartments and business buildings which were rebuilt through facilitating the common hold of the Law no 6217 in 1954 (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 15).

The 1959 Master Plan of the city

In 1959, the 1/5000 scaled land use development plan was prepared for the city of Diyarbakır and some decisions were made aiming the urban development. The main goals of that 1/5000 size land use plan were to accelerate the constructions outside of Sur, enlarge the existing roads in Suriçi and link these roads to the newly opened areas. Concurrently, a construction leaning back to the west side of city walls was generated in this period. By way of this plan, it was also aimed to prevent this unqualified construction. Until 1960s in Suriçi, the physical space became apparent and the devastations of dual structure on the traditional fabric were carried on as long as enlarging the main roads through expropriation. Eventually, these processes set ground for re-construction in the region (Kejanlı, 2009, pp. 15-16).

Kejanlı (2009, p. 16) points out that the High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments was founded in 1951. On the other hand, it could not enable to the integrated preservation of the castle city Diyarbakır because any regulation did not exist about the urban archaeological sites. She continues her observation that any significant physical devastation on housing areas inside of Sur had not been occurred until the 1959 plan. By means of the 1959 plan, it had been decided to enlarge the Gazi, Melik Ahmed and İzzet Paşa main streets which constitute the trade sites of Suriçi. Eventually, only the Melik Ahmed main street was enlarged via expropriation. Enlarging of the streets damaged many traditional structures and paved the way for re-construction and increasing of the storey heights (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 16).

In the 1960s, significant transformations took place in the city of Diyarbakır. As local governments were under the strict control of the central government between 1960 and 1963, the central government itself endeavored to plan all of the cities in a unified manner. The extended, jointed and patriarchal family of the old social structure begun to shattered; the city had already overflowed outside of Sur. the constructing of houses compatible with the nuclear family's life gained a momentum. These developments triggered the construction of houses for rent due to the emergence of the new social groups who have limited opportunity of buying house. Besides, no effort was made for a planned space organization in the city while the annual growth rate of population became 42‰ within last five years (Halifeoğlu, 2011, p. 60).

During this period, the new boulevards where many government, training and health buildings were located and the new roads which connect these structures to each other were built. In the Yenişehir region, urban life sites were organized around the Elazığ road

extending from Urfakapı to the Seyrantepe junction and the Akkoyunlu road extending from Urfakapı and the İstasyon (station) boulevard. A road parallel to the city walls in Suriçi, connecting to the both two main exit trajectory, was built. Also, numerous new roads outside of Sur were built in consequence of the development activities.

In 1962, development plan with six map sheets covering Suriçi and outside of Suriçi (the Yenişehir Neighborhood) was prepared and put into force in 1965 (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 16). Kejanlı (2009, p. 16) argues that as the production activities at the micro-scale along with the intense construction activities in Suriçi took place around the central business area until the middle of 1960s. Then many problems emerged and a new development plan was in necessity. Between 1965 and 1967, 1/1000 scaled plans were prepared for Suriçi and the Yenişehir neighborhood and put into action. Hence, the urban growth outside of Sur took shape within the frame of this plan (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 16).

The 1965 Implementation Development Plans
The decisions which were made in accordance with the 1965 implementation development plan[32] led to increase the number of constructions in the Yenişehir neighborhood. In a campus layout many public institutions with their various units were built on the lots as in the forms of wide and development block. The State Hydraulic Works, the Highways, the Soil Products Office, the State Supply Office and the Rural Services are the administration buildings which were built during this term. The administration buildings kept numerous institutional and social structures together. As Diyarbakır is a regional city, the administration buildings were organized in such a way that the institutions could easily provide services to the adjacent cities (Halifeoğlu, 2011, p. 61). Besides, the health buildings which provide services in different areas (ex., hospitals for maternity and children, dental services, veterinaries as well as Kızılay and SSK) were built in the site of the Hastaneler (Hospitals) street near the exit of Dağkapı. Likewise, a great deal of school in the Yenişehir region was established in the 1960s. In 1967, the number of middle and high schools in Diyarbakır was seventeen. The Training Institute as the first college in Diyarbakır was founded in 1962 (Halifeoğlu, 2011, p. 62). Also sport facilities (The Diyarbakır Stadium and the Ziya Gökalp Indoor Sports Hall) were built on the İstasyon Boulevard. The cultural facilities which were built during this term are the Public Education Centre, a library and many cinemas (i.e., the Dilan Cinema was built in 1966).

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[32] The implementation development plan (in Turkish, *uygulama imar planı*) refers the 1/1000 scaled plan.

The 1965 development plan provided legal basis for building of multiple storey houses in Suriçi (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 17). However, as Kejanlı (2009, p. 17) points out that while the plans were being prepared, the legislation in was bereft of any definition to maintain a powerful preservation of cities. It was clearly seen that there was not any preservationist approach in the 1965 plan. One more time enlarging of the roads in Suriçi through expropriation and increasing the storey-height of the buildings around the central business area resulted in devastation of the historical fabric. With malice aforethought, the historical and cultural artifacts were demolished or eradicated, the facades of the buildings fell into ruin, the composition of the roads were changed and the social infrastructure remained insufficient. On the other side, the decisions in terms of transportation were offered for outside of Sur, a square left for the monument at the Dağkapı exit and the green area surrounding two sides of the walls were ordered through the decisions of development plans (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 17).

In the 1970s, transportation within city speeded up and became intense in Diyarbakır and the devastation of historical and cultural fabric was drastically carried on. In 1973, the High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments made decisions on the preservation of sites in the 30 cities of Turkey except for Suriçi. Yet, this council enabled to register some of the monumental structures in Suriçi for taking them under preservation in 1972 and relisted the registered structures in 1980 (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 18).

Also, a country site called Bağlar became one of the recent growing districts in the 1960s. During that period, Bağlar which grows with maximum five storey houses was a settlement area mainly middle and low income groups preferred. Apart from these regions constructing within the frame of the development plans, particularly Seyrantepe, Huzurevleri and 5 Nisan neighborhoods emerged without the exception of urban settlement boundaries designated by the plan. This out of plan growth is stemming from the primary goal of the 1965 development plan that would not aim to plan urban growth, but would rather determine the military regions and the areas supposed to be left as out of settlement boundaries. After the 1960s, the constructions which were made out of the plan turned out to be shanty houses both in the new neighborhoods near to the city walls and in Suriçi (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 156).

5.1.3. The years between 1980 and 1990

After the 1970s, the Yenişehir and Bağlar districts began to lose their initial constructing characteristics and witnessed the emergence of uncontrolled and multi-storey housing.

These districts were exposed to a physical transformation which is the restructuring of the several buildings by the efforts of the building contractors in the city (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 156). As also Yüksel (2011, p. 450) points, owing to the large areas which were allocated for a military reservation and an airport in the north and west of the ancient city, the urban sprawl following this north- west axis emerged in the 1980s as suburban areas in the Bağlar and Yenişehir districts.

Planning Activities between 1980 and 1990

A land use development plan scaled with 1/5000 in 1984 and an implementation plan scaled with 1/1000 in 1985 were prepared encompassing all around the city of Diyarbakır. Besides, Suriçi was processed through the 1984 land use development plan. Although there is an approach to preserve the fabric of Suriçi within this plan, it could not be put into the practice in the whole city. At the same time, as Suriçi became a region that let in immigrants, its population increased dramatically and its total prevention had been already discarded. Referring to the increasing of illegal settlement in the Suriçi region, Kejanlı (2009, p. 19) argues that municipality and other public institutions could not take great care to use land and could not control the construction depending upon the planning decisions. In addition to this lack of inspection, the problems of urban infrastructure increased (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 19). Also, the housing fabric in Suriçi became obsolescent and shanty buildings having commercial functions mushroomed at the walls' foot in this period. Yet, trade sites in Suriçi kept its viability and significance and carried on its having the hallmark of the single trade centre in the city. On the other hand, the new urban landscape outside of Sur was going on to grow. The 1985 implementation development plan which was prepared for the growing urban landscape outside of Sur did not include any decision on controlling the construction. Due to the fact that no decision was made within the frame of this plan, the new constructing continued to be processed according to the 1965 development plan (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 20).

5.1.4. The years between 1990 and 2000

In the 1990s, the transformation process which had been already initiated within the planned fabric of Bağlar, Yenişehir (Ofis and Şehitlik) incrementally continued and the upright growth brought about population booms in this part of the city. Moreover, the one or two storey shanty houses in the Seyrantepe, Şemsiler, Huzurevleri, Kayapınar, Dicle and Ben û Sen Neighborhoods and the illegal multi storey constructing in the undeveloped areas of the city increasingly went on (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 156).

The Diyarbakır Suriçi Conservation Plan

The process which was launched through demolishing the traditional one or two storey houses and constructing multi storey buildings in the 1970s in Suriçi inosculated with the increasing population after 1990 and therefore, the devastation on the historical fabric hit the top. These new constructions which had no warrants were built without changing street fabric and lot size. This resulted in enormous squeeze in Suriçi (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 156). In 1988, the Suriçi region was declared as "Diyarbakır Urban Preservation Area" on the basis of the Law on Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation (1983 dated, Law no. 2863, amended by Law no. 3386 and 5226) with the intent to prevent it from devastation as well as unhealthy urbanization. The Diyarbakır branch office of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board was founded in 1989. In according with this law, it was decided that the Diyarbakır Municipality would prepare a "conservation plan" and send it to the Council. Until this time, the municipality would obey the decisions of 'the Transition Period'. Hence, the new construction activities in Suriçi would be restrained by this regulatory. Suriçi was exerted to be protected through the pre-tempore construction decisions by the time the conservation plan was put into practice in 1990 (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 21).

The 1/1,000 scaled "Diyarbakır Suriçi Conservation Plan", which was prepared in 1990, formed the legal basis for the protection of Suriçi[33]. However, Kejanlı (2009, p. 22) criticizes harshly the plan that the taken decisions would raise the density in the existing commercial sites and in the housing areas which were devoid of traditional fabric and unhealthy structured as well as no policy was produced against not to increase dwelling population in Suriçi. Kejanlı (2009, p. 23) cited the Conservation Plan Report in 1990 which announced that the implementation of the plan decisions for the solution of determined problems in the Suriçi region was restrained by financial power of the municipality and the region was being induced and guided by the local entrepreneurs. However, according to the conservation plan, the conservation councils are decision-makers and the municipalities are the responsible for the implementation. Kejanlı (2009, p. 23) continues her criticism that although the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Council is the decision-maker concerning the protection of the Suriçi region, main malfunctions has been experienced in its decisions for the Suriçi urban conservation area. On the other side, the municipality as the responsible for the

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[33] The Diyarbakır Suriçi Conservation Plan prepared by the Yıldız Technical University Conservation and Planning Group.

implementation in the conservation area could not control the construction activities in the Suriçi region on the excuse of intense migration in the 1990s. Unauthorized constructions were built in the regions which had been initially projected as road, square and green area according to the Suriçi urban conservation plan decisions. Especially, the illegal buildings which serve the purpose of trading, environs of the city walls and the other unauthorized constructions leaning against walls were increased towards end of the 1990s. During this period, the RP municipality was warned about the illegal constructions by the Conservation Council (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 23). Yet, by the means of the Conservation Council decision taken in 1991 (decision no: 931), an underground bazaar in the front of the Ulu Mosque was allowed to be built. Moreover, again through the Conservation Council decision given in 1997 (decision no: 2009), an underground car park and an underground bazaar were allowed to be constructed at the junction of the Gazi Street and the Melik Ahmed Street. Therefore, the historical fabric was devastated due to the traffic jam at the junction (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 24). With respect to the conservation plan, landscaping of the areas within the conservation band as a green area was approved via the decision of Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Council (decision no: 28955) in 2002 (Kejanlı, 2009, p. 24).

In conclusion, the city of Diyarbakır was highly devastated until the 2000s. Several reasons can be counted for the devastation of both physical and historical fabric on the city. Certain wrong decisions were taken by the development plans. Socio-economic structure was continuously transformed due to the huge and continuous immigrations to the city. The illegal construction activities could not be prevented by the local governments due to their insensible policies. The improper spatial practices were put into for the sake of modernization.

5.2. Housing Supply and Housing Development Diyarbakır

Owing to the fact that Diyarbakır has an ever-growing population, one of the significant problems of the city has been to acquire houses to meet the demands of dwellers since the 1990s (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 159). As Karakaya (2009, p. 59) argues, the structure of central and local governments had the lack of ability to create new and planned settlement areas through paying regard to the housing rights of the migrants coming to the urban areas, as well as the other cities of Turkey which receive migration. Rather, they found the solution on being a mere spectator to the unplanned constructions such as squatter regions and shared or divided housing areas which were created by the populations

themselves on housing demand. On the other side, in the urban development regions, poor and over-dense housing areas proliferated as the consequences of the problems that prevent the property and development implementations. Apart from these regions, during the last decades, removing the obstacles to the implementations of the plans and the property regulations, the planned and regular residential areas, which provide much more social facilities,   have been progressing. However, if one evaluates some of the planned and regular areas, which have not developed in line with the development legislations, within the frame of "spatial, typological and life manner-space relations", it is observed that these regions hold important shortcomings within themselves; thus, they need certain different intervention methods on top of the intervention tools of planning discipline (Önal, 2009, p. 54).

As mentioned before, the housing needs were met through the cooperation of land owners and private entrepreneurs even in case of the forced migration. It was supposed that the housing demand of the forced immigrants would be met by virtue of the cooperation of local governments and central government. However, such a project has hardly ever come into existence; the precautions in a few examples could not satisfy the demand in terms of both quantity and quality. One of the institutions of the central government regarding housing supply has been the mass housing projects under the authority of the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) since 1994. Also a housing project was completed by the OHAL governor in 1995 (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 159).

Housing Provision of TOKİ in Diyarbakır

In this section, the role of TOKİ on the housing production and its housing production policies within the case of Diyarbakır will be evaluated. There are a lot of criticized policies of TOKİ in terms of its housing areas production in the recent years and the relations of the produced houses by TOKİ with structure quality, housing typology, planning and environmental factors (Yüksel, 2011; Karakaya, 2009; Kejanlı, 2009).

Originally, the main aim of emergence of TOKİ in the housing sector as an institute was to produce houses for low income groups, defined as a "social housing" type, and was to offer this in the way of most affordable and economic way of having a house. In accordance with this purpose, TOKİ produced thousands of houses through cooperation with local governments and financial aid to housing cooperation for many years. As a result, TOKİ became an important actor in the housing provision. However, the TOKİ, which took a great state support, became very powerful. But, it has lost its original aims

and functions. It is easily observed that TOKİ has adopted a model based upon the system of rent or profit share on the state owned lands where the urban land price becomes high. With the frame of this model, high income groups, rather than low income groups, are targeted and in the mean time a certain share is given to low income groups. Mass houses for especially low income groups have been produced in the measure of incompatible with life styles and average household sizes such as with 50-60 meter squares. It is known that TOKİ has developed projects disregarding the social and economic conditions that should be taken into consideration in meeting the housing demands. After TOKİ was affiliated to the Prime Ministry, the Land Office was also affiliated to this institution along with all the real estate in its hands. This made a major part of the state owned lands to be delivered TOKİ as free of charge. Besides, TOKİ obtained a series of legal authorization to make, and to revise development plans in the determined mass housing areas as well as to put the development plans into force directly in case confirmation of the plans by the executive administration within 3 months. Moreover, TOKİ is left out of the Court of Accounts' inspection and it is given extended authorization in the development and planning areas which were under the control of local governments who has the authority of giving dwelling permits (Karakaya, 2009, p. 61).

When it comes to the housing areas produced by TOKİ in Diyarbakır, housing production processes of TOKİ in various developed areas of the city are divided into three parts: The completed, ongoing buildings andthe projects which are still in the process of making. The first mass housing project of TOKİ in Diyarbakır is the Şilbe Mass Housing that aims to prevent emergence of the gecekondu areas and to provide qualified housing production.   The Şilbe Mass Housing project was launched in the Yenişehir district in 1994 after the declaration of the 266 hectare of Şilbe (Aziziye) region as "mass house area" in 1993 (Özyılmaz, Karakaş, & Karaşin, 2007, p. 334). TOKİ completed this project in divided three parts of the region. In the first part of the region, building of the 2,050 houses was completed in 1995. The second part was completed via building 576 houses in 2000. Building 960 houses in 2005, the third part was rounded up (TOKİ, 2012). In total, construction of 3,586 houses accommodating approximately 20,000 populations was completed by TOKİ in the Şilbe Mass Housing area. Yet, there have been still illegal constructions and gecekondu dwellings on the 22 hectare parts of the region (Özyılmaz, Karakaş, & Karaşin, 2007). Within the frame of this project, the middle income families were targeted for having been accommodated in these houses.

Therefore, this project cannot be a solution for the housing of forced immigrants (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 159).

The other project of TOKİ is the Üçkuyular Mass Housing production in the Yenişehir-Üçkuyu region on the Elazığ Highway. The project area covers 188.24 hectare, 57 percent of which belongs to TOKİ and remaining part is private owned area (Özyılmaz, Karakaş, & Karaşin, 2007). The housing units are planned in different sizes and typology. In three stages, the building of 1764 houses for the low income groups was completed. 1,792 houses for low income groups and 2,084 houses for middle income groups are under construction (TOKİ, 2012). At the end of the project, it is expected to complete production of 4,600 houses accommodating 23,000 populations.

Furthermore, TOKİ has announced that the building of 1,272 houses (816 houses in the first stage and 456 houses in the second stage) was projected in the Çölgüzeli region within the frame of urban transformation project of the Suriçi region (TOKİ, 2012). This transformation process in the Suriçi region projected by TOKİ has been strongly criticized by both civic organizations and intellectuals due to its potential fatal results (Yüksel, 2011; Karakaya, 2009; Kejanlı, 2009). 852 buildings out of licensed ones located in Alipaşa and Lalebey neighborhoods in a 14 hectare area are supposed to be demolished and replaced by rebuilt facilities such as squares, parks, sports centers and cafes. Nobody knows that the buildings will be determined whether or not being worthy of licensed. After the evacuation of the people living in this region, clearing of the social living space which reproduce and co-produce the urban fabric of Suriçi will absolutely generate adverse outcomes. Moreover, a segmented, non-scientific project will be executed before the finalization of the Conservation Plan in the region which has the legal statute of the protected area.

Besides, the "500 Evler (500 Houses) Project" was launched for the forced immigrants by the OHAL governor in 1995 and in the same year the building of 400 houses was completed. Yet, houses produced for the forced immigrants remained under the required number (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p. 159). Moreover, TOKİ offered the "Üç Kuyu Massive Hosing" project. The Üç Kuyu region was declared by the Diyarbakır governor as a massive housing area. The development activities were launched in this region, in a part of which was expropriated by the Land Office General Directorate.

Since the housing demand was met via the land owners and building contractors, the housing supply by state-led or state-sanctioned enterprises became more restricted in the

transition process. This shift in the housing supply raises the urban rents in the developing areas. Yet, sharing of this rent is made between specific groups. Therefore, the law income urban dwellers have no opportunity to purchase the houses produced within this process. This also rushes up squatter regions which are deprived of the urban provisions.

5.3. Socio-Spatial Transformation in Diyarbakır until 2000

Gambetti (2008, p. 2) offers "two parallel readings" for the case of Diyarbakır. She defines the city of Diyarbakır as a space where "homogenizing strategies of the Turkish nation-building project" imposed throughout the Republican history. The pro-Kurdish municipalities have been exercised its institutional authority since 1999 in order to convert the Turkish dominant culture in Diyarbakır. She adds that the following "re-appropriation of urban space" indicates "a counter-power that operates through the hierarchical reordering of space according to an alternative imaginary of Diyarbakir as the capital of Kurdish identity". Besides, she points that the city has recently gone through on the one side reversing of the homogenizing strategies, and on the other side introducing the neoliberal policies (Gambetti, 2008, p. 3).

In this sub-section, the socio-spatial transformation of Diyarbakır will be discussed referring to the two parallel readings of Gambetti[34]. First, the transformation of the city through homogenizing strategies of the Turkish nation building project until the 2000s will be handled. Then, the reversing of the dominant culture through socio-spatial processes by the Kurdish movement and its local governments as well as the simultaneous effects of the neo-liberal policies which had been already introduced after the 1980s on the urban space will be evaluated.

The fist devastation on the city can be asserted to begin just after "the rebellion of the Kurdish leader Sheik Said" in 1925. A great number of prominent Kurdish families in Diyarbakır were exiled and the region was announced as unauthorized for outlanders. The most important devastation on the city was to demolish certain parts of the ancient walls in 1931. Besides, the traces of the non-Muslim culture in Diyarbakır were devastated in the early republican period. As Gambetti (2008, p. 6) points out "the spaces of existence,

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[34] Two parallel readings offered by Gambetti (2008, p.3) for the socio-spatial transformation in Diyarbakır indeed comprises the colonization process (1) and decolonization-cum-recolonization process (2). She asserts that Diyarbakır has not been a post-colonial city, but the city has gone through the process of cultural decolonization and the simultaneous process of neoliberal (global) colonization. For the more detailed information see the article of Gambetti in 2008.

worship and memory of the non-Muslim population, mainly Armenians, Syriacs and Chaldeans" were neglected due to the state policies. The Saint George Armenian Church and the Syriac cemetery were severely damaged (Gambetti, 2008, p. 6). One of the strategies to eradicate, as Öktem (2004, p. 567) claims, is "reconstruction of urban space". Gambetti exemplifies the previous municipality square in front of the *Ulu Cami*[35] in Diyarbakır. The importance of this square is based on that the first leftist protests and Kurdish demonstration in the 1970s, called the East Meetings of TİP, occurred at the front of the *Ulu Cami*. The previous mayor from RP, Ahmet Bilgin, reconstructed this square that was turned into "a quasi-useless space with several glass pyramids and functions primarily as roof and source of natural light for an underground shopping mall" (Gambetti, 2008, p. 8). Anymore, as also Gambetti underlines, there is "no trace is left of its revolutionary past" (2008, p. 8). (Fotosunu ekle)

As Gambetti (2008, p. 9) puts forward, this kind of strategy was accomplished in Diyarbakır through inscription of the symbols of the dominant culture on the space. To illustrate this strategy in Diyarbakır, the enormous bright red and white signboard hanged over one side of a footbridge near the Governor's Square in Yenişehir can be provided. On this signboard, it is written: "*Ne Mutlu Türk'üm Diyene*[36]". The other 'striking symbol' is the huge mural of Atatürk painted on the wall of a multi-storey office building at the Dağkapı Square. The inscription is: "*Diyarbakirlı, Vanlı, Erzurumlu, Trabzonlu, İstanbullu, Trakyalı ve Makedonyalı hep bir ırkın evlatları, hep aynı cevherin damarlarıdır*[37]".

As Gambetti (2008, p. 10) states, these spatial practices are common in the other cities of Turkey. Principally, speeches of Atatürk can be often observed at the city squares and on the welcoming signboards. In the words of Gambetti:

> The *lieux de mèmoire* of the Turkish Republic or sites occupied by major units of the armed forces are marked by inscriptions onto natural space. The hills of Gallipoli or the rocky cliff above the commando training camp near Isparta are examples of the latter. "What a joy it is to say 'I am a Turk'" and "A Turk is worth the whole world" are the sayings that are most often used, but one also encounters flags or soldier silhouettes carved onto rocks. They serve to reinforce the founding Turkish imaginary of strength and superiority by reiterating and visualizing it. But in the southeastern provinces, these practices acquires a

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[35] *Ulu Cami* (Grand Mosque), which was itself converted from a Christian temple, is located in Suriçi.

[36] "How happy is it who says, 'I am a Turk'" (Belonged to Atatürk, over praising being Turkish).

[37] "Those from Diyarbakır, Van, Erzurum, Trabzon, İstanbul, Thrace and Macedonia are the children of the same race, the veins of the same ore"

new meaning, carrying out the double function of relegating Kurdishness to an inferior status vis-à-vis Turkishness and inscribing the presence and power of the central state into local space. In the Dagkapi example, Atatürk's body treading a rock does not only represent the bodily integrity of the nation as conceptualized in time and space, and the arch at Governor's square is more than a banal technique of identification through interpellation. In Diyarbakir, they stand for the will to efface the other's cultural identity through the enforced internalization of its defeat, subjugation or impotence. They provide material testimony to the official policy of denying the existence of a Kurdish identity (Gambetti, 2008, p. 10).

Reconstruction of urban space in Diyarbakır by the central government is accelerated in the 1980s when the economy in Turkey is steered for neoliberalism. Through the new legal regulations on urban planning, "the imaginary underlying the Turkish nation-building project: modernization and rationalization" was unraveled in Yenişehir (Gambetti, 2008, p. 11). An apparent designing for the streets with boulevards in good trims was imposed to Diyarbakır's districts through "echoing the de-Ottomanization of Turkish cities in line with the architectonics of the Republic". Also Gambetti maintains, Yenişehir is a representation of linking "the commercialization of land and the subordination of cityscapes to the singular logic of Kemalist modernization" (2008, p. 11). Such an urban growth case can be easily observed in other cities in Turkey. As Öktem (2004, p. 566) renders, "strategies of destruction and neglect are directed at exterminating the 'other' as a material and historical entity and to render its traces in space and time invisible." On the other hand, the armed revolt of the Kurdish movement, PKK also had an impact on the socio-spatial structure of Diyarbakır in the 1980s. After the declaration of Emergency Rule in 1987, the law-intensity war which cost over 30,000 people lives harshly devoured the city. A great number of people were detained in the organization bureaus or on the street or at public meetings, and put into prison or lost in custodies. Besides, there were numerous several murder by unknown assailants and extrajudicial executions by the security forces. Furthermore, a night-time curfew was imposed, and people were under risk and pain of death in the streets and public places (Gambetti, 2008, pp. 12-13).

In the 1990s, PKK became a significant "threat to Turkey's territorial integrity" (Öktem, 2004, p. 566). At the same time, the Kurdish Insurgency called *Serhildan*[38] arose in Diyarbakır. During this period, the destruction strategies of the state were proven to be useless (Öktem, 2004, p. 566; Gambetti, 2009b, p. 55). As a response, the state, burned and evacuated more than 3,000 villages "to contain the Kurdish rebels and reassert

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[38] *Serhildan* is a Kurdish word coincides with the Palestinian *intifada.*

control over contested territories" (Öktem, 2004, p. 566). Besides, the Emergency Rule and the belligerency were still keepingits influences on Diyarbakır. The flood of migrants to the city put the boot in this environment. Deep traumas and the loss of the war were mostly felt in the immigrants' settlements, in Bağlar and Sur regions. Everyday life practices were severely restricted and controlled in public spaces. Yet, the political struggle of the Kurdish movement along with its various associations, organizations and party offices continued even in the "strictly polarized public space".

In the 2000s, the urban space went through the neo-liberal practices. The socio-spatial layout of Diyarbakır in the 2000s indicates important differences between the districts. As noted before, after the ancient city of Diyarbakır (Suriçi) overflowed from the surrounding city walls, the modern apartments and public institute buildings with large roads emerged in the Yenişehir district. Gambetti (2008, p. 5) points Yenişehir to become a district marked by modernization and globalization processes. The military installations, the Governor's Office, the Metropolitan Municipality, the Galleria Shopping Mall, the Dedeman Hotel Tower, the MMM Migros Hypermarket, Kentucky Fried Chicken, theatre and cinema halls, cultural centers, offices of political parties and civic organizations are some of the sharpest buildings in Yenişehir. Kayapınar of which main part is formed of highly modernized settlement areas stands out with its luxury apartment blocks, gated communities, big shopping centers and business towers (Gambetti, 2008, p. 5). The Doğa Park Houses, Mezz Residence, Diamond City are some of the prestigious gated communities in Kayapınar. Also there are lots of private schools, private hospitals and mega shopping centers, such as The Burger King City Center and the Carrefour Supermarket. On the other side, Bağlar and Sur highly diverge from the hitherto drawn picture of Yenişehir and Kayapınar. Major areas of the Sur and Bağlar[39] and districts are formed of the gecekondu settlements through allowing intensity immigrants. Gambetti (2008, pp. 11-12) demonstrates the socio-spatial differences between the districts as:

> In striking contrast, the Surici or Baglar is spatially marked by disorder and the temporality of the present. Activity is governed by survival strategies and the heteroglossia of untamed subjectivities. Buildings show signs of temporal adjustment to life in the city: ground floors have been around long enough to receive plastering and even some paint, but vertical lines are broken by odd additions or the raw bricks of illegally erected floors. The streets are not spaces that separate the public from the private, but outright extensions of the private: they can be occupied, appropriated and used, just like the electricity cables on

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[39] The city of Bağlar is also separated into two parts as the old Bağlar and the new Bağlar. The recently developed area, especially the Bağcılar quarter, with modern apartment blocks and business towers is called as the new Bağlar. The neighborhoods which were mostly formed of forcibly immigrated peasants are called as old Bağlar.

lamp posts. Streets are children's playgrounds, while front doors are women's living rooms, used for the purpose of beating bulgur, gossiping, choosing brides or merely socializing. If Ofis is a milieu of "escape, fantasy, and distraction" (Harvey 1990:300), Surici and Baglar are the spaces of subversion.

Gambetti (2008, p. 12) claims that Suriçi and Bağlar show "dissonance into into the standardized spatio-temporal configuration of Kemalist modernization". The forcibly migrated groups in these settlements denaturalize the meaning of state, nation and space. They also revolt against the cultural homogenization project. Yet, the author underlines an important limit of the divergence in the city.

> Diyarbakir is large enough for the separation of migrants' quarters from the rest of the city, but not large enough for a successful politics of segregation. Exclusion and resistance coincide and overlap in these spaces. This is, in itself, an indication of the limits of incorporation of heterogeneity by any dominant culture.

In spite of the existence of the modern residential areas populated with high income groups, some main parts of the Kayapınar and Yenişehir consist of immigrants and impoverished people which can be called as buffer zones of the city that the Kurdish movement can mobilize easily.

Formation of the Socio-Spatial Conditions for the pro-Kurdish Municipalities towards the 2000s

Gambetti (2008, p. 56) alleges that "It was only with the simultaneous retreat of the two antagonistic hegemonic forces (the PKK and the Turkish military) that an alternative space could finally be constructed" in the early 2000s in Diyarbakır. Just before the 1999 local elections, certain reasons procured a chance to the pro-Kurdish party, HADEP to gain the municipalities. The year of 1999 witnessed the capture of Öcalan (the leader of the PKK), ceasefire and retreat of the PKK, Helsinki Summit[40] which was signed between Turkey and the EU to provide democracy and human rights in Turkey. As Yüksel states, these political developments contribute to create a peaceful environment that would be resulted in the formation of a vibrant and democratic public space. Hence, the Kurdish movement and civic organizations could mobilize more freely and unrestrictedly in Diyarbakır.

The 1999 local elections victory of HADEP in Diyarbakır is a paragon materialized through the reviving of the civil society. Besides, the local and central authorities had no policy to harbor immigrants and did not provide them with any social and economic

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[40] Through Helsinki Summit, Turkey was officially accepted as a candidate for European Union membership.

support. Hence, this gap left by those authorities was filled by the "Kurdish urban politics". With regard to the immigrants' civic and urban sufferings, Kurdish urban politics is mobilized by the pro-Kurdish movement, whereas other mainstream political actors lost their standings (Sümer, 2012, p. ix).

CHAPTER VI

6. CASE STUDY: THE MUNICIPALITIES OF DİYARBAKIR SINCE 1999

In order to deal with the theory and practice in a socio-spatial dialectic manner, the field research in Diyarbakır was conducted for two months in the summer of 2012. The case study includes the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır and its four sub-district municipalities Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipalities. To reveal out the role of these five municipalities in the production of the space was the major target during the research field. Within consideration of research questions of the thesis, in-depth interviews, observations and short negotiations were conducted so as to collect data and findings. The field research data and the findings for the core of this study were examined through applying quantitative and qualitative analysis method. Taking the data sets into consideration, the comments and arguments of the interviewees will be discussed within the Lefebvrian frame of the socio-spatial dialectic manner. At the end, the findings belonging to research field will be evaluated.

Figure 4 The borders of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır and its district municipalities: Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar
(Source: Diyarbakır Büykşehir Belediyesi, 2012)

This chapter basically comprises of five main parts. In the first part (6.1), an introduction to the spatial practices of the municipalities will be provided. Definition and scope of each spatial unit and activity will be handled. Also, the spatial practices of the municipalities will be classified according to the scale, class and policy tendencies. In the

following section (6.2), spatial practices of the greater municipality of Diyarbakır and as a representation of space[41], their role in the production of space will be analyzed. In the next section (6.3), socio-spatial practices of district municipalities as representations of space will be discussed. Each of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipality will be elaborated respectively. In the subsequent section (6.4), comparison of the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities is provided. In the final section (6.5), socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities will be evaluated in terms of their policies applying the theory of uneven development between local units.

6.1. Socio-Spatial Practices of the Pro-Kurdish Municipalities

In this sub-section, all the socio-spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities since 1999 subjected to this thesis will be evaluated. An introduction to the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities with their definition and scope will be provided. At the end, an attempt to classify of these practices will be made according to scale, class and policy tendencies. The main spatial projects of the pro-Kurdish municipalities are public laundries and tandır[42] (designed as bread pits, or earthen stoves) houses, neighborhood houses, education support houses, women houses/centers, condolence houses, culture and art centers. In the following table, the projects for representation of spaces as well as their definitions and aims are provided.

As it can be clearly seen in Table 8, there are a great number of spatial practices of the municipalities. In order to present the data respectable, these practices are tried to be classified. Hence, the sub-question about the scale, class and policy tendencies of the spatial practices of the municipalities will be clearly put forward. Socio-spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities can be mainly classified according to three types:

1. Scale based categorization
2. Class based categorization
3. Policy based categorization

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[41] As it was noted in Chapter 2, 'representations of spaces' are corresponded to the spatial imaginations of municipal administrators as well as their spatial perspectives, projects, plans, etc. within this thesis.

[42] Tandır (in Turkish) or *Tenûr* (in Kurdish) is a kind of furnace which is built by digging a hole to the floor. Breads are cooked within the *tandır* by Kurdish women in a time-honoured habitude.

Table 8 Definitions and aims of the spatial projects of the pro- Kurdish municipalities

No	Spatial Practices	Definition and aim of the spatial practices
1.	Laundries and tandır houses	Providing free and daily laundry facilities and bread cooking to women, and thus "relieving the burden of their domestic chores" and also "functioning as multi-purpose women's centers".*
2.	Neighborhood houses	Enabling neighborhood dwellers to participate in social, cultural and economic life effectively.
3.	Condolence houses	Buildings where people coming together to express their condolences in case of a funeral.
4.	Education Support (and Culture) Houses	Offering free educational support to the disadvantaged children and juveniles of primary and middle school age.
5.	Women Houses/Centers	Gender-based social services and development organizations aiming to "facilitate the individual and social rehabilitation of women survivors of displacement and their integration into the urban life on an egalitarian and sustainable basis through research, application and consultancy services".*
6.	Women cooperatives	Enabling women to include in production, to support household economy and to be financially independent.
7.	Women labor bazaars	Giving a boost to the self-sufficient households and to induce women for their self-economic contribution.
9.	Women shelter houses	Targeting internalization of positive discrimination towards women and protection of women who are victim of violence.
10.	Social aid and solidarity centers	Especially aiming at struggling for the poverty and raising consciousness of social responsibility and solidarity culture; cloth and food aid for the low income families.
11.	People's libraries	Lending books (both in Turkish and Kurdish) to children and giving free etude studies towards juveniles of primary and middle school age.
12.	Culture and art centers, ateliers and conservatoires	Giving free cultural and artistic courses (both in Turkish and Kurdish) for the children and youth.
13.	Social living areas (the Sümerpark campus)	Multi-purposeful classess, ateliers for raising the standard of livings, solving problems and integrating of women, children, youths and disabled groups to the social life so as to participate dwellers to the decision making process.
14.	Health centers	Free and multi lingual health services for low income groups, especially for women and children.
15.	Rehabilitation centers for street children	A special project towards street children aiming at not only remedying but also providing them with social integration.
16.	Parks	Construction of a great number of parks for not only spending leisure times, but also towards under-privileged portions of the society, disabled groups, etc.
17.	Green areas (gardens and nursery areas)	Gardens and glasshouses for planting, growing and free distribution of trees and flowers for the municipal parks, greeneries and road refuges, and even for demanding dwellers for their gardens.
18	Squares	Spaces for demonstrations, protests and contests.
19.	Monuments	Construction of monuments for reversing the official historical narrative and redefining of the space meanings.
20.	Festivals	Peace and brotherhood projects

Table 8 (continued)

No	Spatial practices	Definition and aim of the spatial practices
21.	Tournaments	Street football, volleyball and basketball tournaments
22.	Projects for the employment of street vendors	Place allocations for the employment of street vendors through establishing fairs, offering low-rent offices or fixed bazaars in passages.
23.	Projects oriented to business offices	Attempts to establish an alternative supervision and competition for the business offices, especially food sectors and hair dress shops.
24.	Multi-lingual municipality services	Application of multi-lingual (Kurdish, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic and Turkish) naming in the signboards of service buildings, in the direction signs, in the billboards, in the publishing (books, magazines, etc.) of the municipality.
25.	Special institutional implementations	Collective labor agreements, internal service trainings and activities including privileged implementations to women
26.	Multi cultural street projects	Emphasizing historical significance of the streets
27.	Ecological projects	Giving efforts for the creation of alternative, clean and sustainable energy usage forms.
28.	Urban transformation, regeneration and renovation projects	Attempts to urban transformation, regeneration and renovation projects in especially Suriçi district under the leadership of TOKİ and governor.
29.	Social Housing Provision	Building and submitting houses for the poor people
30	Large scale urban projects	The Dicle Valley Master Plan

*Özsoy, Coşkun & Yasak, 2010.

Firstly, the scale based categorization indicates at which scale the municipal practices are employed. Neighborhood/street scale, municipal scale, urban scale, and upper (regional, national or supranational) scale can be sub-categorization of this group. Secondly, the class based categorization clarifies which classes the municipal practices are served for. Upper class (high income groups), middle class (middle income groups), upper-middle class, underclass (law income groups) or all the people are sub-categorization of this group. Lastly, the policy based categorization points which policies the municipalities follow. Spatial practices are categorized according to the policies. Administrative and organizing policies, economic (production, labor and class) policies, social (distribution) policies, cultural (ethnicity, historical, identity) policies, urbanization policies, gender mainstream policies and ecology policies can be put in order under this group.

1. **The scale based categorization**

a. Neighborhood scale: The projects in a neighborhood are only offered to the dwellers that live within the territory of that neighborhood. The produced spaces and spatial activities of the municipalities in the neighborhood scale include laundries and *tandır* houses, neighborhood houses, education support houses, condolence houses, neighborhood meetings and neighborhood/street projects, etc.

b. Municipal scale: The projects in a municipal are only offered to the dwellers that live within the territory of that municipality. The projects in the municipal scale consist women houses, social aid and solidarity centers, women cooperatives, women labor bazaars, health centers, libraries, plantation areas, parks, squares, cultural, artistic and sportive activities, multi-lingual municipality service implementations, collective labor agreements including privileged implementations to women, projects oriented to business offices, etc.

c. Urban scale: Those which are on the basis of urban scale are offered to all urban dwellers. The projects in the urban scale include social improvement campuses (such as Sümerpark), social living areas, women centers, women shelter houses, health centers, culture and art centers, mass demonstration areas such as (the Newroz Square), parks, urban squares, monuments, artistic and sportive activities of the Greater Municipality, such as festivals, tournaments, commemorations. Also, urban transformation, regeneration and renovation projects and other large scale urban projects can be added.

d. Upper-scale: The projects which are on the basis of supra-scale (regional, national, and supra-national) include external networks, such as cultural, political, intellectual and entrepreneurial circles in contact with local networks.

2. The class based categorization

Projects of the municipality on the basis of economic class are employed for either underclass group, upper, middle, upper-middle classes, or all of the populations. For example, laundries and *tandır* houses are constructed for underclass groups. As projects oriented to business offices are towards the owner of restaurants, cafes, hair dress shops or markets, such a project is oriented to middle and upper-middle classes. Besides neighborhood houses are constructed for all the dwellers living that neighborhood. With all that, some attempts to construct centers are anticipated for lower income populations, but in the course of time, due to the various reasons, relatively higher income groups begin to appropriate these spaces.

3. The policy based categorization

Administrative policies: Projects on the basis of administrative policies are mainly related with the participation of the urban dwellers to decision making, implementation and authorization processes ranging from budgeting, development planning to distribution of public services. Establishing a democratic model beginning from grassroots,

neighborhood houses can be connoted as the social spaces on behalf of the administrative policies. Besides, neighborhood meetings of the municipalities are one of the organizing activities. Yet, the organizing policies and activities are also directly attached to the party's affiliation and mobilization efforts which could be resulted in the re-appropriation of produced spaces.

Economic policies: The economic policies are directly linked to economic production, labor and class formation processes. While one is looking at processes of the space production, the logic of capitalist reconstruction and the neoliberalism itself should be inevitably kept in sight. As Yüksel (Yüksel, 2011, pp. 453-454) underlines "(...) the production of social space (...) is embedded in the logic of capitalist restructuring a broader transformation that took place at the global and national level, including its attendant policy implications and the various strategies and responses of the local actors to survive in a world of heightened international competition." Surveying the marketing activities in city and their relations with national and supranational networks, the urban transformation projects within the neoliberal frame of "cultural diversity turn "and competing localities will point out how Diyarbakır's spatial transformation remains under the influence of the attempts of not only local actors, but also the pro-Kurdish municipalities (Gambetti & Jongerden, 2011, p. 338). Moreover, the national and supranational funds, the micro-credit and donation programs as well as the vocational courses and cooperatives are parts of the economy policies of the municipalities which induce shifts in the urban space. Furthermore, the municipalities' relations with the working class and other business and elite circles determine the economic policies. The collective labor agreements, projects towards vender, craftsmen and partnerships with business circles and state institutions affect the urban space transformation.

Social (distribution) policies: Social policies are about the distribution of the urban services in the fields of housing, health, hygiene, training, culture, etc. Education support houses, free etude studies towards juveniles of primary and middle school age, laundries and *tandır* houses, social aid and solidarity centers, health centers, rehabilitation centers for street children and summer camps for children are the social policies of the municipalities.

Cultural policies: Cultural policies are based upon ethnicity, identity, belief, tradition, ideology and history. In addition, the events and activities about culture and art are

counted as cultural policies. Festivals, ceremonies, multi-lingual municipality services and free courses on Kurdish language and the other local languages are about the cultural policies of the municipalities. Also, multi cultural street projects, restoration, regeneration and renovation projects on the historical fabric of the city and building monuments, squares, etc are also oriented the cultural policies of the municipalities. Culture and art houses, centers, ateliers and conservatoires; libraries which lend Kurdish books are also about the cultural policies of the municipalities.

Urbanization policies: Infrastructure services, land and housing policies including city planning, development decisions, massive houses attempts, construction of parks, etc are some urbanization policies.

Gender based policies: Laundries and tandır houses, women's houses/centers, women shelter houses, women's cooperatives are gender based policies.

Ecology policies: The Solar House project, ecologic parks, production cooperatives, planting areas, etc. can be counted as ecology policies

It is important to state here that such kind of policy classification is not sharply divided between each other. The different dimensions of any social policy, such as gender or environmental dimensions can be intertwined in a single spatial practice. The policies can be intertwined with each other. To give an example, laundries and tandır houses are seen to be one of the social projects of the municipality. However, besides offering free and daily laundry facilities and bread cooking to women, laundries and tandır houses function as multi-purpose for women. That can be served as a gender-based policy or an organization policy of the party. Furthermore, that can be an effective economic policy through opening vocational courses to women, so they would be displayed a way for the participation in the production processes. The main categorization of the spatial practices implemented by the municipalities with regards to the name of municipality, starting year, starting period and the name of the mayor is given in the Appendix Table 2. In addition, the main categorization of the spatial practices implemented by the municipalities with regard to scale, income group and policies is provided in the Appendix Table 3.

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6.2. The Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır

The first municipal governances in the Ottoman Empire, called *Şehremaneti*[43], were founded after Crimean War in 1853. Diyarbekir *Şehremaneti* was founded in 1865. In Diyarbekir Yearbook of 1882, it was written that *Şehremini*[44] of Diyarbekir was Abdüllatif *Efendi*[45] and deputy of him was an Armenian called Osib *Efendi*. It was understood from the yearbook that the governance council was mostly consisted of the city's Christian notables. For various texts, east and west sides of the ancient Diyarbakır Suriçi region were governed by the two different *Şehremini* and their deputies; two of those were a Muslim *Şehremini* and a Christian deputy and the other two of those were a Christian *Şehremini* and a Muslim deputy. Municipalities of the Republican regime were founded in all the settlement areas of Turkey, included *Diyarbekir*, through Law no. 278 which was enacted by Ankara Government in 1922. The name of Diyarbekir was changed as Diyarbakır in 1937 through an order of Atatürk and the Diyarbekir Municipality council decision. Hence, the municipal was renamed as Diyarbakır Municipality from that date onwards (GABB, 2013).

The chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality since 1922 are given in the Appendix Table 4. After the 1980 military coup, the mayors of Diyarbakır Municipality were discharged and the municipality was ruled by a general and a governor till 1984. Afterwards, the mayors as member of ANAP, SHP, RP and the pro-Kurdish parties took the chair in Diyarbakır, respectively. The chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality after 1984 are provided in Table 9.

Table 9 Chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality after 1980

Date of Local Election	Periods	Chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality	Represented Political Party	The Rate of Received Votes (%)
25.03.1984	1984-1987	Nurettin Dilek	ANAP	26.40
-	1987-1989	Mehmet Baydur	ANAP	-
26.03.1989	1989-1994	Turgut Atalay	SHP	26.78
27.03.1994	1994-1999	Ahmet Bilgin	RP	36.92
18.04.1999	1999-2004	Feridun Çelik	HADEP	62.48
28.03.2004	2004-2009	Osman Baydemir	SHP	58.30
29.03.2009	2009- …	Osman Baydemir	DTP	65.14

Source: GMD, 2012; TUİK, 2013

[43] *Şehremaneti* was the first form of today's municipality founded in Turkey. It was a local government in the Ottoman Empire, which served in municipal police and paid attention on city's hygiene and beauty affairs.

[44] *Şehremini* was president of *Şehremaneti* and amounts to today's mayor.

[45] *Efendi* (in Turkish) means Mister.

The ANAP Municipality in Diyarbakır (1984-1989)

The survey on the ANAP municipality between 1984 and 1989 in Diyarbakır should begin with a brief discussion of the reconstruction of the local government introduced by neo-liberal politics of the ANAP government of that period. In the pursuit of the 24 January 1980 decisions, the local governments went through the neo-liberal transformation process, which is also defined as a "roll-back restructuring process". The ANAP government of that period embodied the restructuring process rapidly through enacting a series of law on local governments. These are oriented towards downscaling of the state and reestablishing of local governances related to their structure, authority and financial capacity (Yüksel, 2011, p. 249). Besides, ANAP succeeded in three important aims to reconstruct the urban space: introducing a new model for metropolitan and district municipalities, providing new financial means to the municipalities and bringing state-led promotions forth to the housing sector (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 71-72). The new laws which were enacted after 1984 promoted all the local governments to make new development plans and encouraged land and building owners to create new rents (Penpecioğlu, 2012). Three of these laws are on *gecekondu* and development amnesty (Law no: 2981, dated 1984), new mass housing (Law no. 2985, dated 1984) and the new development law (Law no. 3194, dated 1985).

Nurettin Dilek as a mayor candidate of ANAP won the Diyarbakır Municipality with the 26.4% of the total votes in 1984. In the 1984 local elections, mayor candidates from ANAP won the municipalities by landslide (43%) in Turkey. Doğan argues (2007a, pp. 73-74) that the ANAP municipalities between 1984 and 1989 imposed the market and capital biased neo-liberal policies which are brought by the Turk-Islam synthesis in their localities. ANAP municipalities became "trapped in the national culture politics of the Turk-Islam synthesis closed to ingenuity". They ignored historical artifacts which bear non-Turkish and non-Islamic characteristics and allocated their residual financial resources for developing, demolishing and expropriation of archeological sites. Disregarding the social dimension and focusing on the economical dimension of municipality, the ANAP municipalities served for the capitalists to exploit produced rents in the urban areas. In addition to these, corruptions which emerged as a byproduct of tenders and gecekondu demolitions resulted in strong backlashes in the public opinion. (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 73-74). On the other side, as Yüksel argues, the period of transition to

a liberal local government model in Diyarbakır came across with the outburst of the law-intensity war in the region in the 1980s (2011, p. 434).

The SHP Municipality in Diyarbakır (1989-1994)

During the 1989 local elections campaigns, SHP and its candidates used the criticisms about corruption of the ANAP municipalities as a tramp card and propounded themselves as the inheritors of the CHP municipalities which were effective between 1973 and 1980. By the time coming to local power, SHP municipalities launched a set of projects that would alleviate the social and spatial problems created on the urban spaces by neo-liberal processes of ANAP municipalities. Although, the practices of the SHP municipalities[46] firstly gave the impression of "a social justice based approach", they could not go much further than the practices of other municipalities in the sense of local autonomy and public participatory and therefore, they became alienated to the social democrat approach (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 75-76).

In the 1989 local elections, Turgut Atalay, as a mayor candidate of SHP, won the municipality through polling 26.8 percent of the votes in Diyarbakır. At that time, the Kurdish electorates pin their hope on SHP for the solution of the Kurdish issue. Fuat Atalay, brother of Turgut Atalay, had been elected as a SHP deputy from Diyarbakır in 1987. Even before the 1987 general elections, during the SHP Congress in Siirt, Fuat Atalay had announced that the charter of SHP which was recently written should have been also written in Kurdish (Tunç, 2009). During the field research, it is usually heard that the one who brought the city of Diyarbakır into ruin was actually Turgut Atalay.

The Islamist (RP) Municipality in Diyarbakır (1994-1999)

Along the rise of the importance of the greater city centers and leaning of the gross capital to the urban areas, greater municipality model for these cities was introduced via

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[46] Major practices are counted by Doğan as, operating People's Bread Factory (*Halk Ekmek Fabrikası*) effectively through expanding its capacity and franchise network; establishing regulative selling stores; promoting consumption cooperatives; allocating cheap land areas for housing cooperatives and improving their infrastructures; allocating cheap rent houses for university students; providing cost free public transformation service (*Halk Taşıt*) for certain *gecekondu* dwellings and improving infrastructures of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods. However, these collective consumption practices were interrupted or receded after 1992 despite the fact that amelioration was observed in the life conditions of labor and impoverished groups of the city. Another shift in the social and economic policies of the SHP municipalities is that these municipalities put the urban projects into practices by way of external loans, sub-contractor/tender offers, buying goods and services from market. One of the criticized projects of SHP municipalities– which would soon take them to *"project fetishism" (projecilik)* – is large scale urban transformation processes oriented middle-class housing demands came into prominence. Doğan stands out the crucial side of project fetishism that municipalities drastically increase their debts especially through receiving external credits (2007a, p. 74).

enactment of the Law No. 3030, dated 1984. With the enactment of this law, a two-tier municipal system[47] was established in the greater cities and the district municipalities joint by the military regime regained legal entity (Doğan, 2007a, p. 71). Through this law, the greater municipalities gained extended authorities ranging from "planning, programming and implementation of large scale investments" on the building sector to 'preservation of health and security'. As Yüksel (2011, p. 439) states, this law enabled the greater municipalities "to make, ratify and implement their own urban development plans, a move to speed up the urbanization of capital and led to the birth of the mayor of the greater municipality as a true 'entrepreneurial urban manager'". The Law No. 3030 also offered additional financial opportunities for the greater municipalities and the mayors of these municipalities were empowered against the municipal councils as well as the mayors of the district municipalities (Doğan, 2007a, pp. 62-63). Again during this period, the additional finances were transferred to the housing sector and the Housing Development Administration was founded as a new public body in the housing sector. While extending the authorities and increasing the revenues of the municipalities through legal regulations, affinity of the capital with the urban space led to shift in urban growth management.

Under the Law No. 3030, Diyarbakır Municipality was declared as a greater city and was renamed Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır through Council of Minister Decision no: 93/5130 dated 21.12.1993. Concurrently, Bağlar, Sur and Yenişehir municipalities were founded as the first tier municipalities of the greater municipality (DBBSP, 2010, p. 14). A year later, the 1994 local elections were conducted. In Diyarbakır, Ahmet Bilgin[48] won the greater municipality from RP via obtaining 36.92 percent of the votes.

RP ran the municipalities in Turkey between 1989 and 2004. In the 1994 local elections, RP came into power in 6 greater and 22 district municipalities. Doğan summarizes the

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[47] According to this 'hierchical' municipality model, the greater municipalities became the first tier and the district municipalities became the second tier municipality. Firstly, İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara were turned into greater municipality in 1984. Secondly, Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep Konya and Kayseri gained the greater municipality statue between 1986 and 1988. Lastly, Diyarbakır, Antalya, Eskişehir, Erzurum, Mersin, İzmit and Samsun became the greater municipality in 1993 (Yüksel, 2011, p. 439).

[48] Ahmet Bilgin was born in 1953 in Diyarbakır. After graduating from the faculty of law in 1978, he took charge in the Dicle University. Then he worked in the State Planning Organization in Ankara until winning the presidency of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır in 2004.

common characteristics of the socio-spatial practices of the RP municipalities[49] as: to decrease number of municipal employees and their expenditures; to alienate labor relations through privatizing collective consumption services as common needs of local people and tendering these services to sub-contractor firms; to mobilize pious foundations to aid for poor neighborhoods; to creates alternatives to modern culture and art practices, to organize traditional-cultural activities in line with conservative local people, such as aid for mosques and dormitories, *sünnet* feasts and *iftar* tents; to reinterpret motives belonging to Ottoman/Seljuk urban culture, design urban furniture accordance with their representation of space in public and social spaces, such as portable waterfalls, plastic palm trees and fountains and to denominate newly constructed buildings, streets, parks, etc with famous symbols and peoples sharing the same world view (Doğan, 2007a, p. 86).

A story about Ahmet Bilgin was published in the Aksiyon magazine in 1995, entitled "They don't want service, they want bread" (Aksiyon, 1995). This narrative gives important clues on the RP municipal affairs in Diyarbakır. The first work of Bilgin was to establish the public bread factory. Even he often doled free-cost breads to the dwellers living outskirts, saying "At least, let the dried bread pass down the citizen's throat!" Bilgin prepared a report on the Diyarbakır's issues and keys of the solution. Although he offered this report to the central government, he could not gain any help. Yet, he launched the projects. First, he rehabilitated the water system of Diyarbakır which had been destroyed 60 years ago. Then, he made the projects of the wastewater treatment system and the sewer system that was projected to be completed within three years. He closed the upper surface of the wastewater pipeline (*Hatboyu*) channel in the region where 200 thousand of people lived and took the epidemic illnesses due to the flowing sewerage from the open surface channel[50]. He also built numerous crossroads, underground bazaars, parks and gardens. He projected to launch the private public bus model. Moreover, he bought dozens of vehicle and employed lots of people in order to increase the service efficiency. Besides, all the ambassadors and councils of European country, particularly USA, situated in Turkey and several commissions coming from foreign countries went to Diyarbakır and visited Bilgin. However, he was enough of them and

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[49] For detail information about the socio-spatial practices of RP municipalities, see the Doğan's studies (2007a; 2007b).

[50] In the field research, it was commonly asserted that the Hatboyu channel did not covered during the Bilgin period. The project was launched but discontinued. It would soon completed by the pro-Kurdish municipalities.

addressed that "Give up these fantastic trips! If you really want to help, come here along with your projects and money. Otherwise, these visits make no sense." Although, he begged donation, promotion or credit for investment on the city, he couldn't receive any help. The biggest dream of Bilgin was to build 200 thousand of residence at the four entrances of the city. His other dreams were to open two sides of the city walls, to make green environs of the walls, to build a barrier in front of the Tigris River and creating a ditch as it were a sea. (Aksiyon, 1995). Before the 1999 local elections, Bilgin had come up for reelection as a candidate of FP (in the same line with RP). However, Bilgin was defeated and Feridun Çelik won by landslide in the elections.

During the 1999 local elections, Feridun Çelik[51] from HADEP gained 62.48 percent of the votes that was three times more the votes of the candidate from FP scoring 24.30 percent. Although he decided to join in the elections as an independent candidate in 2004, he declared afterwards that he withdrew from the competition on behalf of Osman Baydemir[52]. Hence, Osman Baydemir was elected as a mayor from SHP gaining 58.30 percent of the votes in 2004. In the 2009 elections, Baydemir from DTP stand as a candidate for the second time and pulled the 65.14 percent of the votes.

Spatial Imaginations of the Pro-Kurdish Municipalities

In order to grasp spatial imaginations of the pro-Kurdish greater municipalities in Diyarbakır, it is better to begin with the mayors' discourses, projects and individual contributions to the urban space. For this aim, the role of the pro-Kurdish municipalities on the space production as representations of space will be examined.

During the interview with Feridun Çelik who is the first mayor of the pro-Kurdish GMD in Diyarbakır, he indicated the first perspective of the pro-Kurdish municipalities as:

> We came to the power along with the slogan "We will manage both ourselves and our city". Our one of the major goals was to improve the democratic-participation through penetrating to all of the social niches. Unfortunately, the conjuncture in that period did not allow actualizing our goals adequately. [G1]

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[51] Feridun Çelik was born in 1966 in Kulp, a district of Diyarbakır. After graduating from the faculty of law of the Dicle University, he worked as a lawyer in Diyarbakır. As a member of DTK, Çelik continues his job as a lawyer in Diyarbakır at present.

[52] Osman Baydemir was born in Diyarbakır in 1971. After graduating from the faculty of law of Dicle University, he worked as a lawyer in Diyarbakır for a year. He was on the administration duty in the Human Rights Association between 1995 and 2002.

Feridun Çelik was one of the Kurdish mayors representing the municipality perspective of "the people's children". During the interview with Şeyhmus Diken, he clarified the municipal perspective of the pro-Kurdish municipalities.

> For me, that is a "*municipalism of the people's children"*, in brief. It is not only a national perspective – because Kurds generally see the issue in this way – but also a class perspective that is ignored and not mostly told. This is my perspective. When we look at HADEP-BDP politics line in the context of the local governments from 1999 up to now, we see that the regions where BDP has been taken the mayor chair – take the city of Diyarbakır as a case and leave the extreme case of Mehdi Zana in 1977 on one side – the mayors are mostly people's children. [G2]

Diken continued his words that the logic of other mayors in Turkey is being at peace with the existing party in power and to govern the city through taking the advantages of the power. In Diyarbakır before 1999, the mayors, including Ahmet Bilgin from the RP period, were either a bureaucrat or a child of wealthy and prominent families of Diyarbakır. Diken pointed Mehdi Zana as an extreme case in Diyarbakır before 1999. For Diken, coming from people inside, Zana was a "fool-blooded child of people".

> The reason why I have cognitively used the expression of "*the people's children*" is that: These were children of poor people and started out in order to defense the political cause of this people's children and so as to become a pioneer in this way. This perspective has lasted until today. If you also ask me how you describe this being of *the people's children* now, I can reply that the notion of *the people's children* has turned from the suffered and oppressed identity in 1999 into rather being a power, holding status of the power, living in better conditions and even perhaps gaining a seat next to the urban elites. Perhaps, it became– I'm saying in inverted commas – "*a class suicide*". In other words, this notion of the *people's children* has steered to a different route. Yet, I believe that using this concept as an idea will be true. [G3]

Diken's portray on "people's children municipal perspective" primarily refers to the HADEP's municipalities in the 2000s inherited from the Zana's municipal experience. This portray can be attributed to two tendencies. First, the mayor and the other municipal administrators are generally coming from under-class and continue their political struggle in that position. Second, these municipalities have not only ethnic-based structure; they possess a multi-ethnicity, multi-identity, multi-cultural character. Diken told a narrative about the approach of the city dwellers to the first period of the municipalities in Diyarbakır.

> It was the first year of Feridun Çelik. A group of famous journalist from Ankara came to Diyarbakır. In those years, I was consultant of the mayor. They told us that they wanted to make the cry of Diyarbakır's people as publicly known in the whole country. We walked together in certain regions. The journalists, I – I was the mayor's advisor in those years – and some councils of the greater municipality incidentally went into a main road near Fiskaya. The road had been recently opened and its paving stones had not been paved yet,

nonetheless, it made people's life easy in that district. The journalists stopped several citizens who were coming across us and asked a few questions them. (…) The journalists asked the citizens: "The municipality has opened your road, what do you think about? And what do you think about this new municipality?" The first statement of the citizen was that: "We know what you insinuate about this issue. Let us make a clear statement about that; whether or not they open our way, whether or not the vehicles, the cars of the municipality come here, they are our kids, *they are our children*. We chose them, put them there and make them sit. *We don't care about if they don't provide us any service.* Ones of us are in that position now, they are sitting in the municipal office. *This is satisfying us.*" The journalists were shocked. They hesitated if it could be a fiction. We told them that: You know that we had come here definitely by accident. We had not been planned to come here before and we have never seen or known this people before. If you want, you will continue without us. Yet, wherever you go, whomever you ask, you will take the same respond in this city. So indeed, in 1999 and after a few years, the approach of citizens to the municipalities in HADEP line was like this. They didn't care about the service very much. "They are our children, they are sitting there." For the municipality had been seen as a "state-being" before 1999. In other words, the municipality had been seen as a governorship affiliated to the Ministry of Interior, or as a police directorate, birth registration office, department of citizenship affairs, tax office, etc. That is to say, in their imagination [before 1999], the municipality was a space that whenever they went, things made difficult for them and they always experienced various troubles, even if they had quite ordinary demands. That it was real or not, was another object at issue, but now I'm describing past imagination in their minds. [G4]

This is a really striking case which epitomizes the first perceptions of the dwellers about the municipalities in Diyarbakır. As Diken clarified, the only important thing for Diyarbakır's people during the early HADEP's municipality was at the hands the pro-Kurdish movement. The Kurdish people, who had never been politically represented in the parliament before, saw the victory of their party in the local elections as an inspiring event that could be a solution for their general grievances and demands, especially about the Kurdish issue in general. As Gambetti (2005, p. 56) states: "Daily concerns and urban problems went unresolved – or did not muster the political engagement of Diyarbakır dwellers: whether the garbage was collected or not did not matter much to the people" (Gambetti, 2005, p. 56).

A similar case about the initial perception of the city dwellers about the municipalities was also provided by Necati Pirinççioğlu. He narrated his observation in the Hasırlı neighborhood in the beginning of the 2000s. Pirinççioğlu started his words with the experiences in the participatory budget of the HADEP's greater municipality.

In the first place, the municipality sent forms to the neighborhoods and "mobile cypress" ensued from all of the forms. [In the forms, it was only asked what they demanded from the municipalities to do for their neighborhoods.] Mobile cypress could be a need but it was not one of the vital needs. Then, the municipality prepared the questionnaire forms which included multiple choice questions so as to learn their prior demands, such as drinking water, sewage, road, social centers, parks, or anything else. Even we went to the neighborhoods and conducted the questionnaire. During the interviews, we asked whether

they had any sewage problem. Indeed, they had sewage problem; you could easily see that. But, they said no. They did not know how much the quality of sewage systems they should have. For, they have just migrated from their villages where there had been no sewage. In fact, their sewage overflows in every winter. We asked them "Does the wastewater overflow from the manholes?" They said, yes. We asked, "Does it flow to your dooryards?" They said, "Yes, but we clean." They responded to this issue in a very normal manner. Overflowing was not a problem for them. They told us "This is normal. It is raining during whole winter. What can do the municipality?" They did not call for the municipality. However, if they called, the municipality would immediately come, clear the blockages and go back. In addition, we asked whether they had any water problem. They said, "No, no, we have never had any water problem." Yet soon, we understood during in-depth interviews that they had water problem. They told us, "Water comes to our houses for an hour in a day and that is enough for us". [G5]

As Pirinççioğlu clarifies, especially the (forced) immigrated people did not know what the municipalities might do for them and what kind of their demands might be by mayors. They had not received any municipal services, before. They had thought that they could solve their common problems by themselves. Gambetti (2008, p. 32) also narrates the perspective of the Kurdish dwellers about the municipalities:

Asked who they will vote for in the 2002 parliamentary elections, women vendors at Diyarbakir's Bağlar district market are reported to have said: "We will vote for ourselves, of course" The idea that the DEHAP mayor is "one of us" often comes up in conversations with locals and municipal workers alike.

However, the perception of the Kurdish dwellers about municipalities as well as their approach to the HADEP's municipalities did change. Their approach to the municipalities, demands and contemplations from the municipalities also have gradually altered. As Demir Çelik mentioned during the interview, such kind of perception began to weaken especially after the 2004 local elections.

The demands [of the city dwellers] are shifting, that is normal. Without considering their demands, through taking shelter behind the discourses that "*being one of us*", that "becoming ours", that "we would support, even if that was wood or stone" and enabling them to content with only this perception is against the grain. In that sense, yes, this discourse was there in 1999. However, in due course, the perception that "being one of us" and "belonging to us" should have the sensibility, knowledge, ability and force of meeting our certain needs emerged. (…) Urban dwellers gradually comprehended that being only one of them was not adequate for solving their problems and the existence of qualified and efficient cadres and local governments for the supplying with urban needs, such as water and sewage was a necessity. Hence, the slogan was reformulated during the 2004 elections as "Let the municipalities become ones of us again, but for this time the rulers should know much more than us, be ahead of us, and have the capacity ruling the city must be this time." [G6]

Diken also pointed the shift in the perspective of Kurdish dwellers as:

However, after 1999, a perception of the people shifted that even if their municipality did not take care their needs, the fact that their children were sitting there was insufficient for them. The logic of the citizens in Diyarbakır has changed anymore: "Well, we selected our

kids and they are sitting there. However, until when are we going to call them as "our kids? Our kids should do something for us henceforward. In other words, they should provide all kinds of municipal services." Thereafter, we want children parks, walking tracks for the disabled groups, tennis courts if available, basketball courts; a city where the ratio of green areas and breathing spaces will gradually increase, culture-art environments. Aren't we worthy of these? (…) On the other side, of course, the municipal administrators did not develop such a mental that: "In any case, our people think that we are children of the citizens and that is sufficient for them. Hence, let us only sit and lie, and do nothing." That wasn't experienced like this. The HADEP municipalities had already begun to produce services and spaces for not only people demand. [G7]

Diken and Çelik underlined that the pro-Kurdish municipality was the first municipality in Diyarbakır to provide service for the regions which had never encountered any municipal service before. As also Gambetti underlines, "[t]he DEHAP municipality thus became the first governing institution to institute social dispositive or arrangements pertaining to daily practices." Hence, once the municipality provided the service for dwellers, they started to make demands from the municipality.

Besides, the class structure of the administrative cadres of the pro-Kurdish municipalities based on law income-groups has gradually turned into middle and middle-high income groups. Diken defined this shift as "a class suicide". He continued as:

On the other hand, a positive outcome was also embodied in the city after 1999. The middle class had been merely annihilated as a result of the "vicious war". Most people who had relatively higher income had migrated from the city. Impoverished and suffered people, who saw themselves as an actual part of the war had no place to go. Also, the state authorities and the groups who were having much more high incomes, living in sterilized conditions, navigating to metropolitan cities by airplanes, remained, too. In the course of events, by rehabilitating these municipalities [in BDP politics line], taking part in the party [actors in BDP], and a middle class emerged. I mean, a new middle class emerged from those who live in sterilized conditions, such as in the 75 Metrelik Road, but at the same time those who think and describe themselves as the partisans of BDP and also vote for BDP. [G8]

The class structure of the Kurdish dwellers has also changed through introduction of neo-liberal policies in Diyarbakır. Sümer summarizes the transformation in the class structure as:

Relatively earlier arrivers to these cities were able to use their capital towards commercial activities that eventually yielded higher returns as cities grew. This has allowed them to get representation among professional organizations, chambers and cooperatives. So Diyarbakir and Van, as cities which appealed to Kurdish peasants in their peripheries, eventually allowed some of the immigrating Kurdish peasants to rise to level of local elites. This has led to a new urban political economy where middle and entrepreneurial classes constitute a stratum of the popular movement. The following excerpts show the rising middle class stratum and their politicization in urban localities. The middle class residents, especially shop owners and state employees in Diyarbakir and Van have been part of acts of civil disobedience. These

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excerpts reveal that urbanization has also allowed these actors to form cycles of protests related to their occupations and class positions in cities (Sümer, 2012, p. 88).

Yet, it should be stated that despite the discourse of elevating class in the social hierarchy, there is still a large portion of underclass groups in Diyarbakır. Even this time, the extending neo-liberal policies resulted in the creation of a division of the city as 'new' and 'old'. The same division reflected on the people as 'very poor people' and 'very rich people'. Also, it can be asserted that changing class structure induces shift in the municipal perspective. The identity policies have gained importance within the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Influence of identity politics on the municipal perspective can be easily deduced from the words of Baydemir during the interview:

> First and foremost, all of the people who live in Diyarbakır have no obstacle to get the most quality municipal services, whatever they have an ethnic identity, language, culture and belief. This is the major distinctive characteristics of us [BDP municipalities] from others. While providing services, we don't have any condition or requirement. (…) During the 80 years of the Republic, services have conditionally been produced and provided: "Give up your language, identity, belief and then I will provide service to you." In other words, unfortunately, economic and social development – even provision of water, electricity and road – has been carried out as a means of de-identification. We firstly removed this policy within the period of 13 years. [G9]

During the interview with Vedat Çetin who worked as a mayor advisor of Feridun Çelik, he compared Çelik and Baydemir as:

> Baydemir is much more popular and well known than Feridun Çelik. As an asocial person, Mayor Feridun could not demonstrate what he achieved for the city of Diyarbakır. For this reason probably, he lost. It is true that Baydemir has done good works for this city. But the one who created the ground of these deeds is Ferdiun Çelik. [G10]

During the first visit to Diyarbakır for a student conference, in his master dissertation Sümer (2012) narrates his first impressions on the city. While traveling the city, he was attracted by the students' deeds on Baydemir as "a charismatic local public figure" making the routine municipal services visible.

> The value and importance attributed to DTP administration under Baydemir and his deeds as the mayor were not just brought in between lines; they were everywhere. Baydemir's administration's accomplishments amounted for the solution of long lasting infrastructure problems of Diyarbakir. (…) Their love [the university students] of the city did not stem from the romantic idealization of Diyarbakir as "the capital of Kurdistan"; but from witnessing the city to turn into a space that conveniently offered quotidian practices. Yet the sense of belonging to the city they portrayed to me as I was getting to know the city astonished me. Their pride in municipal accomplishments was related to services I would take for granted living in Istanbul (Sümer, 2012, p. xi).

Having a mediator attitude and peaceful perspective, it is clearly understood that Baydemir can easily involve in good relations with everybody from every section of the

society. As Baydemir stated during the interview, "I'm not called as 'Mayor', I'm called as 'our Osman'". During the opening ceremony of *Cemevi* in Diyarbakır, the chair of PSKAD announced that as Alevis, they would call him as 'Ali Osman'[53]. Besides, Baydemir has attempted to create good relations with the business circles. His popularity has a considerable effect on the attraction of investments to the city.

To conclude, the spatial imaginations of the pro-Kurdish municipalities have changed in time. The major criticism is about the changing perception of the pro-Kurdish municipalities since 1999. The first municipal cadres represented "the people's children municipalism" which was embracing the forcibly migrated, impoverished and unemployment Kurdish dwellers in the city. Cooperating with the civil organizations, they also concentrated on solving the Kurdish issue through cultural policies so as to break the polarized structure between Turks and Kurds as well as the state and the Kurdish movement. During the second period, they begin to turn their face into the middle class through adapting the discourses and the practices of the neo-liberal policies, such as local development, local governance and cooperation of private-public sector. Yet, through introducing the principles of democratic autonomy to the localities, the neo-liberal discourses have been partly given up but the municipalities began to adopt a multi-cultural policy which also carries a risk of transformation of cities into a market place.

In the following sub-sections, role of the pro-Kurdish greater municipalities in the spatial arrangements at the urban scale and their socio-spatial practices will be analyzed.

6.2.1. Upper Scale Practices of the Greater Municipality

At the end of the 1990s, the 1/100,000 scaled plan which was approved in 1993 and the 1/5,000 scaled city master plan approved in 1994 were implemented in the city of Diyarbakır. The major troubles with the implementation of these plans are defined by Sönmez (2009, p. 42) as its implementation was not appropriate to the discipline of planning. Yet, after the enactment of the Law on the Greater Municipality (Law no: 5216) in 2004, significant opportunities from the perspective of planning emerged for the greater municipality of Diyarbakır (GMD). Empowering the expansion of the municipalities in terms of their boundaries, the Law no: 5216 also imposed an obligation on the greater city municipalities to prepare a 1/25,000 scaled master plan. Consequently,

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[53] As Ali is an important figure for Alevis, they express their gratitude towards Osman Baydemir calling him with name of Ali.

a Planning Office was founded by GMD with respect to employ a city master plan between 2004 and 2007 (Sönmez, 2009, p. 42). Eventually, 1/25,000 scaled Master Plan of Diyarbakır came into force through the council decision in December 15, 2006. In compliance with this plan, a 1/5,000 scaled plan consisting of 14 stages – except the stage of Suriçi Conservation Development Plan – was completed in 2008 (GABB, 2013). The major scope of the 1/25,000 scaled plan is to produce urban growth corridors which would be well-balanced with the ecological assets of the city and to give new decisions that would mobilize the urban dynamics. The aim of the 1/5000 scaled plan is to plan the developing areas to create the implementation plans (GABB, 2013). The land-use data provided in the 1/25,000 scaled plan is given in the Appendix Table 5.

According to Oruçkaptan (2009, p. 177), in accordance with the scope and decisions of the master plans, the GMD has been incessantly carried by the endeavors regarding spatial planning in order to provide a healthy and regular urban development and improve the life quality in the city. Through implementing the plans, the GMD attempts to ameliorate the city which has been suffering from the devoid of a qualified physical environment and the inadequate parks in the built environment and the green areas, resort fields and forest areas in the periphery of the city (Oruçkaptan, 2009, p. 178). For Sönmez (2009, p. 42), setting criteria related to the plan amendments and partial development plans, receiving opinion and information from business chambers and civil organizations for grounding the plans on reliable data and making geological surveys were the first favorable endeavors in the planning processes of the pro-Kurdish municipalities. In the pipeline of the planning, participation of the chambers of the city planners, architects and other related chambers and the branch offices of the TMMOB in Diyarbakır and action in concert are significant attempts of the pro-Kurdish municipalities from the point of view the urban dwellers (Sönmez, 2009, p. 42).

The vision of the Diyarbakır master plans is to cover the city as a whole for the solution of existing problems, plan the development areas, provide the physical and social infrastructure services and improve the space utility. Within this scope, planning the new development areas and producing urban land in order to balance the prices of urban property and prevent the land speculation, planning the social facilities in an efficient and well-balanced way, producing new business and employment areas are necessary. In addition, a transportation general plan of Diyarbakır was made in accordance with the master plan. Besides, implementation of the article no 18 of the Development Law is

obligatory condition in making the master plans. The city master plans also comprise the urban transformation strategies that are defined as conservation strategy, restoration and recovery strategy and renovation strategy (Sönmez, 2009, p. 43).

The planned amendments within 2008 were declared in the official web page of GMD. Accordingly, the requests for 144 plan amendments partly based land-lot in different areas as well as revision development plans were approved by the council of the GMD. The number of amendments in 1/5,000 scaled master plan was approved by the council of GMD is 47 and the number of amendments in 1/1,000 scaled development (implementation) plan was offered by the district municipalities is 97. Among the district municipalities, the highest number of amendment demands (44) came from Kayapınar Municipality (GABB, 2013). In the 2011 Activity report of GMD, the total number of amendment is reported as 126.

During the interview, Necati Pirinççioğlu expressed his opinion on the development practices in Diyarbakır. He drew attention on the excessive amendments in the plans.

> It was the first time that local people began to see themselves as having a power. Coming to power is a difficult thing; in fact in the past, being in opposition was much easier. One that came to power should include all of the groups, including business cycles, and meet all of their demands. In the 1999s, except poor people, there were some people, who weren't acquainted with the city life, thought that they would obtain whatever they want. They supposed that they were still living in their villages. They anticipated that they would go and erect buildings wherever they want, they would build roads whenever and in whichever they want. Therefore, in those years there was an intense pressure on the municipalities. There is a perception as "We came to the power and we will do whatever we want." However, the municipality didn't give too much concession to them. First of all, the municipality defined the situation of the city and developed a policy in line with the situation. Then, business cycles that are close to the power began to make tricks. To illustrate, whenever we phoned to development commission of the greater municipality, they invited us. But, when we went there and looked at, we saw an amendment has been made in the new completed development plan. A year had not passed over last amendment yet. If there are constant amendment demands in the master plan of a city, either the master plan was not implemented properly, or the gathered data and the suggestions for the city's future were not evaluated properly. I don't understand why there are too much amendment demands here. For example, if the amendment was about turning a trade center into a health centre, I could understand. Yet, these amendments grow the density of the buildings. *These amendments are generally made for Kayapınar, in other words, for new developing areas.* In the city centre, a little toleration exists in the sense of development. Whenever you visit the greater municipality and look at the development announcement boards, you always see some development amendments. [G11]

During the interview, Pirinççioğlu was asked whether or not such planning practices that he criticized have been precluded by the civil organizations, such as the chamber of architects and city council. As a respond, he said that a development commission was

offered by Feridun Çelik during the first municipal period. Çelik told the district municipalities to establish this commission to function as a control mechanism. Consisting also the chambers and associations working on planning, landscape designing and building, Pirinççioğlu argued, this control commission put the city in a well order, as the contractors could not make pressure on it. Yet, this practice was given up after the 2004s. Pirinççioğlu attributed the cause of abolishment of that practice to the passing of time and changing of actors. He pointed out that BDP has a quite assertive manual in which its local government principles are manifested in a clear-cut and tolerant manner. He thought that devoted to this manual the local policies of the BDP municipalities must not be dependent upon the individuals. Pirinççioğlu continued his observation as:

> The four district municipalities in the city of Diyarbakır – as not being a practitioner but as being an inspector with regards to development – approach to urbanization process as different from each other. Kayapınar Municipality practices quite differently: It has an inspection mechanism, doesn't make any concessions. Bağlar Municipality practices differently: It pays no mind, takes notice of nobody. Sur Municipality resigns itself to god. For, they have no technical staff; they do not employ, too. They have no development politics; everybody can do whatever they want, that's to say, the municipality has an uncontrolled structure. Yenişehir Municipality is exactly like this [Sur Municipality]. All of them [the municipalities] are from the same organization [party]; however, they practice differently from each other. That must not be. [G12]

Şengül brings his critics on the urban planning of Diyarbakır in his column "Diyarbakır Paris olmasın!" which was published in the *Birgün* newspaper in 2010. Over the promise of the chair of CHP, Kılıçdaroğlu to make Diyarbakır like Paris of the region, Şengül put down his experiences in the GMD in the 2000s. During a meeting with the senior management of the GMD, Şengül offered to launch an urban planning from periphery towards centre. Conversely, the management preferred the planning starting from centre towards periphery. They wanted not only what people have in Ankara, in İstanbul, in İzmir; but also going beyond, we want what people have in Paris, in London. They believed that Diyarbakır deserved the best (Şengül, 2010). Yet, Şengül argued that:

> I wanted to begin from the periphery, because as a planning executive, I had learnt something very well; starting from centre, while coping with squares, tramways, street rehabilitations, paving stones, it would never turn over the outskirts, peripheries and gecekondus. Furthermore, all the processes would become a part of the centre's logic. (…) Therefore, two detached cities always keep their existence in such cities. Hence, for the very this reason, after a while of that meeting in 2005, the Paris's "other" suburbs kneaded with ostracizing, unemployment and insulating set on fire through uprising and raising hell in the central regions of Paris which excluded them (Şengül, 2010).

This supposition of Şengül coincides with the uneven development theory. Recalling the "Paris" metaphor on Diyarbakır, Şengül wishes Diyarbakır not to become Paris (2010).

The Dicle Valley Master Plan

In 2006, a report on the Dicle Valley Master Plan was published by the GMD Planning Office and a planning limited company. According to this report, the Dicle Valley Master Plan is a sub-region project which is given a priority among the other city master plans of the GMD. The plan comprises the valley plain and slope of the Dicle Valley, the east of the city walls, the *Hevsel* Gardens and the university campus area. In 2005, the GMD collaborated with DSİ (the State Hydraulic Works), Governorship and the Dicle University for the planning of the Dicle Valley. The major scope of this plan is defined as to utilize the natural potentials, such as recreactive and water resources of the valley and meet the urban demand on green areas. The plan originally intended to create two lagoons in the region remaining between the Silvan Bridge and Ongözlü Bridge of the Dicle Valley and to provide service to the dwellers for public and recreative uses through planning environs of these lagoons. Under favor of this plan, 1 meter square green area per capita ($1/ m^2$/person) in 2005 would increase to 5.8 m^2/person (DBB, 2006). In 2007, through the counseling of Chamber of landscape architecture, GMD organized a competition called "Diyarbakır Dicle Valley Landscape Planning, Urban Design and Architectural Project." This project can be evaluated as a good epitome of the GMD working with civil society in the decision and implementation stages. Within the scope of the Dicle Valley Plan, the GMD put the "Fiskaya, Waterfall, Café and Lagoon Project" into its agenda in 2010. With the support of Karacadağ Development Agency and the Diyarbakır Chamber of Commerce, the GMD has recently completed the Fiskaya project as a first stage of the Dicle Valley plan (GABB, 2013).

6.2.2. Housing Supply Policies of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır

Since the urban growth in Diyarbakır had not been materialized in a way that qualitative and quantitative dimensions of urbanization are in parallel with each other, Karakaya asserts that the existing spatial pattern in Diyarbakır embodies the characteristics of "underdeveloped cities". He attributes this case to the "uneven development theory" which points out the uneven social, economic and political relations between west and east (2009, p. 53). There are still unplanned areas which are mostly in the west and north part of the city walls. On the other side, the grievances in the housing supply and planning of the residential areas have been coming down. As a result of the troubles which limit the property and development implementations, the unfit and dense residential areas have been pointed in the planned urban areas.

In his study, while Karakaya was analyzing the new residential areas in Diyarbakır, he observed that these areas divided into two main sub-categories. The first category regards the areas which were attempted to lead through planning decisions in due course. These residential areas are shaped by high intensity population and structures[54]. The second category refers to the areas which are formed through certain local decisions. These residential areas – also called as prestigious residential areas – have a low intensity population (Karakaya, 2009, p. 54). So indeed, this divided city structure becomes very prevalent when one comes to visit the city.

The new residential areas of Diyarbakır show tendency to develop the highways axes in the direction of west and north and in the filling spaces between these axes. In the last fifteen years, the houses have been built whether by cooperatives or real estate agencies, who bought the lands from the owners in exchange for building a house, in the area. The huge portion of this area's lands is located within the boundaries of Kayapınar and Yenişehir district. The housing complexes have been produced through being utilized generally 8-10 storey separate or more extended areas. The apartment blocks generally holding over 400 hectare per capita density projected in the development plan have emerged from these regions (Karakaya, 2009, p. 55).

Karakaya (2009, p. 57) brings his criticisms about the development of low intense populated areas of the city. He observes that the construction and production of space took place as a consequence of the planning processes which are disconnected to each other, not integrated; furthermore, the plan disregards the environmental factors, topography, orientation, inclination and climate factors. In addition, he underlines the segregation issue due the fact that gated communities could not build a mutual social life with the others around them. Besides, these regions are deprived of the public spaces that would enable the dwellers to come together, to share social and cultural activities and to improve consciousness of being a citizen. One of the major problems of the Diyarbakır is that the mentality which seethe urban land rent as an income source for only certain groups and offers all the urban space for sale via turning them into buildings, became concrete in the urban space. As also Pirinççioğlu stated during the interview:

> There is a housing sector to meet the demands of middle-class and upper-middle class in Diyarbakır. In this sense, there is something goes wrong: The impoverished people have no

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[54] The author also included the TOKİ houses into the first category.

opportunity to buy a house due to the existence of this housing sector in Diyarbakır. (…) Producing housing for impoverished people is one of the duties of the municipalities; at least opponent municipalities should solve the housing issue. However, housing policies of the municipalities in Diyarbakır are devoted to the middle class and the upper-middle class. This reflected on the development plans. I always underline that plan is a rent. When you make a plan which is based on property, the land under that property gains value. (…) Any line (road, construction, etc) that you marked on the plan increase the planned land's value. The important thing is how you distribute that value to the other groups of the city. And that is the production of social housing in the planned land. In this sense, I don't appreciate the plans made in Diyarbakır. When you separate the areas as villa areas, luxurious residence areas, you isolate people from each other. Thus, high walls, private security systems, gated communities have arisen. Eventually, social spaces won't emerge. Indeed, production of space begins with a planning process. In the city plans, there is not any policy for the impoverished people. Hence, the municipalities had better make plans for them. What makes a land gain value is 35% or 40% allotment of that land. If the impoverished people can buy that land for cheaper than 40%, this will become a very high cost for the municipality. For example, a house worth 100 thousand could be bought in 60 thousand by an impoverished person who could have an opportunity to gain a livable house. Or, if it costs very high for the municipality, they could build social housing and rent or transfer freely to the impoverished people. [G13]

Pirinççioğlu saw the most influential factor of the development of the housing sector as the municipalities' planning policies. For him, the municipalities should pay more attention on building social houses for the impoverished people. Yet, he underlined that:

In fact, I also partly confer on these municipalities right. Just before 1999, while the municipalities in Turkey became rich over the land, Diyarbakır was not. At present, the municipalities don't have any land. They have only park areas and they always build park. Most of the projects of Kayapınar Municipality are building parks. Indeed, that is a good job! [G14]

Indeed, the GMD launched the social housing projects for the law income groups in the beginning of the 2000s. In February 2013, The GMD published a regulation on the allotment and rent of social houses produced by the greater municipality[55] (Greater Municipality, 2013). At present, there are two social housing projects of the GMD in the Aziziye and Yeniköy neighborhoods. The first project which covers an area next to the Şilbe Massive Housing Area of TOKİ in the Aziziye Neighborhood was planned in the beginning of the 2000s. However, the project could not be launched since the 133 gecekondus on the project area had not been evacuated yet (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002). During the interview with Hikmet Öcal, who is the chair of the Directory and Housing and City Planning Department of the GMD, he mentioned that there are 1500 gecekondus in this area (854,515 m^2) despite the fact that it was declared as an illegal housing

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[55]The Regulation for Allocation and Renting of the Social Housing, The Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır, Source Development Head of Department, Real Estate Branch Office (The decision dated: 13.02.2013 and numbered: 53)

prevention zone. Öcal expressed the major reason of the transformation project which was conducted by only GMD is that the most portion of property of this region belongs to the GMD. He added that the interference to the area became urgent since the area is located on the axis of city entrance. The demolition of 38 building within the first stage of the project has been put into practice by the GMD. As a part of the social housing project, two building blocks (58 flats) have been given by the GMD as free to the land owners. The project consisting of 5 building blocks in total has been carried on. Öcal also made mentioned about the other social housing project of the GMD, the Yeniköy (İskanevleri) Social Housing Project.

> The region as an illegal housing prevention zone is located in an approximately 223 thousand meter square land in Yeniköy (Kaynartepe) neighborhood in Bağlar. In this greater municipal-owned region, there are nearly one thousand of gecekondus. The region which has completed its economical life, lost its static resistance and become incommodious and crummy is under a re-structuring. In this region, a social housing project is implemented through delivering houses to the right owners. This process is carried via the *onsite transformation*[56]. In the first stage of the project area, 132 buildings have been demolished so far. In the earliest times, the GMD will deliver 96 social houses to the right owners and afterwards the social project will be carried on. [G15]

In March, 2013 the GMD announced in its official web site that the work of building 96 social houses has been completed in the land-lots possessing to the GMD in Yeniköy neighborhood. In March, 2011 the mayors of GMD and its district municipalities, the chair of the Diyarbakır Office of BDP, the chair of Diyarbakır Chamber of Industry and Trade and the associations of industry and business in Diyarbakır made a common statement to the press about land speculation. After informing about the current city development plans, Baydemir continues his speech as:

> Let's have a look at what it looked before and after the city master plan. Our city, Diyarbakır had had an 85 thousand decare planned area. We planned the city as 1 million 100 thousand decare. And we planned 205 thousand decare of it as a residential unit; we allocated remaining of it as agriculture field and posture area. When talking about 'residential unit', I refer to houses, office, factory and etc. Within this residential unit, we planned an area of 64 thousand 390 decare as housing area. Of course, by the time making the [city master] plan in the years of 2006 and 2007, the total comprehensive area of the existing building was 14 thousand 60 decare. It means that we planned the new housing area as 4.5 times of the existing area. (…) The beloved people of Diyarbakır: Why did we allocate such a wide area for housing area? We all together went through the forced migration in the 1990s. (…) Our population is projected to be maximum 1 million 600 thousand and increase maximum 757 thousand. Yet, our current housing area stock is vast to accommodate 1 million 220 thousand. In this case, our planned area is sufficient for us even until 2035 (GABB, 2013).

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[56] The term of "onsite transformation" comes across "*yerinde dönüşüm*" in Turkish. The main goal of this transformation method is to maintain most of the current population in the transformation area.

On the other side, the city of Diyarbakır, as the second degree seismic zone, is under the risk of its housing stock. Gecekondu houses and illegal structures are the major problem in terms of durability. However, the number of unlicensed buildings has decreased recently as a result of increase in licensed building after the Marmara 1999 Earthquake. Many structures have been built with the projects of engineers and architects in Diyarbakır after 1999 (Önal, 2009, pp. 68-69). Önal gives the results of the experiment which were conducted on the destructed or tend to be destructed concrete samples in Diyarbakır. The results show how the concrete qualities are in very low degrees (2009, p. 69). He also claims that the construction of the buildings by using ready-mixed concrete rather than the hand-made concrete since the beginning of 2007 as a consequence of the protocol between the municipalities and the Diyarbakir Branch of Chamber of Civil Engineers (Önal, 2009).

6.2.3. Urban Transformation Projects in Diyarbakır

The urban transformation projects in Diyarbakır have been mostly materialized in the Suriçi region. Also there are numerous restoration and rehabilitation processes in the traditional fabric of Suriçi.[57] The urban transformation projects have been conducted by the local and central municipal actors; they sometimes disagree with each other but sometimes cooperate with each other during the projects. In the following table, transformation projects conducted in the Suriçi region since 1999 are provided. This table also shows the actors who conduct or take part in these projects.

Table 10 Transformation projects conducted in the Suriçi region since 1999

Project	Central or Local State Actors	Date of the Project
Suriçi Urban Transformation Projects	TOKİ and Governorship	2008-2010
Suriçi Urban Transformation Projects – Alipaşa and Lalebey Neighborhoods	TOKİ and Governorship; inclusion of Greater Municipality and Sur Municipality	2010- …
İçkale (Cevatpaşa Neighborhood) Transformation Project	Governorship and Greater Municipality (expropriating)	2000-2004
The İçkale Museum Project	Ministry of Culture and Tourism	2004- …

Source: Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2012; DİMOD, 2012

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[57] In the Appendix Table 6, transformation, restoration and rehabilitation projects conducted in the Suriçi region since 1999 are provided. In addition, the central state actors or local state actors taking part in these processes are given. Apart from central and local state actors many civic organizations and chambers have also taken part especially in the restoration projects.

Transformation of the Alipaşa, Lalebey and Cevatpaşa neighborhoods which became obsolescent regions in Suriçi came to the local agenda in the middle of the 2000s. However, this project was pending based upon the discordances between the municipalities and the governorship. In 2008, TOKİ interfered to the process and a protocol was signed between the Diyarbakır governorship and TOKİ. In 2010, the greater city municipality and Sur municipality included to the project through signing a protocol between TOKİ and the governorship. According to the protocol, all the project designs will be planned by TOKİ, the governorship and the greater city and Sur municipalities. Not only determination of its tender and technical usages, but also implementation of the project will be made by TOKİ (Yüksel, 2011, p. 452; Kejanlı, 2011, pp. 111-112).
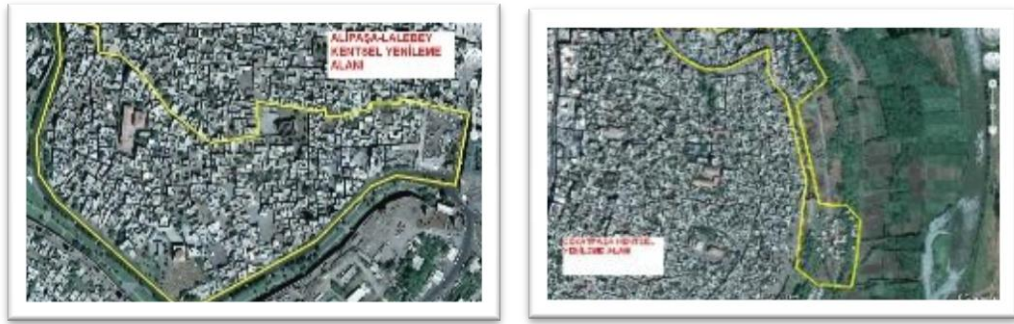
Figure 5 The transformation project area in Suriçi (Alipaşa, Lalebey and Cevatpaşa)
(Source: DBBFR, 2011)

The transformation project which was developed through cooperation between TOKİ, the governorship, the greater city municipality and Sur Municipality comprises destruction of the gecekondu dwellings within the preservation band of the ancient city walls and reconstruction of these areas in accordance with the Conservation Plan decisions. The whole project region with 17,000 constructions, 10,000 of which are gecekondu dwellings is divided into five stages. The first stage covers the Alipaşa and Lalebey neighborhoods with 100 hectare area.

The transformation project targeted to demolish 596 houses in Alipaşa-Lalebey and Cevatpaşa neighborhoods where migrant populations live. The hundreds of migrant people were sent to the Çölgüzeli Mass Housing area of TOKİ which is far away from the city centre. Persuasion process has begun through negotiations with gecekondu holders who have some concerns on the necessity of destruction of their houses. Two options have been offered to them. One is to pay the price of gecekondus and land to the dwellers.

The other is to extract the price of gecekondus from the price of houses which would be built by TOKİ. The dwellers would pay the rest in 15 installments annually (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 112). However, as Yüksel (2011, p. 452) stands out, although the dwellers are supposed to pay this amount in 15 installments, prices of their houses to be destructed can meet only the first installment. The building expenditures of the complex administrative, gatekeeper wages and charges for landscapes in the TOKİ's houses are open bargain. Nevertheless, current rate of those who cannot pay the installments of their flats in the TOKİ's housing area is 78% (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 115). Moreover, as large families who got used to live in the evacuated houses, the flats in the mass houses area are insufficient in terms of their life style. In addition, the gecekondu dwellers who earn their lives out of some illegal ways such as street vending, smuggling, etc. They will have no opportunity to create such business area when they move to the massive houses. Thus, the public surveys made in the transformation project area displayed that the 78.1% of participatory would not rather move to the TOKİ's houses (Kejanlı, 2011, p. 116).

This project is expected to make major contributions to the city tourism and provide employment opportunities through turning the Suriçi into an "open-air museum". It is the fact that the results of neo-liberal policies through the cultural transformation projects in the cities holding which have a stagnant economy and high unemployment ratios, strike culminate in the huge damages big blow on mostly urban poor and migrants (Yüksel, 2011, p. 452).

Yet, many members of the civil organizations and activists from the pro-Kurdish party make their criticisms to TOKİ due to the fact that the extended authorization and interventions of TOKİ on the transformation process of this region. They oppose such a transformation which would probably be concluded in the evacuation of the migrants and forced migrants living in the Suriçi region. Therefore, they talk about the necessity of an integrated urban plan carried out by the municipalities. Once rousting those out of their villages, the people will inevitable bring about heavy and irrevocable destructions in their life in terms of economic, physiologically and socially (Yüksel, 2011, p. 452). As Yüksel (2011, p. 453) cites, since the municipal officials found the transformation project inevitable, they thought that they should take part in this process to defend the migrants living in Suriçi. As a result, they came to agree with TOKİ after protracted contentions in 2010.

The new Conservation Plan, which is oriented to dominate the construction decisions of the historical Suriçi region, has not approved by the Conservation Council yet. Therefore, there is no adequate information in the protocols about what will exactly put into practice in these areas which are supposed to be evacuated. Although destruction process of the gecekondu dwellings was initiated via the destruction tender in Alipaşa Neighborhood put out by the greater city municipality, the destruction was abolished by Conservation Council. It was decided to be reviewed after being finalized of the Conservation Master Plan and Implementing Development Plan (Kejanlı, 2011, pp. 112,114).

During the interview with Demir Çelik, he summarized the influences of the urban transformation projects on Suriçi and on its local dwellers.

> Sur is the heart of Diyarbakır. It was influenced by the migrations and turned into a gecekondu region. It is scarcely impossible to read history on the specific fabric of historical spaces. For, the historical spaces have eventually turned into spaces where the rent goes the rounds as an outcome of urban transformation processes. (...) As one of the spaces where immigrants came as a result of that political trauma of the 1990s, Sur became rural rather than urban. The immigrants converted Sur into a space where their life in village would animate and thus, Sur lost its essence. While it was supposed to regain that essence, this time a social trauma is experienced by whom? In Sur, through the evacuation of the settlements and transport of the people to the multi-storey apartments under the name of urban transformation conducted by the state and some cadres as instrument to the state. (...) What I have understood over the years is that urban transformation should not be like this. Urban transformation mustn't be implemented through isolating people from their spaces and transporting them to other places which would inappropriate with the people's solidarity soul. What will you counterpoise with hollow buildings through alienating people from inside of the city? If there will be no one in that building; if there will be no creativeness, solidarism, activism and the human labor, those are impossible. In this sense, what must be done in Sur is not to evacuate those spaces and transport people away. Restoration which should be non-contradictory with the historical fabric, cultural fabric and the tradition of the city should be made by taking local characteristics of the city into account. The projects must be made carefully. The state aims to isolate and alienate the Kurdish people from each other in line with its assimilationist policies. The state will take them away to the multi-storey apartments and jail them there. [G16]

During the interview, Pirinççioğlu criticized the position of the GMD on the urban transformation processes. In his words: "In spite of the [BDP's] local government policy document, a great deal of experiences and the perception repudiating current power and its hegemony, you [the greater municipality] are resigning the urban transformation process to an institution like TOKİ and also you're reflecting this to the public as if it is an accomplishment." Pirinççioğlu stated that he made a lot of discussions with Baydemir about this issue. He argued that such a transformation process in Alipaşa and Lalebey was an act of plundering. He objected to the transformation project and repeatedly cautioned the municipality against the project. In the words of Pirinççioğlu:

All the urban transformation processes and the recent law on transformation of the structures which are under disaster risk are the implementations of AKP for increasing its influences. It is impossible [for the GMD] not to see that. I repeat everywhere, I'm not against the initial establishment scope of TOKİ, but I do oppose the utilization way of TOKİ. (…) Especially, along with the latest earthquake in Van, they began expeditiously to transform the structures under disaster risk. At present, neither municipalities, nor chambers have any chance to oppose this law. Now we have no chance to oppose. Also, there is no authority of the municipalities. Beforehand, all the authority was in TOKİ, too. TOKİ was presenting to the municipality and implementing its own plan unless the municipality gives a negative or positive response within three months. However, TOKİ has been presently further empowered through several legislations. Besides, the municipalities have no chance to sue TOKİ. Let's say, we, as the chamber of architects, attempt to organize a neighborhood in order to resist urban transformation, then they impose us a 3-6 year penalty. Let's say, if the city walls are proven that they have the possibility of destruction during an earthquake, they are likely to demolish the walls and build new structures instead of them. We all know how jurisdiction functions in Turkey. And unfortunately, our municipality were cheated on this; such a simple thing. Yet, we were bawling at the municipality, "Hey, they smother in you!" "No!" Although these debates [about transformation projects] in Turkey have been going on for years and although you have declared that you think different on this issue, you are collaborating with TOKİ!*)If the transformation project – of course, as long as being in-site transformation – was practiced in Bağlar, that might be acceptable (…) Nevertheless, you reached an agreement with TOKİ for the transformation in Alipaşa and Lalebey, in one-storey historical urban fabric. This fabric could have been deformed, but what is the urgent is not this! On the other hand, transformation of Aziziye is in the boil. Aziziye emerged as gecekondu settlements on the municipality's lands. Take a look to the city from outside, is Aziziye beautiful, or is the TOKİ housing complex next to Aziziye? Aziziye is very green with trees and gardens. On the contrary, the houses in the TOKİ complex have been located since 1994, yet no car can enter the complex. (…) Transformation of Alipaşa and Lalebey was designed in exactly the same way with transformation of Sulukule and Fener-Balat. They will remove the impoverished people from there. (…) What could be the reason? And the municipality would cooperate with them. Why? For *tourism*! So that tourism would flourish in the city. And once Baydemir made that gaffe: "I want Suriçi to be like Antalya Kaleiçi." Antalya-Kaleiçi is the worst sample case of conservation throughout the world history. It was turned into a space without people. [G17]

As Pirinççioğlu cited, the municipality supposed that if Suriçi was opened to the tourism, all the kinds of crime, such as prostitution, drugs, robbery, etc. would disappear in the city. According to Pirinççioğlu if the municipality modernizes Suriçi through building luxury hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc, the disgraceful offenses will continue with much more increased prices. For him, the municipality could not save Suriçi through opening tourism. "Was this city created in order that tourists come and sight-see?" Pirinççioğlu pointed that there are burglary and robbery in every city, yet the GMD should not use this issue as an excuse. He asserted that "The history exists in Suriçi with its local people and spaces, not with tourists. Otherwise, the traditions will die there!" He also narrated his contention with Baydemir about the practices of TOKİ in the city. In his words:

I said to Baydemir when he came here, "My mayor, *you are putting an elephant into the glassware store.*" He went crazy, asked me "What does it mean?" and I replied that "*Suriçi*

is a glassware store and TOKİ is an elephant!" One cannot sacrifice Suriçi, it is a pearl. Its social structure is also very fragile. When you clean them out from there, you will induce another social trauma. [G18]

Baydemir began to criticize TOKİ harshly and made careful steps about the transformation projects as a result of the increasing pressures of the dwellers and civic organizations. In a press conference in 2012, he made a speech that "The TOKİ is doing real estate businesses rather producing social projects." (Radikal, 2012). He stated that as a part of the urban transformation project, the GMD has developed a viewpoint different from TOKİ. He pointed that as the people in Suriçi have no ability to pay the debts, they do not want to move the TOKİ's houses. He mentioned that the GMD predicates "the dialogue, discussion and conviction method" on the transformation policy and its results become satisfactory. He claimed that the GMD has taken no real property as a cost-free from secretariat of treasury; but bought the real property. Baydemir continued his criticisms about TOKİ that:

> TOKİ is implementing its own development plan on the area that it has purchased. In this sense, it doesn't need to apply to the municipalities. The Law gave it an authority. The authorization of the local [government] was given to the central [government]. TOKİ is building 4-5 blocs, selling the area that it has developed, and conveying the money to Ankara. My assertion is that: Put forward the cost of all housing that it has built, calculate, put it a place. The [cost of the] land that it has sold is approximately 4-5 fold. In the meanwhile, the produced houses will be sold to the citizen again. Our major critic is that. If the land is sold, this turns into trade; it doesn't become a social housing Project. And if it is sold, the source should remain in Diyarbakır, too. It buys the land without charge, makes plans and sells it to the building contractors. The building contractors build house. TOKİ is doing real estate broker in some way (Radikal, "TOKİ Emlakçılık Yapıyor", 2012).

On the other side, Pirinççioğlu conferred on the pro-Kurdish municipalities right as they suffered from the 2009 KCK operations to their local professional cadres.

> To illustrate, during that period the 2009 KCK operations had just started. These operations left the municipalities in a very difficult situation. In the midst of all these, they put signature to that project. TOKİ found a suitable opportunity and took the advantage of this gap for the best managers of the municipalities who were in the prison in that time. Hasn't it also happened in Van like that? In order that TOKİ get a free hand there, the mayor of Van Municipality was put into prison. [G19]

During the interview, Demir Çelik was notified about the approaches of the GMD and Sur Municipality to the transformation project. In the field research, the high level officers told the story as if everything is fine about the demolition and evacuation processes. Hence, Çelik was asked whether or not BDP intervened to these processes and how the dwellers were consented. Çelik stated that:

> We, as the party [BDP] administrators, intervened in this process, of course. Our mayors agree with us about this issue. However, when interest comes into question, [the interests of dwellers] who made consent for the given flat as it [this option] becomes compatible with the individual interests. In one sense, it is necessary to convince them to prefer moving these magnificent and luxury buildings rather than living in their hovels. [G20]

Çelik was asked whether the organization degree of the dwellers had an impact on the resistance against the transformation project. Çelik replied as:

> Of course, this depends on organizing; revealing and improving social consciousness. Besides, this is somewhat connected that the state does not allow this in Turkey where hot war circumstances are experienced. The state interferes in all processes in order to obscure the consciousness of Kurds, break or remove the solidarity between Kurds and dissolve their organizations. The aim of the urban transformation here is this. *Unfortunately, we also sometimes ignore this*. Besides, some of our citizens seem to give their consent for this process with respect to their individual interests. No return of this [process] for Kurds, on the contrary, they will lose a lot of things. (...) We can't say people "Waive your properties". We are telling the truths, showing the right ways, propounding the advantages and disadvantages and expressing our anxieties regarding their futures. There are people who are persuaded, but there are also people who are persuaded and prefer to move TOKİ's houses. [G21]

However, the process in Ben û Sen is going on a different way. During a visit to the Beyaz Kelebekler Laundry House in Ben û Sen within the scope of this study, it was observed that the neighborhood dwellers were much more organized there. They seemed to be aware of all the intrigues and the picture about the urban transformation. They told that the governorship and TOKİ leave (left?) the municipalities in a difficult situation. Yet, they wanted the municipalities to give much more attention to them. As most of the dwellers in Ben û Sen did not leave their neighborhoods and move the TOKİ's houses, they demanded from the municipalities to repair their houses or rebuild them in their neighborhoods. There is now an ongoing in-site transformation project of the GMD in Ben û Sen. The project which TOKİ is also included is sponsored by a French municipality and conducted by specialists ranging from psychologists, sociologists to economists and architectures (Bianet, 2011). It was observed that the dwellers in Ben û Sen gained a temporary victory in the struggle for the space appropriation.

The reasons why the families refused to evacuate their houses in the Alipaşa, Lalebey and Cevatpaşa neighborhoods and to move the TOKİ's houses can be counted as the fact that they would not be fit into these houses; they could not pay the installments and revenues; they would be far away from the city centre and could not adapt to the new life style.

Taking account of the development issue of Kırklar Dağı also, Yüksel (2011, p. 453) finds important to argue the transformation of Suriçi in terms of substantiating "how

definitions of local culture are very much bound by the circuits of capital at the global, national and local levels". She also raises the consequences of "the urban meaning constructed around economic terms such as prosperity, efficiency, attractiveness or cultural terms such as trademark city of art or museum city, on socioeconomically vulnerable populations in Diyarbakır." (Yüksel, 2011, p. 453)

6.2.4. Restoration Projects in the Historical Fabric

In this sub-section, restoration projects which the Greater Municipality has taken part in or those which were conducted by only the Greater Municipality will be evaluated (see, Table 11). After probing the restoration of the city walls, restoration of historical and cultural fabric of Suriçi will be examined.

Restoration of the City Walls

The pro-Kurdish municipalities have always paid a special attention to protection and renovation of the cultural and historical heritage of Diyarbakır. In this sense, the first and the most important urban project of the municipality is the restoration of the ancient city walls, as it was popularly called, "cleaning of the Sur bottoms". The walls are widely mentioned to be the second longest after the Great Wall of China. The actors in this project are the Greater Municipality, Sur Municipality and the Governorship as well as some civic organizations in Diyarbakır.

Table 11 Restoration projects which the Greater Municipality has taken part in or conducted by only the Greater Municipality

Project	Central or Local State Actors	Date of the Project
Restoration of the city walls (Cleaning and expropriation)	Greater Municipality, Sur Municipality and Governorship	Early of the 2000s
Restoration of the Armenian Saint George Church	Greater Municipality	Early of the 2000s
The Gazi and Yeni Kapı Streets Rehabilitation Projects	Greater Municipality and Governorship	2012
Rehabilitation of the region between the Balıkçılarbaşı and Mardinkapı, the Melikahmet Street	Greater Municipality	2011
The İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan Street Front Rehabilitation and Restoration of their environs	Greater Municipality	2012-…
The Dağkapı Square Restoration	Greater Municipality	2011

By the time the municipality came to the power in 1999, the municipality rolled up its sleeves in order to step into action for the Sur walls. After the persuasion of the local craftsmen who had built constructions very near to the walls, the municipality pulled down approximately 500 small buildings, tea gardens, etc. and replaced them with grasses, trees, parks and benches.

During the interview, Diken narrated the city walls cleansing operation through praising the accomplishment of HADEP municipality:

> Within only one week, a thing was produced that would have ever come true and that could have ever been imagined before in Diyarbakır. That was a kind of 'renaissance' period. (...) the Common values of this city should not turn into some privileges available to few people and the common rent of this city should have been used by its all citizens. And this would have been managed by the municipalities in BDP line. In other words, *cleaning bottom of the walls could have been done by the municipalities in BDP line*; except them, none of the municipalities in Diyarbakır could have managed this project. [G22]

Diken stated that the previous municipalities attempted this project to put into practice but they could not persuade the craftsmen who occupied the area at the bottom of the walls. Indeed, ÇEKÜL Foundation (a civic organization on environment issues) initiated this project in 1995, but the project could not be conducted. As Diken mentioned, even Ahmet Bilgin from RP could not evacuate them in spite of the state support, the police and the municipal police force:

> Power means nothing, if power is not able to back the people's force, those craftsmen can resist to the power, resist to the state power, resist to the police and soldiers. However, if there is an obvious people force in the meaning of local power and if [this local power] is able to see a significant people force in its back without being afraid of people force or see itself as a piece of this people, they [this people] leave there by *a common consent*. [G23]

Diken claimed that the HADEP municipality managed this project by taking the people at their back. Also, he stated that the successes of the period of Feridun Çelik and Cezair Serin were repeated by Osman Baydemir and Abdullah Demirbaş who had the same determination after 2004. He also added that "There is always such a 'tradition' [of success] in BDP's line. I mean, when ones sparkle, the others will keep the ball running". Diken expressed that people also realized the cultural diversities in Suriçi under the favor of the HADEP municipalities. Most of the people from the neighborhoods in Suriçi always visit the green belt around the walls, sit on the grasses and have a picnic. Diken stated that "Emanating from being a fantasy, this has become a part of everyday life." According to him, they also began to appropriate and struggle for the cultural spaces in Suriçi.

> The people also realized this wealth. Although they did not appreciate the walls, raveled the stones out and used for building their houses in the past; now they do not only appropriate, they also protect against any kind of devastation in Suriçi, they even fight for it [the protection of the walls]. *This also turned out a part of the everyday life*. This is a paragon of being urbanite (*kentli*). Even if you advertise or commercialize this city, I mean if you tell

that this city is so beautiful; this city has many important cultural assets, etc., the people would never listen to you and they never care about these. The people think that these [the narratives about the cultural assets of the city] are *tales*. These go in at their one ear and out at the other. However, if you produce a thing which touches and contacts with him/her, if you stake out the claim and if you make him/her feel sense of belonging, he/she will much more appropriate that thing. [G24]

That the HADEP municipalities became the first local governments in Diyarbakır to cooperate with the local dwellers and to win their consent can be pointed as a good epitome. Hence, in the most subsequent spatial-practices, the pro-Kurdish municipalities could easily get in touch with the dwellers with the aim of gaining their consent. Yüksel and Gambetti maintain that emphasizing the historical importance and the elegance of the walls was a required act for decolonizing the city. Restoration of the city walls functioned not only as bringing the "local pride" to surface but also as reconstructing it. Indeed Diyarbakır has been formed as a "monument", which deserves respect and esteem (Yüksel, 2011, p. 447; Gambetti, 2008, pp. 13-14).

Restoration of the historical and cultural fabric of Suriçi

The other protection and renovation act of "the cultural and historical heritage" of the HADEP greater municipality is the restoration of the historical buildings in Suriçi. The restoration of the Armenian Saint George Church and rehabilitation of the Syriac cemetery projects were started in the first municipal period and finalized in the second period. Recently, the transformation of the Gazi Street and Yenikapı streets, the restoration of the region between the Balıkçılarbaşı and Mardinkapı and the restoration of the Melikahmet Street and the İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan street have been carried out.

The pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır have not only emphasized on the Kurdish identity, but also have brought the cultural and historical heritage of "others of the regime" to the light. The municipalities have attempted to reverse the state's strategy which neglected the non-Muslim heritage. Hence, they managed to convert the urban space into an area which is appropriate for the penetration of the counter-hegemonic narratives. (Gambetti, 2008, p. 14).

6.2.5. Socio-Spatial Practices of the Greater Municipality

In 1999, the selection of HADEP to the greater municipality of Diyarbakır as well as its district municipalities is a turning point in the sense of social production and reproduction of space in Diyarbakır. Also, the unilateral ceasefire of PKK in 1998, the Helsinki Summit in 1999 and abolishing of the OHAL governance in 2002 are the vantage points

for the creation a "peaceful" atmosphere in the public spheres in Diyarbakır. Thereafter, as Gambetti (2005, p. 51) points out, "the strict polarization of the political space is mitigated, new actors, new publics and new fields of action have appeared on the scene and the former agents of conflict have entered into a phase of transformation". Along with the victory of HADEP in the local elections, the greater municipality turned into the "engine force" for the social production of new public spaces and it was determined to remedy the living conditions of its people (Gambetti, 2005, p. 53). As Yüksel (2011, p. 447) asserts, a "vibrant public sphere" arose as soon as a comparatively peaceful era set out through ameliorating the destructive effects of the war and the sharp polarization between the Kurds and the state in Diyarbakır in the 2000s. The significant actors of this vibrant public sphere are Kurdish population itself, civil organizations and the municipalities. Furthermore, the selection of HADEP to the municipalities in the city and the empowerment of a progressive civil society made the city as one of the important political and intellectual networks both national and supranational levels (Yüksel, 2011, p. 447).

In this sub-section, the socio-spatial practices of the GMD after 1999 will be elaborated. Laundries and tandır houses, the Sümerpark Social Living Area, art and culture centers and cultural events will be analyzed within the frame of the production of social space. In the Appendix Table 7, all the socio-spatial practices of the GMD since 1999 are given.

6.2.5.1. Laundries and Tandır Houses

In the official web site of the greater municipality, it was written that: "Observing grievances of the women living in the city, our municipality established the Laundry and Tandır Houses in accordance with its one of the main principle to construct a woman friendly city" (GABB, 2013). The Laundry and Tandır Houses, namely *Beyaz Kelebekler*[58] have been operated by DİKASUM (Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality Center for Research and Application on Women's Issues) which is a gender based social service and development organization of the GMD. Taking a similar project in Sweden as an example, the Hasırlı *Beyaz Kelebekler* Laundry and Tandır House (LTH) began to operate in 2003 in Hasırlı Neighborhood in Suriçi. This center was the first and unique LTH not only in Diyarbakır but also all around Turkey. Just after a year, two more

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[58] The name of *Beyaz Kelebekler* (White Butterflies) was inspired from the butterfly of the HADEP's emblem.

laundries with the same name were constructed in the Ben û Sen and Aziziye neighborhoods which are located in Yenişehir. The last laundry in Yeniköy Neighborhood in Bağlar was launched during the second period of the greater municipality. There are washers, driers, ironing machines, sewing machines, training halls and child-care rooms in all of the laundries.

In the official web site of the greater municipality (2013), it is written that the LTHs have been functioned as a social center in the immigration neighborhoods. The LTHs provide services in the neighborhoods where the poorest and forcibly migrated people intensely accommodate. Besides offering cost free washing and cooking services, the LTH project aims at improving gender consciousness and the solidarity between women in the immigration neighborhood. The other goals are counted as to provide "consultant services on a variety of issues ranging from psychological disorders, unfulfilled suicide attempts, domestic violence and honor killings to unemployment, financial assistance, social insurance, and support for education" (Özsoy, Coşkun, & Yasak, 2010, p. 3). Women who benefit from the laundries also take literacy, skill-building, reproductive health and hygiene, family planning, first aid, breast-feeding, sexually transmitted diseases, vaccination and child development courses[59] (GABB, 2013).

During the field research, the Hasırlı, Ben û Sen and Aziziye *Beyaz Kelebekler* LTHs were visited. Hasırlı is a neighborhood in Suriçi, which is – with Gambetti's own word – "forgotten by state" (2008, p. 20). Hasırlı densely accommodates internally displaced Kurdish people as well as Romans and Doms. As also Gambetti (2008, p. 20) states, Hasırlı's people are "dispossessed, excluded, rendered invisible". On the other hand, municipalities of the pro-Kurdish parties – prominently the DEHAP municipalities – came to Hasırlı along with social and urbanization activities. One of them is the *Beyaz Kelebekler* Laundry and the Tandır House. The specificity of Hasırlı is to be the first place where the Greater Municipality propagated its initiating its social project for the displaced women in order to cease their problems which are based on poverty and deprival of infrastructure (Gambetti, 2008, p. 21).

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[59] For more detailed information about activities of LTHs, see the report of Özsoy, Coşkun, & Yasak (2010), *Social Inclusion at the Margins of the City: Diyarbakir Public Laundries and Education Support House*, Barcelona: United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG).

Figure 6 The Beyaz Kelebekler Laundry House in Ben û Sen and the Tandır House in Hasırlı
(Source: Personnel Archive)

During the depth-interview with Necati Pirinççioğlu, who is the current president of Chamber of the Architects' Diyarbakır Branch, he told the foundation narrative of the first *Beyaz Kelebekler* LTH. The project was offered to the Mayor Feridun Çelik by an engineer called Abdullah Alagöz in 2002. During that period, Pirinççioğlu was one of development consultants of the municipality and one of the leaders of to the LTH project. In the first stage of the project, ten neighborhoods were determined for building LTHs. During the building of the *Beyaz Kelebekler* LTH in Hasırlı neighborhood, the project team had a chance to examine life conditions in Hasırlı. Pirinççioğlu stated that in the beginning of the project, men from the neighborhood gave reaction to the project and shouted to the project team that: "You are taking away our women!" They even threw stones to the construction. However, they began to understand the project in time. The team enlightened the dwellers about the project. Most of the parents in the neighborhood did not make a legal marriage and their children could not enroll to the school as the children had no identity card. The municipality solemnized over 500 parents. Moreover, the project team conducted medical screening for women. 70 percent of the pregnant women, who could have never gone to the doctor for control before, were diagnosed as having hepatitis. The team immediately called the doctors from the TTB (Turkish Medical Union) to examine and cure the women. In this sense, Pirinççioğlu put an emphasis on the importance of the collaboration of the municipalities with the civil organizations.

Gambetti (2008, p. 21) puts that since women are supposed to come to the *Beyaz Kelebekler* respectively and at certain intervals due to spatial and time limitations, it has

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become the only public space for women. On the plea of washing clothes and cooking breads, they are used to go out from their houses without any permission, come together and start arguing with each other. Even, they began to criticize and complain about the services of the municipality (Gambetti, 2008, p. 21). Pirinççioğlu clarifies this social change of the women like:

> There had been no laundry demand of the people before. However, once water was cut off, the women staged a revolt, threw stones: "The municipality built this here, how don't you give water!!" The women hadn't known whether it [the laundry] is a right before. Yet, once they comprehended, it became a right for them anymore. Besides, previously water had been coming to their houses for one hour in a day and the available water was sufficient for them. Now, they know that [the municipalities should provide the full time water service to the people] is a right and even struggle for it. [G25]

Özsoy *et al* (2010, p. 2) announces that through joining "consciousness raising activities such as lectures, seminars and workshops on gender discrimination and women's rights", the women improve "gender consciousness and self confidence to struggle against discrimination and for their individual and social rights". As also, Osman Baydemir stated during the depth-interview:

> Such kind of social services are also carried out as gender emancipation politics. In our four neighborhoods, we built multi-purpose centers: Laundry and *tandır* house. Yet, this emanated from being a mechanism that facilitates woman's life. This transformed into a space where women would organize. [G26]

On the other side, Gambetti argues that such kind of social and urbanization activities seem to be the parts of the modernization project of these municipalities. This is pretended by Gambetti to be "the dialectics of subjectivation and subjectification" inasmuch as the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakir easily penetrated to "fill in the places left vacant by the central state institutions and, in doing so, contributed to transforming the migrants into urban actors" (2008, p. 20). The courses and consultant services can be said to be a part of the modernization projects.

In addition, Pirinççioğlu pointed out during the interview that building a social space in a neighborhood comes out with a great acquisition about meeting the real demands and requirements of the dwellers:

> When the municipality brings service to a neighborhood and creates its infrastructure, the service will turn into a mechanism to organize the neighborhood, such as in the case of *Beyaz Kelebekler*. You [the municipality] can only realize how you differentiate demands of the neighborhood where you take the services. You can prefer sending questionnaire forms to the neighborhoods, and then you will gain irrelevant outputs. For that reason, such

social spaces should be built in neighborhoods. (…) For another example, the municipality provided a *mobile receipt bureau* for Hasırlı. Why they did this? Because they saw that it was a very troublesome for a dweller living in Hasırlı to go to Dağkapı and make collection. Now, the receipt bureau is travelling on the back of a small track within Hasırlı. [G27]

Indeed, as mentioned before, once collective consumption services are given by the municipality, neighborhood dwellers will start to demand what they need among these services, even they are likely to struggle until they gain it. Özsoy *et al* (2010, p. 3) claim these activities as a contribution "to stimulate public policy initiatives".

On the other hand, the LTH has not remained to serve for only gender based and social policies as a part of the "modernization project". It has also served for organizing politics of the pro-Kurdish parties. As also Gambetti points out that the influence of the party is felt heavily in the Ben û Sen Laundry and Tandır House. She claims that the beneficiaries of the laundry are seen as a constituency for the pro-Kurdish party and the party uses the laundry here as a ground for recruitment (2008, p. 25).

6.2.5.2. The Sümerpark Social Living Area

The project of Sümerpark Social Living Area surrounding 80.000 meter square land was launched in 2007 and completed in 2008. This area was converted from the old Sümerbank Fiber and Weaving Mill which was closed within the scope of privatization enterprises in the 1990s and assigned to the greater municipality of Diyarbakır in 1998. In the mill area, the devastated buildings were renovated, the open spaces were redesigned, and additional structures were built. Social Services Head Office of the Greater Municipality with its Social Support Center, the City Council, the Memed Uzun Public Library, the Solar House and the GABB[60] are settled in the Sümerpark. In addition, there are several cultural centers, places for civil organizations and public spaces, such as a reception hall, a registry office, an open air amphitheatre, a children park, which are built in accordance with the Local Agenda 21. In the Sümerpark campus, there is a solar house which was built within the scope of ecological perspective of the municipality. There are also numerous non-governmental organizations in the Sümerpark area. The City Volunteers' Platform and Disabled People Support Center are located in this campus. Moreover, various associations, organizations and the municipalities organize social and

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[60] GABB was founded in 1991. Baydemir has been the chair of this union since 2004. For Sümer (2012, p. 142), GABB has taken an important role in cooperation among municipalities in the East and South East Anatolian since 2004. For detail information, visit the offical web site of GABB (GABB, 2013)

cultural affairs and activities, such as symposiums, meetings, conferences, forums. For example, the Mesopotamia Social Forum (MSF) as a member of the World Social Forum has been organized there. Even, press briefings and demonstrations have taken place in the public spaces of Sümerpark.

Figure 7 Views from the Sümerpak Campus Area
(Source: Personnel archive and Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013)

Baydemir narrated the demolishing of the Sümerpark's walls. This narrative is very intriguing because the park would become to be represented not only by a certain group but also the impoverished and marginal groups through the direct initiative by a mayor himself. Baydemir told the story as:

> Previously, the Sümerpark region was surrounded by walls exceeding a human length and with wire fences. One of the most challenging issues [between Baydemir and municipal officials] was these walls with wire fences facing a part of Şehitlik neighborhood on one side of Sümerpark region. My friends [municipal officials] told me that if we opened here, we could not have protected [Sümerpark]. We tried to persuade ourselves for a long time. Eventually, one day I could not withstand and went there. I myself took a hammer, marked on that wall and hit the wall a couple of times. I said "This will be demolished!" and that was demolished. The wire fences were removed, then the walls were rebuilt in an aesthetic form and the doors were opened. People are coming from that our neighborhood. I told them [his friends/municipal officials]: "This park was built for these children. This service is for them." Thus, the perception is gradually shifting. Also, perception of the municipal officials is shifting, too. Conversely, *we won't protect our public spaces against people for whom we offer the service*; we will service for that people. Therefore, for me, let them break it, break the lamb, crush the grasses and destroy the park... Let them take their revenge on that. Yet, they will take revenge for one time, or two times, or three times. Nevertheless, after we provide them with this service and we show that *this space belongs to them*, and after they see this, *they will appropriate this space more than me*, more than municipal officials. In this sense, the perception of the municipality has greatly transformed. [G28]

As Baydemir stated, the built public spaces, such as parks, green areas, social facilities should not serve only to a certain groups. If they are built for public, then the people from

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every social stratum can use them. During the field research, a few people told that in the past years, the parks in Diyarbakır were circumvallated with high walls and wire fences so as to 'protect' the parks from plebian and marginal groups, such as children working in the streets, beggars or thinner-addicted. Hence, the security of the public spaces was ensured. The Anıt Park and the Koşuyolu Park are the examples that they gave. However, after the pro-Kurdish municipalities came into power in Diyarbakır, the parks would be never circumvallated with high walls and wire fences. Baydemir, as also one of the children of Diyarbakır in the past years, is aware of such a kind of discrimination materialized over the public spaces. He stated that the Kurds should not fall into the same mistakes of the Kemalists. Therefore, he insisted on demolishing the walls of the Sümerpark and wanted the municipal cadres to shift their perspective on the public security. It is very easy: The parks as public places are built for people; so, why the parks are protected against the people themselves? A workman[61] living in Bağlar told his memory about one of the old parks which had been guarded in the past years in Diyarbakır.

> When I was a little child, the Polis[62] Park was just built. We heard that there were some tools to play in that park. My father took me the park's opening ceremony. It was very crowded; a lot of people came to the park. We saw that the high walls were built in the environs of the park and a few municipal police guarded the park's gate. A few of the people could enter into the park. My father and went back home. I had never gone there once more during my childhood. They [the state] even protected the parks from us [Kurds]! Now, all the parks are open for everyone in Diyarbakır. [G29]

In fact, there is no park with the name of "*Polis*" in Diyarbakır. The real name of the park that the man told about is supposed to be the Koşuyolu Park in Bağlar. In his imagination, as the park had been protected by the municipal police and it had witnessed to some terrible social events, the park's name might have remained as the Polis Park. The Koşuyolu Park was opened by the mayor Ahmet Bilgin during the RP municipality in Diyarbakır. One of those events is the death of the twelve children by a bomb in the Koşuyolu Park in the 12th September of 2006.[63] In 2008, a monument with the name of *Yaşam Hakkı* (Right to Life) was built by Baydemir in the Koşuyolu Park. The Yaşam

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[61] The man was one of the old TEKEL Workers and who joined in the protests in Ankara a few years ago. Now, he is a servant in a school in Bağlar. When he keeps "night guard" (as ironically) in the school but he does not lock the school's gates. He told the reason that the street children could come to school and spend the night.

[62] Polis in Turkish means policeman.

[63] Source: http://www.haberler.com/diyarbakir-da-12-eylul-patlamasi-anisina-anit-haberi/

Hakkı Monument was built in the commemoration of those twelve children on behalf of representing the peace. Through building a monument, the vile memories concerning the park might be desired to be wiped out. Another purpose to build the monument could be to appropriate the space as the consequences of the struggles made in the park.

The Social Support Center

The aim of the Social Support Center is defined as "to foster social integration, to reduce regional inequalities and to assist regional and urban development in conjunction with social policies providing a new life to the local people" (Metropolis, 2012). Averagely 1,000 people per diem benefit from training, rehabilitation, health services as well as sports and cultural activities through the support of municipal professionals and volunteer workers. In the Social Support Center, there are multi-purpose halls for common use, a cinema hall, classrooms and ateliers and a cafeteria. The greater municipality targets all the people who are either organized or disorganized to participate in the decision-making processes of the city. The structures in the center are; women support center, children support center, youth and sports center, health center and vocational education center. The health center is located in the Şehitlik neighborhood and it provides free treatment and check-up services all the urban dwellers. During the interview, Baydemir informed about the social center that:

> In respect of social services policies, the Social Services Head Office of the Greater Municipality serves for woman, teenage, child, disabled person and unemployed class. And all these services are carried out by a council consisting of those five classes. In other words, we [the municipality] never say that we do, we make, we know while these services are produced in the area of Social Services Head Office. All the processes are planned and implemented in care of this council [G30]

The City Council

One of the most important functions of the Sümerpark is to create a participation mechanism for the civil society. The Sümerpark Social Living Area, which was designed like a university campus, received the Metropolis Honorable Award[64] in 2010 in pursuit of the Porto Alegre Participatory Budget Experience (GABB, 2013). Pirinççioğlu narrated the first establishing period of the City Council in Diyarbakır. In his words:

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[64] The Metropolis Awards are organized every three years through the projects which are submitted by the member cities of Metropolis Association. The awards are given to the cities due to their contribution to improve the quality of citizens' life. The themes of the awards are urbanism, environment, housing, public transport, security, economic, social and cultural development (Metropolis, 2012).

We firstly established the City Council in Diyarbakır in 2003. There was no another city council in Turkey, ours was the first. We, as the city council, immediately began to prepare strategic action plan of Diyarbakır in 2003. Women, children, members of several associations, business cycles, all organized or non-organized people participated in that process. We firstly defined the problems of the city by gathering data. Then we elaborated the city's problems through classifying them as environmental issues, the problems of urbanization, social, cultural, historical problems, etc. and then, we finished the strategic action plan within one year. That plan was approved by the greater municipality and they are still utilizing the 70-80 percent of that plan while making other plans and projects. When we firstly established the City Council in Diyarbakır, the city councils were not legal. In other words, we de facto established it. However, afterwards, the government attempted to get rid of their real responsibilities and legalized the city councils. They made city councils obligatory for the municipalities. In order to remove its real responsibilities, the power generally transfers them to the local authorities? At present, the city councils became related to the power's utilizing way. They (city councils) became worse because the individual participation was hindered. In the beginning, the level of the individual participation was very high in Diyarbakır. You didn't have to affiliate to any organization to participate. But now, the level of participation and efficiency of the council has decreased. It is true that the city councils are serving for the representative democracy. On the other hand, if the city councils are not turned into the organizations at the neighborhood level they would probably end like this. Now, the municipalities attempt to overcome this issue through neighborhood muhtars. Yet, it is also discussed to what extent the muhtars represent people. The participation model should rise from the neighborhood and street organizations. [G28]

Since the Sümerpark campus with its social units provides the public participation to the local governances through the implementation of the participatory budget and the other social projects, it become important in the production of social space. Through creating participatory mechanisms participation, the urban dwellers can easily reach the collective consumption services. Hence, the existing spaces of the municipalities under the participatory mechanisms can be socially recreated by the dwellers. As Pirinççioğlu put forward, the first attempts on running the city council resulted in the socially reproduction of the existing spaces by the municipalities. Furthermore, the neighborhood committees were established in the scope of disseminating the participation to the whole grassroots movements under the guidance of the city council model. However, while the participation of non-organized dwellers is decreased, the essential function of the city council as well as the neighborhood committees has disappeared. During the interview, Baydemir informed about the final status of the city council as:

First of all, we built up a City Council. The Local Agenda in Diyarbakır became a mechanism which represents various civic organizations, neighborhood muhtars, public institutions and organizations and they are included in the decision making processes. Approximately 76 percent of the decisions which were taken by the City Council were implemented by our municipality since I took the mayoralty chair in 2004. I am repeating: Almost all the projects our municipality was put into practice in accordance with the decisions those were made by the City Council. Therefore, for us, the City Council became a mechanism that "representative democracy" animates because the figures in the Council

are ultimately the representatives of the people. (…) However, it is obvious that the representative democracy is not sufficient. Therefore, we took some steps for transition to "direct democracy". One of these is the "participative budget" method. We arrange neighborhood meetings in almost every year before deciding about the budget. We organize these meetings in the open spaces; chairs are being put, a sound set up and microphones are provided, to all the people – mothers, women, children, disabled people, old people and muhtars. To illustrate, one of them say, "Pay attention on the struggle for wiping out mosquitoes." The other say, "No, build road." The other say, "No, build mosque." All of these claims are made openly. Right after, existing resources of the municipality are discussed "We have these much resources that we will spend for the budget. Which of them do you suggest primarily?" That primary demand is included to our budget. Hence, we provide a participation in the municipal budget. No doubt, I don't claim that we organized meetings in every year in all of the neighborhoods whose number is over 150 in Diyarbakır. Yet, we attempted to include all the city dwellers in the processes of creating a municipal budget. [G29]

In his study, Cuma Çiçek (2008) analyzed the limits of urban governance on behalf of organized groups in Diyarbakır in 2007. He found out that the urban governance model in Diyarbakır excludes most of the dwellers but includes a marginal group which results in creating new inequalities between dwellers. He also deduced that urban dwellers perceive that the participation occurs at an inactive informative stage and demand participation occurs at a sensitivity stage (Çiçek, 2008, p. 145). During the interview with Pirinççioğlu, he was asked the current implementations of the participatory model of the GMD and to what extend the public participation is provided. He replied that:

We obviously see that the following budget [of the GMD] is prepared through paying attention to the suggestions and critics of the city council. Accordingly, the municipality arranges its incomes and expenses in a balanced way. Also, [the GMD] receives opinions from civil organizations, departments, etc. The municipality announces what will be done, and ask these organizations to give priority to which demands. The participation is going on in this way. But I'm saying that these demands should come from the people. The neighborhood houses exist for this. You [the pro-Kurdish municipalities] cannot demonstrate your difference through providing asphalt, building parks, roads, and sewage system. The AKP municipalities also make the same things! On the other side, I'm also saying that *these municipalities in Diyarbakır have performed miracles via such a budget*. There are women's own budget and disabled people's own budget here. These are good, but there should be the poor people's own budget, too. You can demonstrate your difference in this way. Your difference will emerge when you become closer to the poor people. I'm not saying that you can overcome the poverty, because you have no chance to solve this problem in this current system of Turkey. However, you should design projects which make the poor people's life make easier. [G30]

The most common critics about the Sümerpark are about its location and attainment to its services. All the people in the city of Diyarbakır – primarily all the disadvantageous and impoverished parts of the city – cannot reach this campus easily. Hence, its main service area for these groups is restricted. As also Pirinççioğlu stated, the participation of the poor people to the municipal budget remains insufficient. On the other hand, the

Sümerpark campus area witnesses cultural and political events due to its central location. Many local, regional, national and supranational cultural activities of the various civic organizations and the municipalities are performed there. Besides, the campus sometimes turns into a political arena for the contentious groups. Therefore, it can be put forth that the Sümerpark campus is socially reproduced within the socio-spatial dialectic frame.

6.2.5.3. Cultural Events

Due to the heavy influences of the law intensity war on Diyarbakır, the HADEP greater municipality took over ruined city. Besides, the city had undergone the Turkish cultural homogenization processes for many years. "The reappropration of a space for Kurdish identity" could be succeeded only through culture and only by a pro-Kurdish party (Gambetti, 2008, p. 13). In this sense, the HADEP greater municipality achieved to politicize the Kurdish culture through socio-spatial practices in the local level. Besides amelioration and construction of infrastructure of the city, the HADEP greater municipality started to reorder the cityscape, built areas for the Kurds to express themselves and created spaces for the Kurdish mobilization, organized various cultural activities to embellish Diyarbakır with Kurdish images and symbols. In the statements of Gambetti (2008, p. 3):

> The sheer weight of the municipality as a state institution that forcefully opens up a space for Kurdish culture and identity largely surpasses the narrow limits of everyday subversion because it furnishes subversion with agency, vision and coordination. For, even though it may be true that "people subvert, lucidly or practically, the intentions of states and their planners, and cities are partially constituted through the very resistance their built environments provoke" (Houston 2005:103), in Diyarbakir, people have two opposing sets of planners and agencies to resist or to enforce. The municipality, in fact, both embodies and constructs a form of collective action that consciously aims to modify the existing urban environment.

Also, the cultural events of the municipality result in decreasing of the high-tension between the Turkish and Kurdish people. The municipality has invited many artists, musicians, intellectuals, etc. from the western cities to Diyarbakır. During a press meeting in 2002, Hafize İpek as a deputy mayor of the GMD stated that the culture became a main healer to cure the wounds of the city (GABB, 2013). In Ipek's words:

> As it is well known, this city suffered very much in 1990s. While we as people attempted to bind up these wounds through solidarity, we saw the culture and art as a pomade to relieve the pains and bind up the wounds after 1999. As you know, the Diyarbakır Art and Culture Festival organized by Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır the Children's festival organized by Sur Municipality, the Youth Festival organized by Yenişehir Municipality, the cultural and art practices of Kayapınar and Bağlar has served to a this aim. All of these were the

endeavors of revealing out the annihilated, prohibited or disappeared cultural values (GABB, 2013).

As Hafize İpek points, the major cultural events of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır are organized around the festivals. The GMD has organized the Diyarbakır Culture and Art Festival, the Amed Theatre Festival and the Amed Music Festival. As a traditional practice, the GMD also arranged the Newroz festivals since 2000 in Diyarbakır. All these cultural events have a significant effect on the formation of public space in the city.

Newroz, as an ancient Zoroastrian spring welcoming festival, has been celebrated by the Kurdish people for many years and became "a symbol of Kurdish identity and resistance" (Gambetti, 2005, p. 56). Despite all the prohibitions, preventions or heavy security measures, Diyarbakır turns into a scene where demonstrations, protests and subversion activities as well as concerts, folkloric dance and ululations are propagated on March 21 of each year. Yet, the Newroz celebrations generally results in violent and bloody clashes between the armed forces of the state and the Kurdish people. In 1999, Newroz could not be celebrated in Diyarbakır since the Diyarbakır governor stipulated a formal permission. However, in 2000 the newly elected greater municipality of DEHAP formally applied to the state? For the organization of Newroz and as a result it could gain the permission. Since Newroz celebrations were prohibited by the state in Dağkapı square in 2000 a fair area which is 8 km far from the city centre was allocated by the government for Newroz celebrations. Eventually, Newroz was celebrated within a legal frame though rough the initiation of the greater municipality.

Figure 8 A view from the Newroz celebration in the Newroz Square in 2013
(Source: Fırat News Press, 2013)

As Gambetti (2005, p. 57) argues that the state has operated sorts of techniques to be able to dispose of any cultural revival in Diyarbakır. For example the "Turkified" version of Newroz, recalled Nevruz has been officially celebrated since 1991. However, the state-led endeavors for "Turkifing" and "de-radicalizing" of Newroz turned into a fail. The Newroz festivities in Diyarbakır are cited by Gambetti as evidence that "popular manifestations of culture and identity could no longer be checked by military measures" (2005, pp. 57-58).

On the other hand, the Newroz festival invoked many cultural events which made Kurdish culture and language "de-criminalize" in Diyarbakır. The municipalities began to organize culture festivals in the city and invites not only Kurdish, but also Turkish and other foreign artists, intellectuals to give concerts, make films, exhibit artwork, lecture and interview in the several public spaces. Many private and state institutions have became a sponsor or cooperated with the municipality in these cultural events. In the statements of Gambetti (2005, p.60):

> Kurdish began to become audible and then visible, mainly on posters prepared by the municipality. The crack in official ideology caused by the public presence of a new construction of Kurdishness had actually allowed a plethora of social and cultural actors to emerge where there had been done before. Since 1999, Diyarbakır has literally witnessed an explosion in what can be called "civil society," for want of a better term. Arts centers, bookshops, theaters, cinemas, local journals and magazines, civic foundations, NGOs from Turkey and abroad function, compete and collaborate with one another in a seemingly depoliticized space.

The "Diyarbakır Culture and Art Festival" has been organized by the municipality since 2001. In spite of the governor's prohibition against singing in Kurdish, the open-air concerts, movies, theatres, poetry readings in Kurdish etc. were practiced and these turned the city into "a huge fair." Gambetti puts an important emphasis on that "[t]he municipality thus not only allowed the Kurdish language to reinvest open public spaces, but also became the first public institution to permit Kurdish to be spoken inside and to print posters in Kurdish." According to Houston, this made an inverse effect on "the social production of aural space by the Kemalist City" (cited in Gambetti, 2005, p.114).

Lastly, the GMD firstly organized the "Amed Theatre Festival" and the "Amed Music Festival" in 2012. In the opening speech of the theatre festival, Baydemir stated that while the GMD was planning ateliers of the festival, the City Theatre of the GMD, the Dicle Fırat Culture and Art Centre and the Cegerxwîn Culture and Art Centre as being in the first place, all the groups interested in this field were included. He continued as:

> Along with eight days, our city of Diyarbakır will unite together sixteen theatre groups coming from numerous cities ranging from Duhok, Süleymaniye and Urmiye to Ankara and İstanbul. Within the frame of the festival program, fifteen plays will be demonstrated in the Kurmanci, Zazaki and Sorani dialects of Kurdish language and two plays in the Turkish language (GABB, 2013).

Yüksel also cites the similar statements of Baydemir which were made in the opening speech of the Diyarbakır festival in 2008. Making all the people and the cultures come together in Diyarbakır, Baydemir frequently underlines that Diyarbakır has turned into a "cultural and the artistic capital city of the Middle East" (2011, p. 447). Moreover, Gambetti puts forth that:

> The new form of struggle, through culture and festivals, brought together local actors that were at best indifferent and at worst antagonistic to each other. Although no attempt at recognition or negotiation was taking place at the level of the central state, several state institutions began working together with pro-Kurdish groups at the local level. These eventually prompted the local governor, a representative of the central state, to budge from his previously held position of strict denial and uncooperativeness (2009a, p. 17).

These cultural events provide spaces for contact of the people and cooperation within the locality as well as at a national and international level. In the opening speech of the theatre festival, Baydemir also pointed out that the theatres, cinemas and the other cultural activities which were organized by the municipality within the scope of the festivals provided the youth people to meet with culture and art and to improve their ability on the artistic activities (GABB, 2013). Also, another important result of the festivals is to open new art and culture centers in order to make these cultural activities as indispensable part of the city life Eventually, it can be asserted that the urban space is socially reproduced by the participants of the events for many times.

6.2.5.4. Art and Culture Centers

After HADEP came to the power in the greater municipality, the pre-existing "City Theatre of the Greater Municipality" rose from its ashes. As Diken announced during the interview, the city theatre had been poorly groomed and devastated during the RP mayor of Ahmet Bilgin. However, the HADEP greater municipality restored and transformed the theatre hall into a multi-functional space. Although prohibiting on the Kurdish was abolished in the 2000s, the state oppressions were still continuing on the use of Kurdish. Nevertheless, the pro-Kurdish municipalities initiated the public use of the Kurdish in the various public spaces. The first theatre plays in Kurdish were performed in the City Theatre. The posters were also in Kurdish and hung in the walls of public spaces. Along with the fact that the space was attained by the favor of the pro-Kurdish municipalities'

activities, civil organizations could also open art and cultural centers where presentations took place in the Kurdish, bookstores and printing houses published Kurdish journals, magazines and books were. Besides, after the Diyarbakır Art and Culture Center was re-opened in 2002, the greater municipality employed the Dicle and Fırat Cultural Center. This center hosts a library, a cafe and a music, theatre and folklore dancing workshop. In this cultural centre, the Kurdish letters were used in the signboards, posters, advertisings, etc. and the Kurdish periodicals were sold in its cafe (Gambetti, 2008, pp. 16-17). In addition, many private cinema, theatre and conference halls (such as the Diyarbakır Art Centre and the Galeria Shopping Center's saloons) were rented by the greater municipality for the free movies, plays, concerts presentations and for seminars, lecturers, conferences. Following the tracks of the greater municipality, the district municipalities began to open art and culture ateliers and houses where the Kurdish plays, movies, folkloric dances are periodically presented as well as free music and art courses are provided especially for children, youths and women. Moreover, the Dengbej's House in Suriçi, a project was offered by the Chamber of the Architectures, has been operated via the promotion of the greater municipality since 2007. Also, the Aram Tigran Conservatory has been opened in 2011 in Şehitlik. Besides, the Cem Culture House for Alevi people was opened in 2011 with the collaboration of the GMD and Bağlar Municipality.

Yüksel (2011, p. 447) asserts that by building many art and culture centers, the GMD has become an important actor in producing and maintaining the conditions of a vibrant urban space which arose as a result of cultural projects. During the field research, most of these art and culture centers were visited. It was observed that the policies of the municipality succeeded in their aims. Likewise, such centers in other cities of Turkey can be utilized in different purposes. For example, a big culture and congress center can be mostly used for official marriage ceremonies or turned into a useless space. On the other side, such public spaces are always filled by the people in Diyarbakır. While, the cultural and artistic ateliers which was run by clockworks as well as the plays, film and theatre festivals witness the large masses all the time.

Formation of a Vibrant Public Space
Up to this point, it is clearly understood that the remarkable achievement of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır is formation a vibrant public space. They have provided a considerable ground for the visibility and mobilization of civil society through

fostering and including civic organizations to its socio-spatial practices. Indeed, the civic associations in Diyarbakır were active, but they had been under the heavy pressure of the state between the 1980s and 1990s. Yet, in the early of the 2000s, as Gambetti (2005, p. 65) states:

> Partially because of the new demands, partially because of modified DEHAP policy; the municipalities started gaining relative autonomy. Discussions have been taking place on local government and participatory democracy (…) Problems and issues that were previously neglected both by the state and by the unified Kurdish front are now being made visible by the activities of these associations.

During the field research, most of the interviewees commonly stated that whenever a civic organization demands a place for an activity, they always easily find a place in Diyarbakır thanks to the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Appropriating a space for their organizations (conferences, lectures, demonstrations, etc) was observed to be very important for the civil society. That is stemming from the attitudes of the previous municipalities. As also Gambetti (2005, pp. 62-63) points, the previous municipality in Diyarbakır neglected the civic associations and excluded them from the local policies. During the interview with Şeyhmus Diken, he narrated that:

> After gaining the municipalities in 1999, civic organizations, citizens and municipalities themselves had significant acquisitions in the sense of appropriating spaces where they express themselves easily. In previous years, it was too hard or impossible for civic organizations in Diyarbakır to conduct an activity, organize a meeting, etc. in the theatre halls and conference halls of the municipalities or organize activities through getting support of the other municipalities in the city. However, after winning the municipalities, this became much easier. The municipalities opened these spaces for civic organizations and the people of this city. Also, a set of projects began to be implemented in tandem with the municipalities and civic organizations. The municipalities considered the civic organizations associations, chambers as a partner for them. To illustrate, the municipalities have been worked in tandem with TMMOB, TTB, Eğitim-Sen, Baro, etc. in Diyarbakır. TMMOB became a consultant institution for the municipalities in the planning and transformation of the architecture fabric of the city. That is to say, civil dynamics of the city turned into 'natural partners' of the municipalities. In the past, the civic organizations were walking on a different track; on the other hand, the municipalities appeared to be institutions of the state. In other words, they could not come together in a same line. [G31]

After that, Diken narrated a story which took place in the period of RP municipality in Diyarbakır.

> Let me give an example. I've never forgotten that: A meeting with the association of journalists was organized in Diyarbakır. Ahmet Bilgin gave a speech there and he said: "I would like to make certain investments in certain regions of Diyarbakır. However, the organizations calling themselves as '*sivil toplum örgütü*'[65] – in fact, for me, those who are

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[65] Sivil toplum örgütü (in Turkish) means civic or non-governmental organization.

'*sefil toplum örgütü*'[66] – are attempting to obstruct from my these works!". Such a discourse and structure of municipality has been now turned into a municipality model which is always doing common works with civic organizations and needs their counseling; adopts a principle by itself of doing nothing without civic organizations. Surely, this improves the life in various ways. . [G32]

As Diken points, the established cooperation between municipality and civic organizations have affected the production of space on several counts. In this regard, Pirinççioğlu, as a chair of chamber of architects, was asked whether participation of the civic organizations in the municipal affairs changed the production of space in Diyarbakır. He expressed that:

> As an architect, when I look from the chamber of architects' aspect, I can say that a big transformation has occurred in the relation between the municipality and civic organizations. Branch office of the chamber of architects in Diyarbakır was founded in 1994. During that period, the RP municipality had never taken the chambers seriously and never forwarded the projects to them; and hence the presented city emerged! Services were provided to the people in the perception of "I do it, I know the better one" until 1999. On the contrary, an approach in the municipalities which embrace all of the chambers and civic organizations has become dominant since the beginning of 1999. Sometimes, troubles emerge, tensions increase and quarrellings come out [between us and the municipality], yet at least, we are always in contact; at least there are dialogue, inquiring, learning and counseling. In this sense, risk of making mistakes in practice from the point of municipalities scarcely appears. [G33]

Pirinççioğlu pointed the most important factor on the production of space is that the chambers function as a control mechanism in the municipal affairs.

> The chambers became the parts of a control mechanism after 1999. Any architectural projects, static and mechanic projects cannot implemented without getting license from the chambers now. If the municipality presents a chamber or a civic organization to be a control mechanism, the contractors cannot make dual projects. Only when the municipality achieves that, spaces will turn into livable spaces. In Diyarbakır, the number of the buildings raised after 1999thanks to this mechanism. In the past, most of the people created a channel in the municipality – ultimately a municipality is a political structure – and its councilors and they could exert their influences and using this as an element of oppression on the municipality. Yet, now we are saying, "My bro, this is not approved by the chamber." They have no chance to make a trick on account of the chambers or civic organizations. Even they cannot dare to come to the chamber. [G34]

As aforementioned, the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır play an important actor in the formation of a vibrant public space through collaboration with civic organizations. Providing them with public spaces contributed in their visibility and mobility. Apart from the other factors, this brought about breaking the strict polarized space. In this regard, everyday life practices in the city also revived. On the other hand, including the civic

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[66] "Sefil" in Sefil toplum örgütü (in Turkish) means "miserable".

organizations – especially work on the architecture, building and city planning fields – in the municipal affairs turned to be a vantage point for the municipalities in their production of urban space.

6.2.6. Evaluation for the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır

In this section, after brief information about the history, legal frame and administrative structure of GMD was given, the planning practices, role in the residential areas and housing supply, urban transformation processes and restoration of the historical structures were analyzed. Then, the socio-spatial practices (laundries and tandır houses, the Sümerpark social living area, art and culture centers, cultural events) of GMD were handled in a socio-spatial dialectic method. In the last sub-section, transformation of public space after 1999 in Diyarbakır was discussed.

Indeed, the first municipal experience of the pro-Kurdish movement is referred to the period of Mehdi Zana in Diyarbakır between 1977 and 1980. The popular perspective, "the people's childhood municipalism" takes its source from the Zana's municipal period. This municipal experience carries the radical, participatory and populist administrative principles. Hence, the mayors and administrative board of the first municipal period were indicated as 'people's children'. This claim is attributed to the class-based and social dispositions of the movement. The mayors were counted as the children of proletarian, impoverished, forced immigrated mass and the activists of the Kurdish movement. They also sustained local power completely leaning on labor, unemployment, impoverished and forced migrated groups. The socio-spatial practices of the HADEP municipalities show the evidence of these dispositions. The first attempt was the provision of the urban collective services mainly for urban poor, such as services on infrastructure, transporting, housing, drinking water, staple foods and sanitary processes. After establishing women's center (DİKASUM), the GMD opened the Beyaz Kelebekler Laundry and Tandır House (LTH) in Hasırlı where a migrated and impoverished group lived. Besides offering free washing and cooking services, the LTH is run for a multi-purpose use through providing various courses for women to raise the gender consciousness and improve the social solidarity. Also, the LTH was turned into a space where women come together and organize politically. On the other side, such kind of social and urbanization activities of the HADEP municipalities can be evaluated as a kind of modernization project. In the beginning of the 2000s, the Kurdish dwellers saw the HADEP municipality as 'one of them', and they made some demands from the municipalities to solve the general Kurdish

issue. Through filling in the cultural, social and economic gaps left by the previous local and central state institutions and bounding the wounds of the law intensity war in the region in the 1990s, the HADEP municipalities contributed to transform of the migrated peasants into 'the urban actors'. Therefore, it can be claimed that, the first pro-Kurdish municipalities as representations of spaces took an active and predominant role in the production of space in Diyarbakır. Yet, this time it was not the state's space but the pro-Kurdish municipalities' space. On the other hand, once the municipalities penetrated into the neighborhoods through creating collective consumption services with social and urbanization projects, the neighborhood dwellers turned into 'the urban actors'. The everyday life practices of the dwellers shifted also. Eventually, they started to demand what kind of services they need even on the cost of struggling for them.

The other noteworthy practice of the HADEP municipalities is to clean the environs of the city walls and turning these areas into parks and gardens. The workers, who are mostly employed in the informal sector, of the area had resisted leaving their places at first; nevertheless, they consented at the end and evacuated their places. The long last quarrels which resulted in the conciliation of the parts can be indicated as a good epitome for the production of space. The other remarkable achievement of the municipalities is to play a significant role in the transformation of the social spaces. Taking along the civic organizations, the GMD started to reorder the cityscape, build the means of self-expression for the Kurds and created free mobilization spaces, and organized various art and cultural activities so as to infuse a Kurdish symbol to Diyarbakır. As soon as the HADEP municipalities came to local power, they started to establish good relationships with civil society. It was the first time that the municipalities in Diyarbakır cooperated with unions, chambers and various associations. Together with the civic organizations, The GMD founded a city council which included also non-organized people and control mechanisms for the municipal affairs. Hence, a vibrant public space sprang up in a highly devastated city. Through fostering and including civic organizations, the GMD contributed to the visibility and mobility of the civil society in the public spheres. Under the favor of the GMD, the civic organizations started to appropriate space wherever they want to put their every kind of activity (conferences, lectures, demonstrations, press briefing, etc) into practice. It was a significant opportunity which had been never provided them by the previous local authorities. Also, the HADEP municipalities sparked the cultural polices in the city. Using the Kurdish language in open spaces provided a

wide public participatory to the urban life. Besides, the cultural events, such as Newroz celebrations and various festivals, demonstrations, etc. are conducted or supported by the GMD. These provided an arena for grassroots of the Kurdish movement in the cities. These are the evidences that reappropriation of space for inventing a Kurdish identity was succeeded through cultural deeds which were realized by the GMD. The cultural events of the first GMD also resulted in the decrease of the high-tension between Kurds and Turks as well as the local state actors. On the other hand, The GMD also started to project for protection and restoration of the historical churches in the city. Defending only the Kurdish identity was gradually abandoned. The cultural policies of the GMD demonstrate that the pro-Kurdish municipalities do not only emphasize on the Kurdish identity, but also bring the cultural and historical heritage of "others of the regime" to the light. Hence, the municipalities reversed the state's strategy of neglecting the non-Muslim heritage in the region. Yet, a multi-cultural approach would soon become more efficient in these municipalities. It can be asserted that through cultural policies mostly based on the Kurdish identity, the HADEP municipalities succeeded to break the sharply polarized structure between the Kurdish people and the state as well as revive the public spaces which had been severely devastated during OHAL period.

The second pro-Kurdish GMD took a relatively more rehabilitated city. The municipality firstly completed the projects which were launched during the first period. In 2004, the other two Beyaz Kelebekler LTHs were opened in the Ben û Sen and Aziziye neighborhoods. But, a long lasted peaceful atmosphere ended up in 2004 as the clashes between Turkish army forces and PKK started. This time the clashes spread to the urban spaces and the city of Diyarbakır turned into a war area. On the other hand, the development practices became prominent for the municipalities during this period. After the enactment of the Law on the Greater Municipality in 2004, significant opportunities in the planning frame were obtained by the GMD. The 1/25000 and 1/5000 scaled master plans were completed in 2006 and in 2008, respectively. In addition, through preparing the Dicle Valley Master Plan in 2006, the foundations of the upper-scale projects, such as Fiskaya, waterfall, café and lagoon projects were laid. Under the favor of the development practices for especially outside the city center, the building sector was revived in these newly developed areas. Along with introduction of the neo-liberal policies, alliances with business circles appeared in the local agenda of the municipality. The neo-liberal policies burst into sight over emerging face of the modern city with its

prestigious residential areas and gated communities. Although the demands of the low income groups had already increased, the GMD started to turn its face to the relatively high income groups. The GMD did not open any socio-spatial unit between 2005 and 2008. Eventually, abandoning the policy of the "people's childhood municipalism" revealed itself during the 2006 uprisings of the low income groups which were represented by the grassroots of Kurdish movement. The production of space in Diyarbakır during the second municipal period was embodied through the ramified conflicts between the Kurdish movement vis-à-vis the state as well as the urban grassroots of Kurdish movement vis-à-vis municipalities. Also, through introduction of the neo liberal policies, GMD remained trapped in a dilemma between the demands of the active urban dwellers and the local entrepreneurs. The GMD again started to build the socio-spatial units after 2008. Although the restoration of Sümerpark was launched in 2005, the whole project could be completed in 2008. The Social Affairs Head Office with its Social Support Center (women, children, youth, vocational education centers, urban volunteers and support center for disabled people), the City Council, and the Solar House, the Amphitheatre, the Reception Hall and various civic organizations form a common and participatory ground for the urban dwellers. Unlike the other local administrators in Turkey, transformation of a factory into an enormous public space by the GMD is a praiseworthy and that attempt would gain an international award soon. Also, the other spatial practices of the GMD are building the Parkorman (forestry) and the Yaşam Hakkı Monument and redesigning the Dağkapı Square. Furthermore, the last Beyaz Kelebekler LTH in Bağlar, the Women's Shelter House, the İ. Halil Kaya Health Center, and the Hazar Camping Area for children were opened in 2008. All these spatial practices accelerated in 2008 demonstrate that the GMD attempted to re-gain its legitimacy in the public eye. Yet, this time, emphasis on the disadvantages groups (especially women, children, youth, disabled and other ethnic groups) can be clearly in the discourses of the municipalities.

The last period of the pro-Kurdish municipalities started with the KCK operations in which numerous municipal cadres were arrested. On the other side, the policies of local governments of the pro-Kurdish parties took were re-shaped under the new policy, called as democratic autonomy, of the movement. The aim of establishing a democratic, ecologic and gender libertarian society was decided to inevitably put into practice by all the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Hence, the policies for such aims began to effectively

determine the production of space in the GMD. Primarily within the scope of diminishing the side effects of the neo-liberal policies on the urban spaces, the GMD has started to make more careful steps. Besides, alliances with the social and cultural networks have been extended through the individual contributions of Baydemir, the existing mayor of the GMD. On the other hand, the urban transformation projects were realized in Suriçi, the ancient city of Diyarbakır, is the most criticized practice of the GMD. The project was launched by TOKİ and the governorship in 2008 and the GMD along with Sur Municipality participated to this project in 2010. The transformation project targeted to demolish 596 houses in Alipaşa-Lalebey and Cevatpaşa (İçkale) neighborhoods where mostly migrant populations live. The hundreds of people were sent to the Çölgüzeli Mass Housing area of TOKİ which is far away from the city centre. The GMD expected to make major contributions to the city tourism and provide employment opportunities through turning the Suriçi into an "open-air museum" under this project. The popular discourse of the process is to establish the peace through cultural heritage tourism that is imposed by neo-liberal policies on the cities which are living a stagnant economy. Hence, the historical spaces would be transferred to the market of the inter-locals competition. Also, the GMD's trajectory on the urban transformation projects created quarrels among the central cadres of the movement and party. Furthermore, such a transformation project which is conducted by TOKİ is not approved by the makers of the party policies. Although such a discourse on the cultural tourism has not been given up yet, the GMD began to abandon the project through harshly criticizing the policies of TOKİ. Eventually, TOKİ and the ministry have taken all the authorities over them through the last regulations. This is one of the most challenging issues on the production of space between the dwellers and central state as well as the municipalities. Although some of the dwellers began to evacuate their houses and move to TOKİ's mass housing area, most of them resist and do not abandon their houses. Being aware of the symptoms of sending the people to live in the TOKİ houses without any, GMD started a transformation projects by itself and built social housings in the project area for the removed people. In Suriçi, the GMD aimed to transform the Gazi Street and Yenikapı streets, restore the region between the Balıkçılarbaşı and Mardinkapı and restore the Melikahmet Street and the İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan street. On the other side, the multi-cultural and multi-lingual practices of the GMD have a significant effect on the formation of the public space in the city. The major cultural events of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır take place around the festivals. The GMD has been organized the Diyarbakır Culture and Art Festival, the

Amed Theatre Festival and the Amed Music Festival. As a traditional ceremony, the GMD also arranged the Newroz festivals since 2000 in Diyarbakır. The Dengbej's House, the Aram Tigran City Conservatory and lastly the Cem Culture House for Alevi people were built and activated as replies to demands of the different cultural groups. By Building many art and culture centers, the GMD has become an important actor in producing and maintaining the conditions of a vibrant urban space which rises from the cultural projects. Hence, Diyarbakır is supposed to become a "cultural and the artistic capital city of the Middle East". By means of the cultural practices of the GMD, the struggle for the appropriation of the city occurs between local and central state actors; sometimes in an antagonistic manner or sometimes in a conciliatory way. Also, the GMD makes political and cultural struggle of the Kurdish movement visible on the urban space; on the other hand, it attempts to take place in the competing localities over cultural strategies.

6.3. District Municipalities

The district municipalities of the greater municipality of Diyarbakır are Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar. The Sur, Yenişehir and Bağlar municipalities were founded as a first-tier municipality in 23.06.1994 after the Diyarbakır Municipality transformed into the Greater Municipality by the decision of the Council of Ministers (No. 93/5130, dated 21.12.1993). Kayapınar Municipality turned into the first-tier municipality in 2004. All the district municipalities turned into district municipalities through the enactment of the Law no: 5747 dated 06.03.2008. These district municipalities have been run by the pro-Kurdish parties since 1999.

In this section, socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities as representations of space will be examined. Each of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipality was elaborated respectively. After the brief information about their administrative structures was provided, the projects for representations of space and socio-spatial practices will be analyzed.

6.3.1. Sur Municipality

"The City Whispering Its Secrets to Its Walls"

The Sur district is located in the Tigris riverside and south-east of the city of Diyarbakır. After Diyarbakır took the greater city municipality status by the decision of the Council

of Ministers (No. 93/5130, dated 21.12.1993), Sur Municipality was founded as a first-tier municipality in 23.06.1994. (SBSP, 2010, p. 20). In 1994, the number of its neighborhoods was 15 and the population was 104,000. Until 2004, Sur municipality was limited only with the Suriçi region[67] which was the old city centre of Diyarbakır. In virtue of Law no: 5747 dated 06.03.2008, Sur Municipality turned into the district municipality. Hence, Bağıvar and Çarıklı municipalities and new neighborhoods were affiliated to the Sur district municipality.

Those who won the chair of Sur Municipality since it was founded as a first tier municipality are Cemal Toptancı (1994-1999), Cezayir Serin (1999-2004), Abdullah Demirbaş (2004-2007), Ahmet Aydın (2007 -2009), and again Abdullah Demirbaş (2009) as forthcoming (SBSP, 2010, pp. 20-21). Cemal Toptancı won the Sur Municipality as a candidate of RP via obtaining 43.7 percent of the votes in the 1994 local elections. During the 1999 local elections, Cezayir Serin as a candidate of HADEP gained 69.4 percent of the votes while FP (in the same line of RP) scored only 13.7 percent. Abdullah Demirbaş was selected from SHP with the 56.6 percent of the votes in 2004. Demirbaş was again won the municipality as a candidate of DTP with 65.4 percent of the votes in the 2009 elections.

Table 12 Chairs of Sur Municipality since 1994

Date of Local Election	Periods	Chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality	Represented Political Party	The Rate of Received Votes (%)
27.03.1994	1994-1999	Cemal Toptancı	RP	43.7
18.04.1999	1999-2004	Cezayir Serin	HADEP	69.4
28.03.2004	2004-2007	Abdullah Demirbaş	SHP	56.6
-	2007-2009	Ahmet Aydın (Appointed)	-	-
29.03.2009	2009- …	Abdullah Demirbaş	DTP	65.4

Source: TUİK, 2013

Cezayir Serin[68] as one of the founders of BDP is the first pro-Kurdish mayor of Sur Municipality. Serin had an important role during the evacuation process of the city walls'

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[67] The region which remains within the Diyarbakır city walls is called today as Suriçi (in Turkish, inside of the city walls).

[68] As a "child of people", Cezair Serin was a worker and earning his keep by sewing *şalvar* (a traditional trousers) before 1999.

environs. Abdullah Demirbaş[69] has been in charge of the Sur mayoralty since 2004. During his first mayoralty period, Demirbaş launched the multi-lingual municipalism through the city council decision of the Sur Municipality. However, Demirbaş was unseated and the city council was abolished by the state council on account of the implementation decision of multi lingual municipalism in 2007 (Sur Belediyesi, 2013). The governor of Diyarbakır Ahmet Aydın was appointed in the place of Demirbaş and became mayor of Sur Municipality between 2007 and 2009. In the 2009 local elections, Demirbaş became candidate again for the Sur mayoralty and regained the mayor's seat through pulling much more vote vis-à-vis the former period. Yet, Demirbaş was arrested during the KCK operations in 24.12.2009 and jailed approximately sixth months. Owing to his illnesses, he was released by the court although the KCK trial is pending.

The current municipal administration comprises a mayor and four vice mayors. The municipality has 22 departments[70]. The most striking departments are the recently founded Urban Design Department and Egalitarianism and Employment Department (SBFR, 2011). The municipal council consists of 31 members; 23 of whom were elected from DTP and 8 of whom were elected from AKP in the 2009 local elections (TUİK, 2013). The municipality has totally 357 employees; 242 of whom are municipal employees (51 officials, 188 staffed laborers, 1 casual laborer, 2 contract employees) and 115 of whom are outsourced employees (SBFR, 2011).

6.3.1.1. General Information about the Sur District

With the largest area (50% of the GMD's total area) among the other district municipalities of Diyarbakır, Sur Municipality has approximately a 52,000 hectare area. In 2012, the municipality has 52 neighborhoods with a population of 126,785. Total population and annual growth rate of population of the Sur district since 2000 are given

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[69] Abdullah Demirbaş was born in 1966 in Lice, one of the districts of Diyarbakır. He graduated from the faculty of science and letters in 1987 and he had been in philosophy teaching post for 17 years. He began to participate in the Education Workers' Union (Eğitim-Sen) from the 1990 onwards. Before winning the mayor seat, he had been the president of the Diyarbakır branch of the Education Workers' Union.

[70] The departments of Sur Municipality are Private Secretariat, Strategy Development Department, Legal Affairs Department, Committee of Inspection Department, Cultural and Social Affairs Department, License and Supervision Department, Hygiene Affairs Department, Technical Affairs Department, Environmental Protection and Control Department, Editorial Department, Human Resources and Training Department, Information Technologies Department, Housing and Urbanization Department, Structure Control Department, Real Estate and Expropriation Department, Support Services Department, Financial Services Department, Media and Public Relations Department, Municipal Police Department, Foreign Relations Department. Also, the Urban Design Department and Egalitarianism and Employment Department have recently been founded (SBFR, 2011).

in Table 13[71]. The population has decreased since 2008 despite a drastic increase between 2000 and 2008. Despite the raise in the number of neighborhoods, population of the municipality increase 1,100 capita per 18 years which is a result of the out-migration related to unemployment and poverty in the Sur district (SBFR, 2011). The urban population ratios of the Sur district have been nearly 79% since 2008. This value is quite low when compared to the other district's urban population ratios. Hence, it can be asserted that the Sur district has a more rural characteristic. The most crowded neighborhoods of the district (populated between 1,000 and 9,000) are Dicle, Yeşilvadi, Karaçalı, Kırmasırt, Kozan, Sati, Karpuzlu, Karabaş and Erimli, respectively.

Table 13 Total Population and Annual Growth Rate of Population of the Sur District between 2000 and 2012

Years	Total Population	Periods	Annual Growth Rate of Population (‰)
2000	91,680	-	-
2008	135,446	2000-2008	48.78
2010	131,558	2008-2010	-14,56
2012	126,785	2010-2012	-18,47

Source: TUİK, 2013

Before the proclamation of the republic, the city of Diyarbakır was inside the city walls, which is called now Suriçi. Although the first development operations were employed in the Suriçi region in 1916, the main transformation started with the 1932 development practices. During the early republican period, the city expanded outside the city wall. The property owners, who had been living in Suriçi before, sold or rented their evacuated houses to the rural immigrants after 1940. These old dwellers of Suriçi accommodated in one or two-storey houses within gardens in the plain area which is just outside of the city walls between Dağkapı and Urfakapı. Through this filtering process, most of the immigrants who became the lowest income groups of the city settled in the Suriçi. Hence, the socio-economic structure of Suriçi transformed. On the other hand, the İçkale region of Suriçi had been the government centre with the main public buildings of the city until the 1930s. Therefore, the old and the new urban fabric of Suriçi coincided. Besides, the partial demolition of the city facilitated the expansion of the city outwards Sur district. After 1950, the new comers from the rural sides who had not any source of income built

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[71] As the GMD was founded in1994 according to the Law no 5216, there is no data on 1990 and the years before 1990. The final census was conducted in 2000. Hence, the data between 2000 and 2007 does not exist. Also, as the Sur district was founded within the borders of the greater municipality in 2008 according to the Law no 5747. The years of 2008, 2010 and 2012 are selected randomly.

their unauthorized houses in the environs of the city walls. Hence, the gecekondu settlement areas emerged in the city. The immigration wave to the Sur district continued during 1980 and 1990. As a result, the Sur district became the settlement areas of the people who were impoverished and suffered from the clashes in the region.

A public survey was conducted by Sur Municipality in order to find out the socio-economic structure of the Sur district in 2006. This survey was implemented in the 8,920 houses. According to the results of the survey, 4-6 households live in a house. 17% of the families cannot registry their children to a school. 33% of the households stated that there was not any employee in their family. The numbers of employers are one person in the 54%, two people in the 7% and six people in the 6% ratios of the households. While %54 of the people has green cards, 34% of the people has a social security.12% of the people has not any social security.40% of the people were tenants while 60% of them were owner of the houses they live. These data demonstrate that the Sur district is mostly composed of the people whose incomes are very low.

6.3.1.2. Socio-Spatial Practices of Sur Municipality

In order to grasp the spatial imagination of Sur Municipality, it is better to probe main discourses of Mayor Abdullah Demirbaş, who is one of the representations of the space in Diyarbakır. During the in-depth interview, the mayor of Sur Municipality Abdullah Demirbaş clarified the perspective of Sur Municipality on the social production of space.

> First, we pay attention on a municipal perspective based on ecology and democratic participatory. It means that any entity should not exist on the cost of the destruction of the other entities. Hence, any society extinguishing the self and any self extinguishing the society should not occur. Hence, any society which extinguishes the self should not emerge and any self which destroys should not exist. A spatial balance in which they do not extinguish each other should be formed. Therefore, *spaces should be arranged in accordance with the needs, historical and cultural builds up and the lifestyle of that society and that human-being.* A human being is both a private entity and a social entity. Hence, the fact that he/she should be in the place where he/she lives his/her private-life properly but he-she should become socialized concurrently. Besides, we are in the point that we incorporate them to the decision making processes. We had a target to provide them with life security and livable spaces. Yet, can I assert that we have fully actualized that? No. I will come back to that soon. [S1]

Demirbaş stated that the municipality primarily defined a balance between human and society which could emerge from the spatial balance. In his opinion, spaces should be proper with needs, historical and cultural traditions and ways of life of both societies and individuals. For this, they attempt to include the dwellers to the management processes. He added that the municipality aimed to provide the urban dwellers with life security and

livable spaces. On the other hand, he admitted that they have not completely achieved their whole desires yet. The municipalities neglected the social relations and traditional values while creating new residential areas. In his word:

> We have adopted a principle of the balance between human and society in the urban spaces that we recently created. We have given importance for the environmental factors, green areas and etc. However, we have caused the loss of some traditional assets in the social spaces. While each transformation brings forth main assets, it also destroys some others. To illustrate, in the new residential areas, we have produced livable spaces, such as the city blocks, building complexes, parking areas, green areas. Yet, we forgot a thing: We let neighborhood relationships and old life relations get lost, too. This is a problem. How could have we done this? We could have done through improving social municipalism. We remained inadequate here. We could have increased the numbers of the social spaces, such as neighborhood houses, condolence houses and women's houses. Building only numerous parks are inefficient. This is also somewhat related to social organizing and political organizing. [S2]

According to Demirbaş, a solution for the deficiencies of the municipality is to increase the number of the social policy implementations. He also underlined the role of social and political organizing in the production of spaces that the municipalities built. This emphasis is very crucial in order to grasp the distinction factors of the municipal policies during their spatial practices.

All the socio-spatial practices of Sur Municipality are provided in Appendix Table 8. Their location, service scale, target group and followed policy are also given. In the following, the socio-spatial practices of Sur Municipality since 1999 are given:

- Neighborhood Houses
- Condolence Houses
- Education Support House
- Spaces for Women (Women's centers, cooperative, and labor bazaar)
- Art and Culture Centers (Art House, Theatre and Drama Ateliers and Children's Library)
- Cloth Bank
- Nursery Garden
- Festivals, ceremonies and tournaments

The socio-spatial practices which are peculiar to Sur Municipality are provided in the following. These are mainly based upon the cultural policies of the municipality.
- Restoration and renewal projects

- Multi-lingual municipal services
- Multi-cultural street projects
- The Kırklar Council

The Neighborhood Houses (NHs) of Sur Municipality

Sur Municipality could start to build the neighborhood houses in 2012. The NHs were built in the Küçükkadı (Ali ve Mehmet Tekdağ People's House) and in the Bağpınar neighborhoods. These houses are mostly located in the county regions of the municipality. Indeed, the first NH in Diyarbakır was opened by Bağlar Municipality in 2007. Why Sur municipality was too late to open the NHs can be grounded upon many reasons. The first reason can be financial constraints. During the field research, as it was learned from the municipality that they had no enough money to build a NH before. Besides, as Mayor Demirbaş was unseated during the second municipal period, a lot of practices for this aim were suspended. The other reason is the existence of the Equal-Free Citizen's Associations in most of the neighborhoods of Sur. Like NHs, these associations aim to create democratic autonomy of the local units and participate to the local politics by establishing neighborhood committees in the grassroots. Although these organizations are founded under the legal procedures of associations, the members of the neighborhood committees always stayed in touch with the pro-Kurdish municipalities.

Figure 9 The Ali and Mehmet Akdağ Halkevi in Küçükkadı
(Source: Sur Belediyesi, 2013)

Within the scope of this dissertation, the Hasırlı Equal-Free Citizen's Association was visited and the practices of the dwellers were observed. An enormous one-storey house just cross the Hasırlı Beyaz Kelebekler Laundry was transformed into the association. A

crowded group of people continuously go in an out the house. There are a large meeting saloon and numerous rooms in it. The rooms are used for lectures, ateliers or visual performs. The walls are completely covered by posters, photographs especially by the materials about the Kurdish movement. Indeed, the building looks like a party office.

In his thesis, Sümer (2012, pp. 127-129) narrates the performance, political account, inclusivity and deficiencies of the neighborhood committees in the Sur Municipality through the interviews that he made with the councils of BDP municipalities of Diyarbakır.

> Each neighborhood has an assembly [committee]. Each councilor is a member of one (or more) assembly. Assemblies collect demands and wishes from street representatives and deliver them to the municipalities and follow the response. Assemblies investigate the validity of demands before presenting them to the municipality. Assemblies elect an influential person to represent themselves before the municipality. The most compelling political importance of assemblies is ensuring the information feed from people and disadvantaged parties (Sümer, 2012, p. 128).

He observed that the neighborhood committees empower the municipalities through motivating the neighborhood dwellers to reach and connect to these institutions. The municipalities are supposed to meet every kind of demand of the committees' members. For, the municipality cannot dare to lose the votes in the following elections. Also he argues that "inclusiveness is not limited to party members or supporters" since the committees are accessible for all the neighborhood dwellers. Referring the narrations of the councils, Sümer (2012, p. 129) states that:

> When the municipality is making a decision, the public is informed through assemblies. In case there is a dissention or non-approval of a project by the public, the municipality abandons it. By including the public into the affairs and decisions of the municipality, the public began to regard the municipality as their own, argues the councilors.

Gambetti also narrates her observation on the neighborhood committees in Hasırlı. The committees have a great impact on the social, political and everyday life practices of the neighborhood dwellers through meeting their demands, alleviating poverty and raising life standards. She adds that the committee members could also intervene in the private lives of the dwellers. They could be interested in various problems of the neighborhood, ranging from positive women discrimination (e.g. warning the men not to beat up their wives or to let their girls go to schools) to neighborhood order and security (e.g. making peace, preventing burglary and drug use, etc.) Moreover, she points the committees to involve in "opening a cultural center, a library and a football field or paving the roads, all

of which demand funding, from the municipality, from the state or from private donors"
(2008, p. 25).

The Education Support House (ESH) of Sur Municipality

The first ESH in the city of Diyarbakır, called Mehmet Geren[72] Education Support House,
was built by Sur Municipality in Suriçi in 2004. The municipality has not opened another
ESH yet. According to the activity report of the municipality, the scope of the ESH is to
create equal opportunity in training for the region's children and support them to become
more successful in their schools. Having 140 trainees, 28 volunteer trainers from Eğitim-
Sen[73] and 3 contracted trainers by municipality, the ESH provide courses which are
oriented towards examinations in national scale. Also, the book and the other school
materials donation campaigns have been conducted through the house. The ESH has
enabled 320 trainees to get into universities and 80 trainees to get into the boarding and
technical high schools since 2004 (SBFR, 2011, p. 64). The municipality has just started
to provide the Kurdish language courses in the ESH.

Besides, the municipality has opened two kindergartens in the Hasırlı and Bağıvar
Women Center which provides trainings in the Kurdish language. The municipality also
supplies the training materials and publishing (lesson books, story, tale and painting
books, magazines) in the Kurdish language. The demands on training via the mother
language come from the dwellers and the municipality embodies this service within the
scope of the multi-lingual municipalism principle (Sur Belediyesi, 2013). It can be said
that besides the free training services for the poor groups, the Mehmet Geren Education
Support House conducts its curriculum through ethnic policies.

Spatial Units of Sur Municipality for Women

Spatial units of Sur Municipality are women's centers, women's cooperative and
women's labor bazaar. These spatial units are detailed as follows:

Women's Centers: Sur Municipality opened the Women Support Centre (KADEM) in
the Hasırlı neighborhood in 2010. Although the municipality was late to launch women's
center, it has recently struck a blow and founded four more branches of KADEM in the

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[72] Mehmet Geren was a teacher in Diyarbakır and murdered during the law-intensity war in 1992.

[73] Mayor Abdullah Demirbaş usually organizes meetings for the volunteer trainers of the ESH in order to
motivate them and always expresses his gratitude towards them.

Hasırlı (II), Bağıvar, Ziya Gökalp and Çarıklı neighborhoods between 2010 and 2013 (Sur Belediyesi, 2013). In the activity report of the municipality, it is stated that the municipality opened the women's center within the scope that women are able to display productivity in their socio-economic life, to express themselves more freely through gaining a economic power. Hence, the courses which improved women's economic performance have been conducted in these centers (SBFR, 2011, p. 65). Besides, the art and cultural activities and training courses are provided in these centers.

Women's Cooperative: Sur Municipality established the women's cooperative in 2005. By means of this cooperative, women in Sur produce henna, mushroom, pickle, source, silk worm and kinds of handwork and sell them directly. Firstly, they are trained in the women's centers. Then the municipality provides them with plant seedlings of vegetables from the municipal nursery. Women plant and produce in their houses, backyards or gardens. In the final stage, they sell them to the local markets or in the recently built women's labor bazaar. This interconnected circle is called as "The Self-Sufficient Houses Project" aiming that women can both produce and sell their own organic foods without an interference of an intermediary. Hence women would reduce their dependency and contribute in their house economy (Sur Belediyesi, 2013).

Figure 10 The Women's Labor Bazaar of Sur Municipality in Suriçi
Source: Sur Belediyesi, 2013

Women's Labor Bazaar: Sur Municipality built the women's labor bazaar in Suriçi on May 2012 by the help of KADEM. Within the scope of the self-sufficient houses project, the women sell their productions in this bazaar.

During the interview with Gülbahar Örmek, one of the vice mayors of Sur Municipality, she informed the municipal approach to women:

> When I first came into the office, nearly 100 women was coming to the municipality and applying for the monetary aid every day. As the most impoverished people of Diyarbakır live in Sur, the incomes of the municipality become very low. Therefore, we have no sources for the monetary aid. Even we are politically against to the monetary aid. According to our politics, everybody should take part in production and have a share in terms of this participation. [S3]

Örmek gave information about the local specificities through the different demands of women from different neighborhoods. As Duncan *et al* assert, different social groups have different desires and these groups have differential access to various channels of the local state institutions (1988, p. 111). Örmek continued that:

> *Women know what they want!* To illustrate, women in Ziya Gökalp neighborhood demand for the trainings on rug weaving and the production of source and pickle as well as a bazaar for selling these productions. In Bağıvar, they demand for cultural activities, such as theatre and cinema. In Hasırlı, they demand for the opportunities and areas that they could sell their produced handicrafts, tandır breads, etc. [S4]

Örmek argued that these practices and spaces such as women's bazaar and cooperative, which are provided by the municipality for women from every neighborhood, enable them to come together and become socialized. From this narrative, it is understood that by paying attentions on local specificities and different demands, Sur Municipality has built several spatial units. Örmek continued that besides taking part in local economies, women come together, establish social networks and hence change their everyday life practices. As also Duncan *et al* (1988, p. 119) put forward, the different gender relations in different local units specifies the functions of the local governments.

The Condolence Houses of Sur Municipality

The condolence houses (in Turkish, *taziye evleri*) are one of the recent popular projects of the pro-Kurdish municipalities. In order to express their condolences in the case of a funeral, the dwellers need a closed space. In the condolence houses, people come together, express their condolences, stay for hours, drink and eat something.

Sur Municipality began to open condolence houses in 2011. There are six condolence houses in the Çarıklı, Karpuzlu, Bağıvar, Sarıkamış, Arzuoğlu and Aslanoğlu neighborhoods. It should be expressed that the condolence houses are not used only for their original purpose, but also for different purposes such as celebrations, meetings,

social and cultural activities and services of the municipality. As a matter of this, condolence houses have recently taken place of the neighborhood houses in Sur Municipality.

The Nursery Garden of Sur Municipality

The Sur Municipality Nursery Garden is located in Mardinkapı, slope of the Dicle Valley. Municipality provides dwellers with plant seedlings of vegetables that are produced in this garden. This garden has been recently utilized actively for the "Self-Sufficient Houses Project" which is conducted by the Sur Municipality Women's Cooperative.

The Cloth Bank of Sur Municipality

The Hêvîyên Nûjen[74] Cloth Bank was opened in Mardinkapı 2011. The aid model is based upon the policies of the Sarmaşık Association. The scope is to supply free-cost clothes and shoes for the impoverished people in Sur Municipality without making any cultural and ethnic discrimination. After determining the impoverished people who live within the boundaries of Sur Municipality, the municipality distributes coupons them. They go the cloth store for shopping and give the coupons one by one instead of money.

The Art and Culture Centers of Sur Municipality

Sur Municipality opened the Art House in Dicle Neighborhood in 2011. The rhythm, *bağlama* (a musical instrument) and guitar courses are given to 116 children and the young people. Also, a chorus was organized to participate to the festivals and concerts. Furthermore, the municipality established a theatre and drama atelier. In these centers, the principle of the multi-lingual municipal service is followed. Not only the Kurdish culture, the other oppressed cultures in Sur, such as the Armenian, Syriac and Roman cultures are tried to teach by providing several language courses and artistic activities.

Besides, Sur Municipality opened two children's libraries. The Davut Ökütçü Children's Library was opened in 2007 and the Melikahmet Children's Library was opened in 2010. Furthermore, the municipality has organized some multi-cultural festivals, ceremonies and tournaments. The Children's Festival and the Sersal[75] Ceremony have been organized

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[74] In English, it means "renewing hopes"

[75] In Kurdish, *Sersal* means New Year. It is a traditional festival of the Kurds and it is celebrated on every February 13.

since 2001 and 2007, respectively. Also, the municipality has set the Musa Anter Peace and Brotherhood Tournament for children and youth for two years.

Socio-Spatial Practices Peculiar to Sur Municipality

Duncan *et al* analyze the case of South Wales which has a "distinctive political and social character over and above its specialized economic history." Due to "the tension between subordinated Wels and dominating English", distinctive cultural institutions and indigenous intellectuals and the constant patriarchal relations between the people developed in this 'radical region'. Hence, the local states in South Wales became "one means by which this regional reproduction is secured" (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 112). In Sur Municipality, cultural and ethnicity-based policies are relatively more dominant when compared with other district municipalities. Sur municipality mostly concentrates on the practices, such as multi-lingual municipal services, cross-cultural festivals, demonstrations, meetings, street projects, etc. The Kırklar Council and the brotherhood municipalities are the other distinctive practices of Sur Municipality. Also, the three children's libraries in the city were built only by Sur Municipality.

Among the pro-Kurdish municipalities, Sur Municipality has become the most popular one to make the Kurdish culture and other disappeared cultures visible. This can be attributed to the historical and multi-cultural structure of Sur on one side, and on the other side, to the personal popularity of the Sur Municipality's Mayor, Demirbaş. The rising question is how the cultural meanings of the spaces were reproduced by Sur Municipality will be replied in the following.

The Role of Sur Municipality in the Transformation Projects

In this sub-section, the transformation projects which Sur Municipality has taken part in or the projects which has been directly conducted by Sur Municipality since 1999 (see, Appendix Table 6) will be analyzed.

From the second municipal period onwards, the transformation projects in Suriçi came to the prominence in Sur Municipality. Although the transformation project is predominantly carried by the TOKİ as well as the governorship and the GMD, Sur Municipality also holds an important role in this process in terms of social, cultural and political influences of the project. As it was mentioned in the previous section, the main critique of the project is about displacement of the dwellers of the project area. As Şengül (2010) remarks, the protocol signed between TOKİ, the governorship, the GMD and Sur

Municipality in 2009 on the purpose of evacuating the gecekondus in the Alipaşa and Lalebey neighborhoods. These dwellers mostly consisting of the forced migrants would again hit the road in order to move to the TOKİ's Çölgüzeli houses which are located very far away from the city and their working areas. For Şengül, the people who are driven away from the centre to the periphery are always the powerless groups of the city. As a result, the invisible neighborhoods, such as suburban, ghetto and gecekondu areas emerge (Şengül, 2010).

During the in-depth-interview, the question of what are the policies and practices on the transformation project of the Sur Municipality is asked to Demirbaş who is one of the important actors of the project.

> Here, there is an endeavor to reveal the actual identity of the city, while creating a new city. In other words, we attempt to develop a vision which makes the past to reveal out and meet with future. Therefore, we pay attention to the project of meeting Suriçi with future. *Our project is not an urban transformation.* I want to particularly highlight this point. This is a project of meeting with history. Why is it not an urban transformation? We make possible that the transformed cultural values would reach to their histories. [The latest] constructs are unhealthy, ferrous-concrete, masonry, carcass and under the risk of collapsing. However, there is a history under the root of these buildings. Destructing the stone constructs and building new ones above them, they had already buried a history. For the very reason, this is not an urban transformation. We want the past revive again by demolishing the constructions that were built above the historical houses. Of course, you can do nothing for the past images, but a new form in which past fuses with future may emerge. In other words, a synthesis of past and future may emerge. [S5]

Demirbaş identified this socio-spatial interference in Suriçi as not an urban transformation. For him, it is a project which meets the ancient city with feature through bringing the history to the light. Using the dominant discourses, he defined the buildings in the project area were unhealthy, invaluable, etc. He continued to list the 'advantages' of the project with its different dimensions.

> Besides, this project has an *economic dimension*. We try to create a life area through transforming the Suriçi region into an area full of business offices, houses and social spaces. In fact, this is a model city. Now, we are preparing a conservation plan for Suriçi and building ground plus one or ground plus two storeys. The plan will be evaluated by the conservation council and we are waiting for the approval. The major point is based upon the relation between space and human. Yet, we should not forget this: Just as new spaces shift the human life, people make an effort to create new spaces. The other and the most important dimension of the project is the *urban rent distribution*. We have induced rent in the new created spaces but we have attempted this rent to distribute socially. We tried to make the rent increase on the every lands of the city through developing all the areas of the city. That is to say, we have *increased the rent through developing all the areas within our city*. This generally happened in such a way: A group of people were getting the huge portion of the rent by developing main areas of the city in the past. However, we have not practiced in this way. As we prepared a 1/5000 scaled development plan consisting 25 km

diameter urban land, the rent in this city was distributed to everyone. Despite the fact that people's property is not equal, we have made an effort to distribute this rent equally. We tried to act fairly. [S6]

Demirbaş claimed that the municipality distributed the rent, which emerged as a result of the development plans, in an equal way. This is a good epitome for grasping the thoughts of the mayor for the built spaces. Also, the question of whether the people the houses of whom are evacuated in Suriçi want to move the TOKİ's houses in Çölgüzeli. Demirbaş replied that:

> There are people who want or people who do not want to go [to the TOKİ's houses], but we don't force them. They are offered two options; they either accept to gain the compensation or move to the TOKİ's houses; this is their choice. [S7]

Then, the question of whether these people lose their connections from their living habitués in Suriçi after moving to the TOKİ's houses which are out of the city. Demirbaş responded that:

> Let me explain in this way: We are trying to find the balance between *Xaltiko Ayşo* and *Ayşe Hanım*[76]. *Xaltiko Ayşo* represents our tradition, our local culture and *Ayşe Hanım* symbolizes modernity. We are against the modernity. The modernity, which we express it in inverted commas, in fact, is the wild capitalism. On the other hand, we also reject the traditionalism as it has some defaults. It has also some advantages. We reject the modernity, but it has an informative characteristic. A synthesis should occur between two [modernism and traditionalism]. Put it in different way, a new approach should be developed for the people who became trapped between state and traditional society. Here this is actually democratic society that we say. Yet, we are making a mistake in this democratic society: We completely care about individualism on behalf of capitalism and we destroy the society; or we destroy the individual on behalf of traditions, customs and tribes. We should find the balance of them. [S8]

Demirbaş explained how a balance between society and the spaces that they established when the municipality carried out the restoration and transformation processes in Suriçi. Also, he argued that they improved the people's awareness of protecting the historical and cultural values through restoration projects. On the other side, he pointed the contradictions emerged in the TOKİ houses between the traditional life and modern life practices. In his words:

> Once, it should be said that: It is not easy to change mentality of the societies. *Sometimes you change the mentality through transforming the spaces; and sometimes you transform the spaces by changing the mentality.* In the past, there is no consciousness to protect these historical values. Focusing on these spaces, we improve the consciousness of protection. In

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[76] *Xaltiko Ayşo* in Kurdish and *Ayşe Hanım* in Turkish mean Miss Ayşe.

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fact, as long as the consciousness of protection is improving, the idea of compatibility with the historical structure of new produced spaces is developing. Material cultural means are changing quickly. Whereas, mental or immaterial culture means that utilize the material cultural means are more durable. The imbalance between them is a cultural gap and is called anomaly in sociology. This creates social conflicts between individuals and between individual and space. [S9].

Demirbaş narrated the different and the conflicting everyday life practices between 'the traditional groups' (of the people coming from Suriçi after the evacuation processes *or* in other words 'two times displaced people') and 'the modern groups' (of people coming from the other sides of the city or the cities of Turkey and mostly constitute the middle class) groups.

> Let's suppose that, I moved to the big modern apartments or TOKİ's houses, yet I built a tandır next to the apartment and I still cooked breads or *helise*[77] or *babagannuş*[78] in the tandır. Why am I telling these? Because these people still would like to live that past in those apartments. Nonetheless, they can live [in those apartments]. They still dry vegetables, wash carpets or wools there. They don't buy industrialized yoghurt from markets; they buy yoghurt with copper buckets from bazaars. This is a life style but after a while this might induce conflicts between the people who live in those spaces. They say, "Such a *gundî*[79] man/woman!" Then, quarrels begin between apartment residents. What did we do? For example, we designed tandır houses and implemented projects of sauce production, dried vegetable, henna and etc. (…) These projects originally target low income groups. Yet, the main aim is to produce social spaces. [S10]

Demirbaş stated that in order to solve the problems of these traditional groups (two times displaced and the impoverished people) for their everyday life practices, the municipality built tandır houses and developed projects for selling foods which are produced by women. Indeed, the municipality should take care of these groups. Yet, it is clear that the municipality cannot afford to keep most of these groups. They could provide employment opportunities to these people (especially women) or support them via some social projects.

The Role of Sur Municipality in the Restoration of the City Walls

Restoration of the city walls in the 2000s is one of the most remarkable practices which were conducted by the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır. Indeed, restoration of the city walls which were mostly carried out by the GMD was analyzed within the context of spatial-practices of the GMD in the previous chapter. Yet, the endeavors and

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[77] *Helise* is an Arabic local food made in Hatay and Mardin.

[78] *Babagannuş* is a Kurdish local food.

[79] *Gundî* in Kurdish means peasant.

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contributions of Sur Municipality apart from the GMD should not be neglected. Cezayir Serin was the first mayor of Sur Municipality to initiate the restoration of the historical structures in the city. Also, the municipality had a facilitator role in the mutual agreements with local working circles. Through initiative of Sur Municipality, the GMD opened a street vendors' passage consisting of 180 offices in the Gazi Street in Suriçi in 2001 (Porttakal, 2001). The passage was built especially for the vendors whose working sites were demolished during the restoration of the walls. To get consent and pay compensation in the evacuation processes of the city walls' environs the local actors had important influences on the reproduction of the space.

The Restoration Practices of Sur Municipality on the Historical Fabric

The first restoration practices of Sur Municipality on the historical and cultural fabric were launched during the first municipal period. According to news of the Anatolian Press Agency in 2001 entitled "*Diyarbakır Kiliselere Sahip Çıkıyor*!"[80] (NTVMSNBC, 2001). Mayor Serin recovered the seven ancient churches in Diyarbakır, twenty nine of which had been already dilapidated.

The spatial practices which oriented cultural policies increased during the last two period of Sur Municipality. Although the city of Diyarbakır lost its Armenian and Syriac populations, Sur Municipality endeavors to expose their cultural assets. The name of Ana Street, where Syriac Church of the Virgin Mary is located, has been recently changed as the Bar Salibi, the name of Syriac ecclesiastics. The new name of the street becomes the Bar Salibi Street. During the opening ceremony, the president of the World Syriacs Cooperation, Johny Messo, recited praises for Demirbaş for his attempts to keep Syriac assets in the region guarded and he gave Demirbaş a "Syriac Decoration", which was only decorated for the people who makes a difference for the Syriacs (DİMOD, 2012).

On November 2011, Sur Municipality announced "Cultures' Street Project" in Suriçi. The project was prepared by Sur Municipality and Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Directorate as "Yenikapı Street project which the cultures meet together in". The project aims to repair and operate the Armenian, Syriac, Chaldian churches, mosques and synagogues in the Yenikapı Street where the Muslim, Christian, Judaic, Syriac and Şemsi populations used to live together once upon a time. The project is also supported by

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[80] In English, "Diyarbakır Protects the Churches!"

Museum Directorate, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Local Agenda 21, ÇEKÜL Foundation, Regional Directorate for Foundations, foundations of Armenian Church of Surp Gregos, Cheldean Church of Mor Petrum and Syriac Church of the Virgin Mary. Within the scope of this project, these churches, the Dört Ayaklı minaret and mosque, the traditional houses and the historical Paşa Bathhouse are chosen to be restored, operated. As a result, the region would become a touristic place. It is expected that the cultural diversity would be revived, economic income would be obtained through the functionalizing of the buildings and therefore, the protection and sustainability of the constructions and the street would be necessary. The ideas of promoting to open small businesses, boutique hotels and traditional bazaars in the region for the tourist attraction is often underlined (Sur Belediyesi, 2013). Demirbaş (2012) stated during a press interview that:

> On this basis, we progress through the opinion of making Diyarbakır the capital city of peace in order to render the idea of living together possible. Peace will be reached by rendering the different languages, cultures and identities visible. Therefore, we will demonstrate to Turkey and the world that these diversities can live together.

Similar to these words of Demirbaş, Baydemir also often puts emphasis on the local tourism as a peace project between cultures and identities. Demirbaş stated during the interview:

> This is not only a space restoration, but also a mental restoration. The latter is the most important… Yes, there is a physical arrangement but this is not enough. (…) We had had neighborhoods in the past and but they left. What happened to make them go? We will remember this. What have we lost by making those go away? We lost spaces as well as people. [S11]

The Multi-Cultural and Multi-Lingual Practices of Sur Municipality

During an interview with a press agency, Demirbaş explains the multi lingual and multi cultural practices of Sur Municipality. He states that although the KCK trial has been still ongoing, the municipality carries on the multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-identity practices (Demirbaş, 2012). In the official website of Sur Municipality, it is written that by putting emphasis on local languages and cultures, Demirbaş contributes on peace and in that sense he initiated the multi lingual municipal service in Sur. Besides, it was alleged that the Sur region that attracts the supra-national cultural tourism becomes a favorite tourist destination (DİMOD, 2012). According to Hüseyin Kaya, who is one of the deputy mayors of Sur Municipality, the municipalities should conduct the services in

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accordance with the multi cultures, multi languages and multi creeds for the effective services.

During the interview with the press agency, Demirbaş also narrated the "Three Languages, Three Neighborhoods and Three Books" project of the Sur Municipality (Demirbaş, 2012):

> Each city exists with its identities. If the identities of the cities get lost or are eradicated, the cities actually become degenerated. In my opinion, the single language, single nation, single identity logic of the Republic refers to the marginalization and ignorance of the communities that orient them disaffirmation and holocaust processes. It [the republic] practiced these on the cities. To illustrate, most of the city names were changed. It [the republic] wanted to erase them from the memories. And we believed that we should win the freedom and peace at the places where we lost them. If the identities of the cities get lost, the cities need to re-introduce their identities. Hence, we predicate a multiple approach rather than a single approach on Diyarbakır which has a 10,000 year history of multi languages, multi culture groups, multi identities and multi religions. Within this regard, we believe that the social peace will come true. Therefore, we firstly gave the names of three famous authors from three different communities of Diyarbakır to the three streets (Demirbaş, 2012).

Sur municipality gave three authors' names to the streets in Suriçi where these authors were born. The streets were renamed as Ahmed Arif (a Kurdish poet), Mıgırdıç Margasyon (Armenian author) and Naum Faik Pala (Syriac author-poet). Moreover, the municipality printed three books of these authors in three languages. The book of Margasyon is in Kurdish, Turkish and Armenian; the book of Pala is in Kurdish, Turkish and Syriac; and the book of Arif is in Kurdish, Turkish and English. Demirbaş (2012) maintains that the project is unique in Turkey. Yet, he bemoans about the obstructions of giving the authors' names to the streets by the government. He added that the foreign ministry would not prefer the name of Naum Faik Pala on the ground that Pala was not a Turkish Republic citizen, too. Demirbaş asks why the John Kennedy, Simon Bolivar, Wilie Brand streets in Ankara would not cause troublesome although they were not Turkish citizens. He claims this as a double standard of the AKP democracy approach (Demirbaş, 2012).

Also, the municipality hang out the signs on which the word "welcome" was written in different local languages to the entrance of Diyarbakır. During the interview conducted within the scope of this thesis, Demirbaş tells about their multi lingual sign practices. In the entrance of the Mardin main road, the welcome sign is in Kurdish (*Zazaki*), Syriac and Turkish because Syriac people come to the city from Mardin, Armenian people and Kurdish people who speak *Zazaki* come from Lice, Bingöl and Silvan. In the Urfa main

road from which mostly Arabic people come, the welcome sign is in Arabic as well as in Turkish, Kurdish and English. Demirbaş (2012) clarifies their missions are not only to introduce the city of Diyarbakır with people coming from outside of the city, but also to enable the city dwellers to take the sense of belonging to this city.

Figure 11 The welcome sign in local languages at the entrance of the city
(Source: Sur Belediyesi, 2013)

During the interview, Demirbaş states that this is not only an act of providing "delivering of spatial mean", but it is also an act of they creating a deliver identity which is composed of is a language, a culture and a life style.

> A city exists with its identities. All these are defined as to live together with differences [of identities]. We practiced this in terms the language and space. To give an example, I am a Kurd and I could have understood the multi lingual municipalism as only Kurdish and Turkish in Sur Municipality. Yet, at that time I would have reiterated the logic of "Kemalism". Except for the Kurdish identity, I would have denied all the identities existing here just as the Turkish identity had denied those in the past. We offered the Armenian, Syriac, Caldean, Arabic languages. Why? For these identities are in existence here. I should accept these identities. If I did otherwise, I would have thought identically with those who denied me. I cannot call into being myself through ignoring the others. I exist with the others. You see, this is the identity of the city. We did this because language is the life. [S12]

Öktem explains changing the names of the spaces by the state is explained as discursive appropriation of the space removing the other cultures "from spatial representation by means of a geographical reproduction, primarily through the tactic of renaming and reconstruction, especially of urban space" (Öktem 2005, 2009 cited in Jongerden 2009, p.2). Jongerden asserts that the (re)naming the streets, buildings and parks through referring its own locality and culture points "ideological opposition to the central authority of state and thus resulting in a clash within the state, between its institutions,

with municipalities set against governors (2009, p. 11). That is conceptualized by Jongerden (2009, pp. 2-3) as "discoursive of the space production" referring to Lefebvre.

Furthermore, Sur Municipality founded the "Kırklar Council" comprising at least of 40 people who are members of different creeds, ideologies, ethnic and occupation groups, approved in the eye of people and in the position of opinion leaders. The municipality brings them together at regular intervals, receive the need and demands of the groups they represent and discuss and develop solutions for their problems. Moreover, Sur Municipality performs the "municipal brotherhood implementation" (*kardeş belediyecilik*) together with the municipalities of Çanakkale and Yüksekova from Türkiye, Ramallah from Palastine, Duhok from Kürdistan and Gümrü from Armenia.

During the interview with Demirbaş, he was asked whether there is a project for the Dağkapı Square. He replied that the municipality planned to build a monument of Şeyh Sait[81] in the middle of the main square of the city. The municipality would like to restitute the real meaning of the square through building the monument. On the other side, the municipality creates new spatial meaning by building monuments. For example, Sur Municipality built a monument for the remembrance of Uğur Kaymaz in Suriçi in 2005. A 12-year old child, Uğur Kaymaz had been killed by the police in 2004 in Mardin. Demirbaş was put on trial on charges of damaging the municipality and praising the guilty. He expressed that they built the monument because of giving message to the society. The municipality built the monument so as to prevent dying of any children (Bianet, 2005).

The cultural practices of Sur Municipality play an important role in the space production in Suriçi. Defining these processes as "reproduction of locality after the cultural diversity turn" Yüksel asserts that the pro-Kurdish municipalities have turned into crucial actors in "producing and sustaining the conditions of an urban sphere in centering on culture and cultural strategies" (2011, p. 447). She continues her assertion as:

> It was through festivals, cultural events as well as direct material and discursive interventions to urban space, through the naming of streets and buildings in Kurdish, the urban space of Diyarbakır transformed into an arena for new productive forces, cultivated by the municipality and NGOs (Yüksel, 2011, p. 448).

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[81] Rioter Şeyh Sait and his friends went to the block in the Dağkapı Square.

Yet, Yüksel criticizes that European countries also concentrate on cultural diversity policies and give funds to the cities which accommodate migrant people and has stagnant economies historically. Hence, the cities can compete with the other cities through their cultural heritage industry. Yüksel states that penetrating into the meanings and conceptions of the urban spaces, the competitive neo-liberal policies transform cultural assets "into a broader field of power at a larger scale" (2011, p. 448).

On the other hand, as a popular figure, the spatial imagination of Abdullah Demirbaş has made significance contributions on the production of space. That he puts the multi-lingual municipal services into practice despite all the restrictions and he often emphasizes on the other ethnic groups living in Diyarbakır by including them to the municipal processes. Having such a reason, he increased his popularity in the public eye. Therefore, he becomes an effective actor in the spatial practices of the municipality.

6.3.1.3. Evaluation for Sur Municipality

To sum up, the main spatial practice of Sur Municipality is to build neighborhood houses, condolence houses, education support house, women based spaces (women's centers, cooperative, and labor bazaar) art and culture centers (art house, theatre and drama ateliers and children's library), cloth bank, nursery garden and cultural events. It was revealed that Sur Municipality mostly focuses on the multiple ethnicity and cultural policies. The unique socio-spatial practices of the municipality are the restoration and renewal projects, specific multi lingual and multi-cultural projects. Among the pro-Kurdish municipalities, Sur Municipality has become the most popular one to make the Kurdish culture and other disappeared cultures visible. This can be attributed to the historical and multi-cultural structure of Sur on one side. On the other side, this is related to the personal popularity of the Sur Municipality's Mayor, Demirbaş. It is propounded that Demirbaş is a major actor in the reproduction of the cultural meanings of the spaces in Suriçi. On the other hand, the municipality has taken a part in the transformation projects of Suriçi which forms the most challenged arena of the municipality. It can be asserted that Sur Municipality plays a dual role in the production of space. On one side, the municipality reappropriates spaces for not only Kurdish culture but also for the other oppressed ethnic cultures in the city by challenging the spatial homogenization processes of the county that is as kind of, in Gambetti's word, colonization processes. On the other side, the municipality attempts to translate cultural meanings of spaces to the cultural heritage tourism within the competitive localities through taking part in certain

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restoration and transformation projects that refers to a –as again in Gambetti's word – decolonization processes. Although the transformation project was predominantly carried by the TOKİ and the governorship, Sur Municipality also had an important role in this process in terms of social, cultural and political influences of the project. As it was mentioned before, the main critique of the project is about the displacement of the dwellers who used to live within the project area. Hence, Sur municipality prefers to stay behinds in order not to lose the political base, organized Kurdish grassroots movements and the 'other' political groups who are the allies of the municipality of Sur. The strategy of the municipality to building peace is to revive the cultural heritage of the city which could sustain itself. As Sur Municipality could start to build neighborhood house in 2012, the dwellers of Sur have participated in the municipal administration through neighborhood committees in the Equal-Free Citizen's associations. These associations were often used as a party (or movement itself) organizing house. Yet, it was observed that through the neighborhood committees, the people who are also the militants of the Kurdish movement can also maintain their everyday life practices. As in the case of the Hasırlı Beyaz Kelebekler LTH, when they need municipality for the urban collective consumption services, they easily demand or struggle for them in turn. Especially, the women in Sur can easily conduct with the municipality, demand for their need and gain in some way. That Sur Municipality opened women houses in four neighborhoods, a cooperative and a labor bazaar facilitated the women organization and participation to economic and social life. Besides, if the neighborhood dwellers achieve to organize collectively, they would resist the evacuation attempts which are conducted in Suriçi. Primarily, in the neighborhoods such as Hasırlı, Alipaşa and Lalebey, the poor and migrated people are more prone to be a part of the urbanization processes. Yet, such an attitude has not turned into a standing urban movement since political and identity struggles is going on for the Kurdish issue.

6.3.2. Yenişehir Municipality

"My city is my identity"

Yenişehir district is located in the middle of the city of Diyarbakır. Beginning from the north of Suriçi, the boundaries of the district reached to the Tigris River on the east, borders of Çarıklı and Bağlar municipalities on the south, the Devegeçidi Dam on the north, Kayapınar and Bağlar districts on the west. The first administrative structure of

Yenişehir was founded as a neighborhood of Diyarbakır Municipality in 1965. This neighborhood was turned into a first tier municipality of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır by the decision of the Council of Ministers dated in 1993 (YBSP, 2007). In that time, the municipality has 10 neighborhoods[82]. After enactment of the Law no: 5216 in 2004, 20 villages[83] were affiliated to the first tier municipality through gaining neighborhood statue (YBFR, 2006, p. 6). In 2008, the municipality was turned into a district municipality through the enactment of the Law no 5747 (Yenişehir Belediyesi, 2012).

The elected mayors of Yenişehir Municipality since it was founded as a first tier municipality are Mehmet Güran (1994), Remzi Azizoğlu (1999-2004), Fırat Anlı (2004-2009) and Selim Kurbanoğlu (2009-…). Mehmet Güran won the municipality from RP as polling 28.3 percent of the votes in 1994. Remzi Azizoğlu from HADEP took the chair with 56.2 percent of the votes in 1999. Fırat Anlı as a member of SHP was elected by polling 53.7 percent of the votes in the 2004 local elections. Finally, Selim Kurbanoğlu as a member of DTP has become mayor after gaining 59 percent of the votes in the 2009 local elections.

Table 14 Chairs of Yenişehir Municipality since 1994

Date of Local Election	Periods	Chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality	Represented Political Party	The Rate of Received Votes (%)
27.03.1994	1994-1999	Mehmet Güran	RP	28.3
18.04.1999	1999-2004	Remzi Azizoğlu	HADEP	56.2
28.03.2004	2004-2007	Fırat Anlı	SHP	53.7
29.03.2009	2009- …	Selim Kurbanoğlu	DTP	59.0

Source: TUİK, 2013

As a first pro-Kurdish mayor of Yenişehir Municipality, Remzi Azizoğlu[84], who is a doctor, worked as an activist in the TTB (Turkish Medical Association). He is now a

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[82] They are Aziziye, Cumhuriyet, Dicle, Fabrika, Feritköşk, Gürdoğan, Sanayi, Şehitlik, Kooperatifler and Yenişehir neighborhoods,

[83] The affiliated neighborhoods are Bahçelievler, Başil, Çimenler, Dokuzçeltik, Dökmetaş, Dönümlü, Elidolu, Eser, Güvendere, Güzelköy, Güvercinlik, İlbaş, Kesikağaç, Sancar, Tanışık, Üçkuyu, Yolaltı, Yukarı, Nasırlar and Yüksek.

[84] Remzi Azizoğlu was born in Silvan-Diyarbakır in 1953. After graduated from the Medical Faculty of Dicle University, he began to work as a practitioner doctor in Diyarbakır.

member of BDP's party council and the chair of Kurdi-Der[85] (Association for Research and Application on the Kurdish Language) in Diyarbakır. Fırat Anlı[86] became the president of HADEP and DEHAP's Diyarbakır Office, respectively. As a lawyer, he struggled against violation of human rights through İHD. As a mayor of Yenişehir Municipality, Anlı participated in the meetings of the European Parliament and the Socialist International. He was arrested during the KCK operation on 24 December 2009 and released from the prison on 19 February 2013. Selim Kurbanoğlu[87], as the last mayor of Yenişehir Municipality, is also a lawyer. As an administrative member of Baro (Association of Lawyers), Kurbanoğlu took charge in the general and provincial administration boards of HEP, DEP, HADEP, DEHAP and DTP.

The current municipal administration consists of a mayor and five deputy mayors. The municipality has 18 departments[88]. The municipal council consists of 31 members; 9 of whom were elected from AKP and 22 of whom were elected from DTP (TUİK, 2013). The municipality has totally 447 employees; 385 of whom are laborers, 49 of whom are public employees and 9 of whom are employees that were recruited temporarily (YBFR, 2011).

6.3.2.1. General Information about the Yenişehir district

Yenişehir Municipality has 30 neighborhoods with a population of 204,191 in 2012. Total population and annual growth rates of population of the Yenişehir district since 1990 are given in Table 15[89]. According to the strategic plan report of Yenişehir Municipality, the district population was 116.001 in 1990 (YBSP, 2009, p. 6). As a result of the coming

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[85] This association conducts researches on the Kurdish language and literature and organizes free language courses.

[86] Fırat Anlı was born in Diyarbakır in 1971. He graduated from Law of Faculty.

[87] Selim Kurbanoğlu was born in Diyarbakır in 1970. After graduated from the Law of Faculty of Dicle University, he began to work as a lawyer in Diyarbakır.

[88] The departments of Yenişehir Municipality are Private Secretariat, Legal Affairs Department, Committee of Inspection Department, Media and Public Relations Department, Housing and City Planning Department, Municipal Police Department, Human Resources and Training Department, Park and Gardens Department, Cultural and Social Affairs Department, Financial Services Department, Editorial Department, Environmental Protection and Control Department, Technical Affairs Department, Social and Aid Services Department, Support Services Department, Information Technologies Department, Enterprises and Partnerships Department and Hygiene Affairs Department (YBFR, 2011).

[89] The final census of population was conducted in 2000. Hence, the data between 2000 and 2007 is non-existence. The years of 2008, 2010 and 2012 are selected randomly.

forcibly migrated people to the city in 1990s, the population increased by 50% and became 163,205 in 2000. As the borders of the Yenişehir district was expanded in 2008, the population increased instantly. Also, the ratio of urban population increase of the Yenişehir district is approximately 95% since 2008. The most crowded neighborhoods of the district are Şehitlik (52,544), Kooperatifler (36,188), Yenişehir (22,530) and Aziziye (14,991) respectively (YBSP, 2009, p. 7).

Table 15 Total Population and Annual Growth Rate of Population of the Yenişehir District between 1990 and 2012

Years	Total Population	Periods	Annual Growth Rate of Population (‰)
1990	116,001	-	-
2000	163,205	2000-1990	34.14
2008	186,901	2000-2008	16.95
2010	197,739	2008-2010	28.18
2012	204,191	2010-2012	16.05

Source: www.tuik.gov.tr; YBSP, 2009

The Yenişehir district emerged through the practices of the 1932 development plan. The new centre of Diyarbakır became the Yenişehir district where military and government buildings, public institutions and new housing zones around them were constructed. The Tekel Distillery, the TMO (the Soil Products Office), the railway station, the city cinema as well as several schools, hospitals, banks, trade shops etc. were built in this new city between 1930 and 1960. In addition, numerous boulevards, squares, buildings of local state offices and new neighborhoods were formed with modern apartments preferred by the upper-middle class in Yenişehir during this period. Yet, after the 1970s, the Yenişehir district lost its initial constructing characteristics and witnessed the emergence of uncontrolled and multi-storey housing. Also, the gecekondu areas emerged in the periphery of the city as a consequence of the immigration waves. The Seyrantepe, Şemsiler, Huzurevleri, Dicle and Ben û Sen neighborhoods emerged with the unauthorized multi storey houses in the undeveloped areas of the city in the 1990s. Besides, Yenişehir exposed to a physical transformation which is the restructuring of the several buildings by the efforts of the building contractors in the city. Therefore, a dual socio-economic and spatial structure shaped in Yenişehir. While the center of the district, called the Ofis region, accommodates trade centers, shopping malls, big hotels, and numerous buildings of the private sectors; the periphery of the district accommodates several gecekondu settlements where mostly forced migrated and impoverished people live.

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Yenişehir to become The military installations, the Governor's Office, the Metropolitan Municipality, the Galleria Shopping Mall, the Dedeman Hotel Tower, the MMM Migros Hypermarket, Kentucky Fried Chicken, theatre and cinema halls, cultural centers, offices of political parties and civic organizations are some of the sharpest buildings in Yenişehir. Kayapınar of which main part is formed of highly modernized settlement areas stands out with its luxury apartment blocks, gated communities, big shopping centers and business towers (Gambetti, 2008, p. 5). The Doğa Park Houses, Mezz Residence, Diamond City are some of the prestigious gated communities in Kayapınar. Also there are lots of private schools, private hospitals and mega shopping centers, such as The Burger King City Center and the Carrefour Supermarket. On the other side, Bağlar and Sur highly diverge from the hitherto drawn picture of Yenişehir and Kayapınar.

According to the strategic plan report of Yenişehir Municipality, Yenişehir is in the second rank after the Bağlar district in the ranking of districts where the households with no income (22.2%) mostly settle down. The analysis which relied on the district shows that the threshold for monthly income is 1,000 TL. In Yenişehir, the ratio of the households whose incomes exceed 1,000 TL is 23.9%. The neighborhoods which are located within the borders of the district are mostly populated by the migrated and impoverished people. The other data set which is related to the socio-economic structure is the house typology of the dwellers. According to data, the 33.8% of the dwellers live in the one-storey gecekondu houses and 50% of the dwellers live in the apartments which were mostly built in an illegal way and during the intense immigration in the 1990s (YBSP, 2009, pp. 7-8).

The gecekondus are mostly located in Aziziye, Gürdoğan, İplik, Ben û Sen, Feritköşk, Sanayi, Cumhuriyet and Şehitlik. On the other hand, some regions are populated by the relatively higher income groups, such as Ofis, Kooperatifler and Toplukonut. Between 1994 and 2008, the number of houses is 49,725. Among those, the number of building permit is 456 and the number of occupancy permit is 81 in Yenişehir. Hence, the ratio of building permit is 0.92% and the occupancy permit ratio is only 0.16% (YBSP, 2009, p. 8).

Again for the analysis of the date about the district, the 54.7% of the head of households do not have an income-generating job in Yenişehir. The household heads generally stated that they are the construction worker, porter, vendor, driver, farmer, cafe worker, gate

keeper, ironsmith, cleaner or housewife (YBSP, 2009, p. 9). Besides, the demands for the food aid increased between 2001 and 2009 in Yenişehir. Number of people in Yenişehir who have green card is 68,032 in 2008. Hence, the green card per capita is 36.4% (YBSP, 2009, pp. 9-10).

6.3.2.2. Socio-Spatial Practices of Yenişehir Municipality

To comprehend the spatial imaginations of Yenişehir Municipality, discourses of its mayors as representation of the space should be examined. During the in-depth interview with the present mayor Selim Kurbanoğlu, he explained the perspective of the municipality on the social production of space. First of all, it should be stated that Kurbanoğlu did not approve the label of Kurdish municipalism; instead he preferred to use alternative municipalism for defining their municipal perspective. Besides, he told the story of the first local government victory of the pro-Kurdish parties in 1999 as:

> The mayor in Diyarbakır before 1999 was a 'non-attainable' and 'non-conversable' figure for us like an ordinary bureaucrat. We really felt like that. In 1994, our party firstly decided to participate in the local elections. However, we had to retreat since our party decided to boycott the elections. We did not consider possible to win the elections of 1999o Depending to our own previous experiences we thought that the state would not allow us to win in the elections. Indeed, nearly a week before the 1999 elections, the government took all of us into the custody. (…) Therefore, we could not do any demonstrations or public meetings before the elections. The day before the elections, all of us were released from the custody and Feridun Çelik won the greater city mayoralty. We [the mayor candidates] were determined as candidates of mayor randomly and quickly [Y1]

Kurbanoğlu stated that since the activists of HADEP did not anticipate winning the municipalities in 1999, they had no idea of how to run a municipality. Also, they were seeing the municipalities as an extension of the state in the localities and so with which they struggled so far. Then, Kurbanoğlu expressed the initial perspective of both the municipality and the local dwellers.

> When we came to the first local power in 1999, all of us were very excited and we felt like a fledgling about what to do in the municipalities. (…) In those times, we got rid of our problems thanks to the citizens who cleaned in front of their houses, supported the municipal activities and stood behind the municipality even if it made mistakes. Indeed, we came to the local power through the claim "what citizen say would come true anymore" and we still claim this perspective. [Y2]

As mentioned in the section 6.2, it is sufficient that the HADEP's municipal cadres which are composed of the activists of the Kurdish movement are one of them for the people. Therefore, they did not make too much demand and criticize the cadres who could not fulfill their duties. Yet, this perspective would shift in time and this shift will affect the

spatial imaginations of the municipality. Kurbanoğlu stated the recent municipal perspective as:

> Our first local government principal is indeed populism. You don't have a chance to run the power without it. (…) You run by keeping the fact in mind that the sources are really limited. You should meet the political demands. You should also meet the demands in terms of services. People want the mayor to accompany with them for their every kind of daily activities. Each activity that we do not participate becomes a problem. They say, "I elected you and you stand by me" either it is right or wrong makes no difference. I do not express such a kind of populism as a cliché. I have never heard that Melih Gökçek is walking in the streets, visiting the people, etc. However, this is a primary agenda for us. You now get out the street and hear that whether "the mayor is coming here" is the major agenda in Diyarbakır. That you service well whatever you want is not such an important issue for them. Even that you share the same politics with them is not important. It is impossible for them to appropriate you, if they do not find you standing by them and they do not feel you as one of them. People want this! The Politics [of the Kurdish movement and its parties] also have principles. If you approve, you sit the mayor seat. If you don't approve, you go your home and sit down there. Indeed, nobody forces anyone to become mayor. [Y3]

According to Kurbanoğlu, the major principle is 'populism' for the municipalities. People really demands from the municipalities to visit and move together with them all the time. As people think that the mayor came to power thanks to them, the mayor must depend on the people to maintain its power. In people's mind, "the [pro-Kurdish] municipality means the people and the people mean the municipality." For Kurbanoğlu, the other principle is 'transparency' in preparing the budget. He claims that the municipality regularly declares the data about the budget by meeting with the people. Also, he asserts that any pro-Kurdish municipality has not been accused of corruption in budgeting, yet. For Kurbanoğlu, the initial slogan of the HADEP municipalities that "We manage both our cities and ourselves" is still very important. On the other side, Kurbanoğlu underlined that the perception of the people has changed in due course.

> It might not draw attention but now any citizen can come to the municipal building in the morning and easily criticize and complain about the municipality, even the mayor. For the citizens of our districts, it is important to say that "That is my own politics, my own mayor." Under these circumstances, we must deal with every kind of problems ranging from poverty, electricity problem to the issues of marriage and funeral. Unfortunately, we sometimes have to refuse financial demands. Nevertheless, the people expect you to find a solution in some way, because they consider making demand as their most incontestable right. As they comprehend that "That is my own municipality, so what I am saying will come true", the mayors should deal with their demands. (…) Before us, Ahmet Bilgin from FP was mayor in Diyarbakır. He was unreachable, like he was shrouded in mystery. I had never seen him, never established a dialogue with him. Even none of us had any demand from him. The People, except from their supporters, do not go and demand anything from the municipality. However, the people make plenty of demands from the municipalities now. For myself, as a citizen, I had never visited the municipality about the problems of my neighborhood. In my mind, there was no institution which is called municipality. In the

past, we were not raising any issue about the municipalities, and they were not included in our agenda. However, after we gained the municipalities, the 60 percent of the city began to discuss about the municipalities. As time goes on, they begin to criticize the practices of the municipalities. The words of "You did this good but you did this bad; you did this right but you did this wrong" have increased. [Y4]

As Kurbanoğlu points, now people request lots of demand from the municipalities and they struggle for meeting their demands. Also, they can easily criticize the municipalities. Hence, people begin to play important roles in the socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir municipality.

All the socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir Municipality are provided in the Appendix Table 9. Their location, service scale, target group and followed policy are also given. In the following, socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir Municipality are given:

- Neighborhood Houses
- Education Support Houses
- Women's Center
- Culture House
- Aid Center
- Parks and green areas (nursery and resort areas)

Dealing with labor issues, most of the specific spatial practices of the Yenişehir Municipality are about economy policies, which are defined by taking the local specificities into account. The Socio-spatial practices which are particular to Yenişehir Municipality are:

- Opening passages for vendors
- Organizing participative activities for the business offices
- Back-garden Arrangements
- The Art Street

The Neighborhood Houses (NHs) of Yenişehir Municipality
The neighborhood houses of Yenişehir municipality were built during the third municipal period (2010-2012). During the field research, only the Aziziye-Gürdoğan-Toplukonut Neighborhood house could be visited; therefore, the observation remained quite limited. Kurbanoğlu stated that they usually organize public meetings in the neighborhood houses. Also, the municipality uses these units for seminars, lectures, free courses, medical

surveys, etc. Among those, he confessed that they make good contact with the people only in the Aziziye-Gürdoğan-Toplukonut. Despite the fact that these units were built for the three neighborhoods, the dwellers who accommodate in the Toplukonut (TOKİ's mass houses) benefit from these spaces. Kurbanoğlu stated that these people who come from the Toplukonut (mostly the middle income groups, such as public officers, university students, etc) are aware of the municipal affairs and they actively participate in those affairs. Kurbanoğlu put forth that if the municipality declare about its revenues about its very limited, these groups would comprehend the circumstances of the municipality better. On the other hand, as Kurbanoğlu stated, the executives of the municipal affairs express their gratitude in a very cold manner o the highly politicized women in the units which are located in the county. In his words:

> Let me admit that these women can easily drag you down! When you take a look first, you should ask where and how those miserable women can speak and mention about themselves. Otherwise they can scratch your eyes out! Although they sometimes appear with a set of personnel issues, they can bring the common problems of their neighborhood forth and ask about the solutions. Without hesitating, they can easily knock you down. I mean, they can complain that "There is such a problem in our neighborhood and you haven't solved it!" [Y5]

It can be deduced that the social production of the neighborhood houses might me different due to the distinct economic, social and political structure of each neighborhood., while the neighborhood houses in Yenişehir are generally used within the purpose of participating actively to the municipal management, those in the country sides are mostly used for political activities, condolences, ceremonies, etc.

The Education Support House of Yenişehir Municipality

Yenişehir Municipality activated two ESHs in the Ben û Sen and İplik neighborhoods in 2007. These two gecekondu neighborhoods are heavily populated by forced immigrated people. During the field research, the Mehmet Işıkçı[90] Youth Education and Culture House in Ben û Sen were visited. There are twenty classes and a library in this house. In a press release which is published in 2006 it is written that Yenişehir and Bağlar municipalities organized a meeting with the representatives of Eğitim-Sen (YerelNET, 2006). The Mayor of that period, Fırat Anlı, made an opening speech. He pointed that the uneven development between the west and east of the country could also be witnessed in the education field. Their aim was to eradicate that unevenness through establishing

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[90] Mehmet Işıkçı (a 20 year-old boy) was murdered during the 2006 insurgences in Diyarbakır.

education support houses. Apart from preparing the impoverished people to examinations, the main goal was to motivate the people to become more socialized and reveal out their abilities through cultural activities. Besides, the trainers would get into contact with the families of the poor participants, determine their problems through in-depth interviews and attempt to solve the defined problems (YerelNET, 2006).

The Women's Center of Yenişehir Municipality

Yenişehir Municipality activated EPİ-DEM (Women´s Training and Psychological Counseling Centre) in 2003. The goal of the center is to inform the society about the women's rights against all kinds of discrimination. The center gives juridical, social and psychological supports to women who were exposed to violence. Through providing the required coordination, EPİ-DEM also ensures the safety of women in case abuse of their right to live such as honor killing, suicides, etc. (YBFR, 2011, p. 62). In the center, juridical, social and psychological counseling, seminars on gender, health, communication issues and vocational, language, computer and literacy courses are provided to women. Besides, various activities for women, including the women municipal staff, are organized.

During the interview with the current mayor Kurbanloğlu, he stated that every decision, which was given by EPİ-DEM, was inevitably subordinated to the administrative board of the municipality. Hence, the decisions of EPİ-DEM in terms of socio-spatial practices are related to the municipal affairs. In the words of Kurbanoğlu, "the woman's color" determines the production of urban space. He also informed about the positive discrimination action for women within the municipality itself.

> We are the first municipalities in Turkey to include problems which concern women in the collective labor agreements. It reflected to the national press and they found it so strange in the first place. Our ideas about solving the women's problems were thought as impossible to be put into practice. However, we proved that we could deal with those problems. We approved for our two or three municipal officers. Afterwards, our other municipalities did it, too. Of course, we have no chance and effort to hold a family together by force. Yet, such a practice can be a model for the other municipalities in Turkey. In the past, we received complaints about our three male municipal officers. We called them and told that *we would transfer 50 percent of their salary to their wives*, and we did it. One of the officers came and thanked us but the other two did not. Here, our main goal was to provide opportunities to women to make them participate in the social life. The male officers, as a result, began to act more carefully. They should know that if they commit violence towards his wife, they would be punished for it. Of course, if the women complain us about their husband, we can punish the husbands otherwise, we can do nothing. Nowadays, there is no complaint about this practice. [Y6]

Indeed, all the pro-Kurdish municipalities have implemented this positive discrimination action for women through the collective labor agreements. Besides, creating the women quotas in the administrative boards, giving the women councils a legal authority, and conducting other affirmative actions are the gender-based principles of the party's local government. Starting from the municipal cadres and staffs, such practices are thought to have positive effects on the society; and on the production of space. Originally, such practices are implemented in every stage of the pro-Kurdish movement. These can be seen either in the neighborhood committees or in the party organizations.

The Culture House of Yenişehir Municipality

Yenişehir Municipality opened a culture house in 2006. In the culture house, several artistic courses ranging from music courses to language (Kurdish and Turkish) courses have been provided for children, youth and adults. (YBFR, 2006, p. 20; YBFR, 2011, p. 54). During the interview with Mayor Kurbanoğlu, he was asked why another cultural centers and art houses were not re-built. He expressed that they were trying to overcome this problem of cultural center and art house by building education support houses and neighborhood houses. Dozens of art and cultural courses and activities have already been offered in these spaces. On the other side, the Sümerpark campus, which is located in the city centre of Yenişehir, fills the gap in terms of artistic and cultural practices. Furthermore, many self-organizations or private enterprises on artistic and cultural activities in the city centre of Yenişehir meet the demands of the dwellers.

The Aid Center of Yenişehir Municipality

Yenişehir Municipality opened the Beyaz Şemsiye Store in 2009. This store provides low income groups with cloth and house furniture. During the interview with Mayor Kurbanoğlu, he stated that:

> While trying to contribute and promote our people within the scope of social affairs, we make an effort to aid them in a way that it certainly wouldn't hurt their feelings. Indeed, we are trying to supply this service as aid takers do not see the providers. [Y7]

The Parks and Green Areas of Yenişehir Municipality

Yenişehir Municipality has an area of 335,000 m² parks and green areas. Active green area per person is 0.16 although the ratio should be 10 meter square per person. The Merwani, Mehmed Uzun and Ahmed Arif parks are some of them. The municipality also has a nursery garden and a resort area out of the city center. In the nursery garden

produce plants for the parks and refuges of the city. In the resort area, the municipality organizes various cultural activities, ranging from picnics, music concerts and traditional plays. There is also a big swimming pool where swimming courses are given for the children in the summer. In the activity report of the municipality it was written that 2550 children who cannot find an opportunity to go to holiday attended in the swimming courses under a campaign called as *"Ez jî Dixwazim Avjeniyê Bikim"*[91] Besides, the municipality regularly takes the dwellers from their neighborhoods to bring them to swim in the pools for certain days in a week in the summer. During the field research, the dwellers were observed that they complained about their turns which were quite few due to the time and space restrictions. The resort area has turned into a space for the low and middle classes of the city. Moreover, Yenişehir Municipality tries to green the city center. Its project is called as back-garden arrangement. Detailed information about this socio-spatial practice will be given further.

Socio-spatial practices which are peculiar to Yenişehir Municipality

Duncan *et al* point the leftist local governments in Britain which tried to "restructure for labor or at least defend labor, using local economic policies" (1988, p. 111). As the Ofis region functions as the major trade centre of Diyarbakır, the policies of the municipality are shaped in accordance with the local's specificity. Hence, opening passages for vendors, organizing campaigns for the business offices, assuming affirmative action in the collective labor agreements, maintaining good relations with the labor unions and occupation chambers and emphasizing on the labor and production processes within the discursive dimension can be accounted for the distinctive economy policies of Yenişehir Municipality. The distinctive policy of the municipality is clearly observed in the Yenişehir Municipality's web page. The welcome message is *"Bijî Yek Gûlan!"*[92] Besides, the other specific practice is to design small parks or gardens between the quite narrows of the streets of Yenişehir, within their own words: "Back-garden arrangements". Furthermore, the Art Street which was paved by Yenişehir Municipality is unique in the city.

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[91] In Kurdish, I want to swim, too.

[92] This slogan means in Kurdish, "Long live May first!" It was probably inscribed in the May Day, but it still exists (Yenişehir Belediyesi, 2012).

The specific characteristic of the district is well defined in the preface of the Yenişehir Municipality's activity report of 2005. The mayor of that period, Fırat Anlı, identifies Yenişehir as a city where the diversities come together; the conflicts and antagonisms can be clearly encountered (YBFR, 2006, p. 2). In the report, the city of Yenişehir is also portrayed as:

> History is said to be a production of conflict between new and old; in other words, contention between poor and rich, too. Ironically, these two irreconcilable poles are subjected to an extraordinary meeting now. (…) Yenişehir is a city just like that…Unless the violence process wrapped this region; unless thousands of people harbored to Diyarbakır through breaking out from their villages desperately; unless the small cities intertwined by miseries emerged in Fiskaya, in Ben û Sen, in Seyrantepe, then Yenişehir would possibly remain as 'new' forever. (…) While one of the two faces of Yenişehir is representing a modern life and a median welfare, in the other face of the district, there are unemployment, poverty, gecekondu and infrastructure problems. Having such a background, Yenişehir has continued to be heart of Diyarbakır (YBFR, 2006, p. 9).

As it is explained in the previous passage, Yenişehir has a dual socio-spatial fabric. On one side, the Aziziye, Gürdoğan, Ben û Sen, İplik, Şehitlik, Cumhuriyet, Dicle, Feritköşk and Sanayi neighborhoods, which appeared as a result of forced migration, has become the centers of the poverty, unemployment and various social disturbances. On the other side, the dwellers which accommodate in the Ofis region (the Kooperatifler and Yenişehir neighborhoods) are the relatively higher income groups. Also, the Office region is the centre of trade, business and socio-cultural activities of Diyarbakır (YBFR, 2011). Besides, as one part of this region which became a condensed place with the constructions of public institutions and military services, the Office region resembles a public officers' and garrison town. As Demir Çelik narrated the history of the city of Yenişehir:

> After 1950s, the settlements in Suriçi couldn't be a respond for the increasing house demands and the people began to flow outside of Suriçi. Hence, the city of Yenişehir was shaped through the intervention of the Democrat Party. During the establishment of Yenişehir, spaces, buildings, monuments and sculptures were supposed to reflect the state power. Yet, after a while, gecekondu regions, such as Ben u Sen, Şehitlik, Seyrantepe, Aziziye and İplik neighborhoods emerged in the periphery of Yenişehir due to an uncontrolled dense migration wave. These traumas were caused by the industrialization processes in Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s. The state was not ready for this migration and it didn't try to control this process so as not to deal with the housing demand? In other words, emergence of the gecekondu areas served purpose of both the state and citizens. We, as BDP, we inherited those traumas that we hadn't brought about. (…) If those traumas didn't induce a political crisis today, this must be the success of our local governments via the integration of political system. If we weren't, the city of Diyarbakır was likely to be on the edge of a political crisis and chaos today. [Y8]

By the time Yenişehir municipality was captured by the pro-Kurdish municipalities, the first observable change in its socio-spatial fabric was the revival of public spaces. The pro-Kurdish municipalities destroyed the polarized public space through establishing good relations with the civic organizations, business circles, central state institutions as well as the civil society which comprises all the disadvantages groups. The first attempt of the pro-Kurdish mayor of Yenişehir Municipality was to come regularly into contact with the civic organizations, such as occupation chambers, labor unions and certain associations, for planning and controlling the city in a scientific way. Azizoğlu founded a civil development commission functioning as a control mechanism on the building and planning affairs. Pirinççioğlu narrated this achievement of the Yenişehir's first municipal period as:

> We currently adopted a practice which was very famous between 1999 and 2004. (…) The mayor of Yenişehir Municipality [Remzi Azizoğlu] was bringing all the demands to the development commission which was consisted of the civic organizations, chambers, associations, academicians, etc. If the development commission had not approved the demand, the mayor would have never put it into practice. This commission which was indeed offered by Feridun Çelik was working as a control mechanism. During that period, Yenişehir Municipality was very relaxed. There was no oppression. The contractors had no opportunity to put pressure on us [chamber of architects]. We never made concessions to the contractors. Nonetheless, this practice came to an end after 2004. [Y9]

Pirinççioğlu emphasized the periodical difference between the pro-Kurdish municipalities. The development control mechanism, which was founded during the first pro-Kurdish municipal period of Yenişehir, would lose its performance in time. There might be several reasons for this. After 2004, the municipalities in Turkey were further influenced by the neo-liberal policies which were imposed by the new legislations. The municipalities became sensible to arrange meetings for the local capital cycles. Also, the municipalities began to provide services mostly through subcontracting method. The municipal cadres gradually turned into the representatives of the building and real estate sectors (Değirmen, 2013, pp. 2-3). At the end, the development practices of the municipalities began to serve completely for the rents of the certain urban elites.

Socio-Spatial Practices of Yenişehir Municipality about Labor Issues

As mentioned before, the Ofis region of Yenişehir has always functioned as the main commerce centre of the city in addition to the ancient city center, Suriçi. The region is full of business offices and towers, shopping malls, banks, public buildings, civic organizations' offices, restaurants, cafes, bookstores, health and sports centers, etc. As the current mayor of Yenişehir Municipality, Kurbanoğlu stated during the interview:

Ofis region is the center of the city. The circulation population flow is very high here and hence the region is a very attractive place for trading. To illustrate, anyone who comes to Diyarbakır inevitably passes from Ofis. Furthermore, most of the Diyarbakır's people come here for their daily businesses. As a result, the population of the Ofis region doubles within the daytime. Yet at the same time, one of our biggest troubled places became Ofis, in terms of policing. At the time of war in the 1990s, Ofis resembled "Afghanistan". You could have encountered with the street vendors, smugglers, etc. The first work of the municipality was to get rid of them. The People have to work but you should find a solution to clear the streets [Y10]

The municipality accepts that the problem would not be solved by merely getting rid of undesirables on the space. Hence, during the first period of the pro-Kurdish municipality, they found a way that is to offer free or low-cost rented offices to the vendors and unemployed people. In the words of Kurbanoğlu:

First, we didn't intervene. If you send them out, they would scatter anywhere else of the city, but they would come back here two days later. The problem would not be solved. On the other side, quarrels and fights with the municipal police take place every day. Eventually, Mayor Remzi decided to build the business offices for them. Thus, the first fair center was opened. We supplied food to the street vendors and presented opportunities to have their own business. We rented a whole storey of a building and we asked small amount of money from them. And three or four months ago, we opened the second fair center in Ofis. Seventy four small offices were provided to our vendor friends. [Y11]

Thus, these two passages under the name of "Souvenir Fair Centre" have been run by Yenişehir Municipality in the Ofis region. The municipality has achieved to "clean" the central streets partly via this service. These centers are inevitably a good solution for the unemployed people or craftsmen who do not want to pay much in Office where the office rents are quite high. It is possibly hard to make the street vendors agreed, because they are already working in streets as free. This case is also elucidative to understand the municipal approach to laborers and the production of space for them.

Figure 12 The Souvenir Fair Centre of Yenişehir Municipality in Ofis
(Source: Personnel Archive)

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During the interview, Kurbanoğlu was asked how the vendors gave their consent. He replied that:

> Of course, this process [consent process] was not easy. Initially, they [the street vendors] didn't want to move these centers. They said that they were comfortable outside. So, we offered them to establish a commission of their own in order to reach a common decision. We told them that the rents in Ofis are very high, but the expenses of these centers are four or five times lower. Besides, they went into troubles and even cut-and-trusts with the municipal polices at every day. Moreover, these centers are grandiose with lighting and big signboards. We want here to turn out an attractive trade centers. Eventually, they accept and get rid of [the disadvantages of working in the streets] and we too got rid of the [pavement and road] occupation! This brought about a significant transformation in the appearance of the streets. Anyone coming across there appreciated us. For, the pedestrians could not walk before. We have performed such a job. Sending them out was not a solution. [Y12]

The above mentioned Negotiations between the commission and the municipality are observed. By Kurbanoğlu's accounts, the commission is still running well like a micro scale labor union. This can be evaluated as a good case for the participatory management model. As happened in the evacuation process of the city walls, asking for the dwellers' consent is an appraised work in the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Besides, these centers are also evaluated by Kurbanoğlu as a good investment places for the city. Also, it can be put forth that the municipality achieved in their aims.

The approach of the municipality to the workers can be also observed over their relations with the labor unions. During the interview, Kurbanoğlu asserted that:

> In this region, *labor union is us, indeed; the municipality is also a labor union*. There is no an employer-laborer hierarchy. We ourselves participate to the May Day even we become pioneers of it. (…) The labor unions generally don't take side against us. This might be a problem, yet, there is a mutual understanding as a result of the [Kurdish] problem. Also we have a convenience in this meaning. In other words, the labor union in the west of Turkey is different from the unions at here. For, the people in the unions who suffer from this issue are also the activists of our politics, our struggle. They can easily understand the conditions of the municipalities. To illustrate, the municipality can clearly declare itself to the unions. They can be tolerant to us in case of the inability of municipality to meet demands. Besides, as we are coming from the same struggle, we are doing our best to meet their demands. If there was another union which depended on another political line, we could have problems. [Y13]

Yenişehir Municipality, like the other pro-Kurdish municipalities in the region, inevitably signs collective labor agreement (CLA) with the revolutionary unions which were organized by the municipal employees. Despite the legal frame regarding this issue, the most municipalities in Turkey refuse to sign a CLA. Hence, the pro-Kurdish municipalities deserve praise in this issue. Furthermore, they put affirmative enforcements in the collective labor agreements. For example, the pro-Kurdish

municipalities take the decision of collective participation and the municipal employees do not work in the important days, such as May Day, International Laborer Women's Day and Newroz day. As Değirmen compares with the other municipalities, the pro-Kurdish municipalities behave in a more respectful manner in the sense of the labor rights (Değirmen, 2013).

During the second period, Yenişehir Municipality has carried out a set of practices which are oriented towards the business circles. These are operated through 'friendly' competitions, such as the White Flag and the Gold and Silver Scissor projects. The "White Flag Project" was initiated by the GMD[93] with the contributions of the district municipalities under the slogan of "the healthy city, the healthy society" in 2004. The target group of the project is restaurants, patisseries and the other firms where food production, selling, servicing and collective consumption take place. At the end of the physical, technical and hygienic controls, the firms which scored the highest points gain the "white flag". This project firstly took place thanks to the efforts of Yenişehir Municipality (GABB, 2013). Such another competition, called Gold and Silver Scissor project, was put into practice by Yenişehir Municipality in 2009. With the collaboration of Chamber of Hairdressers, the project aimed at the hairdresser and beauty salons to create healthy and quality firms. Kurbanoğlu stated that they will conduct such projects within the purpose of providing public participation and ameliorating the quality of services in the city.

An Attempt to Convert Dominant Space

An attempt to convert spatial dominance of Turkish state was made by the administrative board of Yenişehir Municipality. The news (Hürriyet, 2003) which was entitled as "Cesarete Bak"[94] narrated the situation as "The HADEP Mayor of Yenişehir Municipality Remzi Azizoğlu dared to demolish the Martyrs' Monument in Şehitlik." The Martyrs Monument[95] was built "in commemoration of the martyrs during the war on terrorism" in the military zone of Şehitlik[96] where numerous monuments, signs and inscriptions which

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[93] For more detailed information, visit http://www.diyarbakir.bel.tr/newsdetail.aspx?id=1661&natid=0

[94] In English, "How dare you are!"

[95] In Turkish, "Şehitler Anıtı"

[96] The place name of Şehitlik literally coincides with the military term in Turkish.

symbolized the power and strength of the military forces exist. The news continues that the OHAL governor, the governor of Diyarbakır and the corps commander has immediately given orders to given build the Martyrs Monument in the Kolordu (Corps) Joint which can be easily seen from everywhere. The monument has the mask of Atatürk and an inscription with the popular statement of Atatürk, "The motherland is a unity which cannot be divided." While the building was continuing, Azizoğlu objected through the council decision on account of the fact that the monument has been built illegally and without reconstruction permit. The governor of Diyarbakır stated that: "90 percent of Diyarbakır is illegal. Instead of dealing with these, the municipality is feloniously dealing with this monument which will signify our martyrs." To sum up, the news stated, "Thanks to the governor's objection, the court decision has saved the monument" (Hürriyet, 2003).

Jongerden narrates fate of the statue of Atatürk painted on the wall of a multi-storey building at Dağkapı Square which was mentioned in the early section. In 2004, Osman Baydemir removed this statue and he built the monument of Musa Anter in another public sphere of Diyarbakır in 2005. Jongerden renders this case as "creating a new geography of memory" (2009, pp. 12-13). In other words, these two cases are the samples of reappropriating the space and converting the dominant ideology through cultural interventions.

The Back-gardens Arrangements

The practice of the back-gardens arrangements is a specific municipal service in Yenişehir. The municipality has designed numerous small parks or gardens in the quite narrows corridors between the buildings and streets of Yenişehir. The service was initiated in the second municipal period but intensified in the third municipal period. During the negotiation with Ömer Taştan who is the chief of Media and Public Relations Department in Yenişehir Municipality, he expressed why the municipality prefers such a practice. There are not adequate open spaces for building big parks in Yenişehir due to the multitude of the built environment. Şeyhmus Diken complained about that people who used to drop their litters to the gaps of the buildings. The municipality found a way for this problem through arranging these gaps and planting flowers and shrubs there. During the field research in Ofis, it is easily observed that this solution is quite applauded and well adopted by the people. There is no litter in the gaps which were turned to gardens... Further, the dwellers or craftsman warn not to drop litters for not only

prevention of the flowers or grasses which were planted by municipality – or for not purporting as a "modern citizenship" – but also for the prevention of the peppers, onions, mints, etc which they had planted before there. Also, the warning signboards were put on the gardens by the dwellers. This is an example of appropriating the space in which the municipality takes part. These gardens have been reproduced by the dwellers.

Figure 13 One of the back gardens of Yenişehir Municipality in Ofis (The Berfîn Park)
(Source: Personnel Archive)

The Art Street

The other specific produced space by Yenişehir Municipality is the "Art Street" which was built in the second municipal period in the Ofis region in 2004. It was originally built to serve for artistic and cultural activities, such as photograph and picture exhibitions, poem performances, literature and narrative discourses, etc. Yet, like in the other cities of Turkey, this Art Street has lost its original function. As Şeyhmus Diken narrated about the Art Street during the interview;

> I can give another example [for the space production of the municipalities] Art Street in Ofis, even though I don't approve its current function. The Art Street was built by Yenişehir Municipality in 2004 during the municipal period of Fırat Anlı who is now in prison. It was originally a very good project, indeed. The art street was built as a traffic closed street. It was designed for a set of cultural and art activities such as cinema and theatre displays, musical activities, and street exhibitions. Such kind of spaces exists everywhere in the world. However, it turned into a 'cafes' space' in the course of time. Its current function is not good. It becomes a space that I do not like. Yet, such spaces are a bit like that. In other words, those who are seeking after rent convert the spaces, which are firstly considered as common rent of urban dwellers and which are not designed for trade and profit, into the shape which would be suitable for their interests. [Y14]

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When Taştan was asked for an opinion about the Art Street, he also admitted that it lost its original function. The buildings around the street were rented to the numerous cafés. In due course, they have mushroomed and invaded the street. The municipality could not prevent them and do anything for the street at present. Yet, the municipality has developed another way since it took a lot of criticism about the use of street. As Taştan stated "The problem is solved by producing alternative spaces, such as building the Merwani Culture Park." Closing a 2,500 meter square street near the city stadium to traffic, Yenişehir municipality launched the project under the name of Culture Street in 2011 which was opened in the summer of 2012. Different from the other parks, The Merwani Park which was also called as the Culture Street was designed to serve for art and cultural activities. Unlike the Art Street, there are trees surrounding the park in rows instead of the commercial firms and cafes. In addition to the standard park furniture, there are also wooden stands for the art exhibitions.

The Youth oriented Activities of Yenişehir Municipality

The Youth, Culture and Sport Festivals were organized twice as one in 2005 and the other in 2006. With the slogan "Meeting with Young Hearts in the Freedom Future", these festivals purposed to rehabilitee the impoverished and migrated young people who paid a heavy cost for the law-intensity war in the region. The municipality attempt to prevent them to fall into the crime, such as using drugs, pick pocketing, prostitution, etc. there is no information why the festival did not take place later. As the mayor of that period Fırat Anlı was in prison during the field research of this dissertation, the information about him was gathered from his wife, Özlem Anlı. She is a doctor in the Bağlar Maternal and Infant Health Center of Kardelen House. During the interview with her in the center, she narrated about Fırat Anlı that he paid much attention on the youth as well as the laborers of Diyarbakır. She stated that while mostly women and children are in the foreground of the social life in Bağlar, the young people who are visible in the labor processes of the urban space become in the foreground in Yenişehir, especially in the Ofis and Şehitlik region. For her, coming from a working family and patriot struggle, Fırat Anlı was aware of the circumstances of Kurdish youth in this city. Anlı built a sport complex on the Silvan Road (in Dönümlü Neighborhood) for the impoverished young people by relying on the demands which rise from the popular meetings and questionnaire studies. In addition, through renting a cinema hall in the Galleria Business Tower, the municipality organized several cost-free or quite cheap film screenings.

6.3.2.3. Evaluation for Yenişehir Municipality

In brief, the socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir Municipality are neighborhood houses, education support houses, women's center, culture house, aid center, parks and green areas. Yenişehir (primarily the Ofis region) is the trade and business center of Diyarbakır and it includes public institutions and various civic organizations. These characteristics have determined the specific spatial practices of the municipality. The specific spatial practices of the municipality stem from its economic (labor-based) policies. Hence, opening passages for vendors, organizing campaigns for the business offices, putting affirmative action on the collective labor agreements, maintaining good relations with the labor unions and occupation chambers and emphasizing discursively on the labor can be listed as the main economic policies of the municipality. Indeed, Yenişehir Municipality becomes fully aware that the municipality should establish good relations with the workers institutions and stabilize the tensions between the craftsmen, street vendors, municipal polices and civil society. The most significance practice of Yenişehir Municipality is to provide two office buildings for street vendors in Ofis. Thus, the municipality creates employment areas. At the same time, it decreases the tensions between vendors and the other craftsmen and police forces. Eventually, the free and 'aesthetic' physical spaces are generated for the people who rush into the Office region every day. Besides, Yenişehir Municipality has implemented the White Flag project and Golden Scissors projects for the craftsmen in the city for the hygiene control. Hence, the municipality controls the offices regularly without formal and police pressures and regulates the competition between craftsmen in a peaceful way. Such practices are appreciated both by the crafts and customers. The other important and specific socio-spatial practice of Yenişehir Municipality is the back-garden arrangements in the narrow corridors between buildings and streets. The back-garden arrangement project was launched during the second period, yet it gained a momentum during the last period. There are not adequate open spaces for building big parks in Yenişehir due to the existence of the many built environments. Also, the litters filled the gaps between buildings and the municipality started to build gardens in these corridors. This solution is quite applauded and well adopted by the people. Now, there is no litter in the gaps which were turned to gardens. During the second municipal period moreover, cultural activities and buildings for especially young people were in the forefront of the municipal policies. A youth sport complex was built and a youth festival was organized. In addition, the Art Street, which was seen as one of the specific socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir

Municipality, was built in 2004. Although it was paved to serve for artistic and cultural activities, the Art Street lost its original function in time. The buildings around the street were rented to the enterprises. Despite the severe criticisms to the Art Street, the municipality did not intervene in opening the cafes there. On the other hand, as an alternative place for the Art Street, the municipality opened a culture park, called Merwani Park, in 2012. As Different from the other parks, the Merwani Park was designed to serve for especially art and cultural activities. It should be also stated that during the first municipal period, an attempt to demolish the Martyrs Monument in Şehitlik was brought to the agenda of the municipality. But, this attempt was prevented by the governorship. This experience can be pointed as an endeavor for eradicating the spatial hegemony of the Turkish state. As other district municipalities, Yenişehir Municipality provides the participation of the urban dwellers to the urban management processes through neighborhood committees in the neighborhood houses and citizen's associations in Yenişehir. As different from the first years, the dwellers demand and struggle for having the collective consumption services in the neighborhoods where the Kurdish movement is active. The Urban dwellers want to frequently come together frequently with the municipality. It was observed that the people meetings which were organized by the municipality have central importance in the municipal budget planning in accordance with the municipality's principle of populism. The socio-spatial units, such as education support houses, neighborhood houses as well as the Beyaz Kelebekler LTH were built in the areas, such as the Ben û Sen, Aziziye, İplik and certain settlement areas of the Şehitlik neighborhoods, where migrated and impoverished people live.

6.3.3. Bağlar Municipality

"The Women Color of Diyarbakır"

The boundaries of the municipality has been demarcated as the Diyarbakır-Şanlıurfa main roads on the north, the railway route on the east and the Çınar district border on the south and west. Before 2004, the total area of Bağlar Municipality was 7,100 hectare and now the total area has reached to 34,300 hectare after the villages were affiliated to the municipality as neighborhoods in 2004. Except for the affiliated villages, developed area of the municipality is 2,925 hectare area which is approximately 8.5 percent of the total area (Bağlar Belediyesi, 2012).

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Bağlar Municipality was founded by the decision of the Council of Ministers dated 21.12.1993 No. 93/5130 together with the Sur and Yenişehir first degree municipalities subsequent to the declaration of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır. Before, the municipality had seven neighborhoods (Alipınar, Fatih, Kaynartepe, Körhat, Muradiye, Yeniköy and 5 Nisan) within its service area. After a while, the Bağcılar, Yunus Emre, Şeyh Şamil, Selahattin Eyyübi and Mevlana Halit neighborhoods emerged as a consequence of the mass immigration. By means of enactment of the Law on Greater Municipalities (Law no: 5216) in 2004, 21 villages (Ağaçgeçit, Batıçanakçı, Çiçekliyurt, Çiftlik, Develi, Gömmetaş, Kabahıdır, Kırhencik, Kolludere, Körtepe, Özdemir, Sarıdallı, Topraktaş, Topyolu, Yeşildallı, Tellikaya, Uzunbahçe, Buçuktepe, Pınaroğlu, Yukarı Mollalı, Tavşantepe and Batıkarakoç) and 24 arable fields of these villages were affiliated to Bağlar Municipality as neighborhoods. Bağlar municipality was announced as a district municipality in 2008 through the enactment of the Law no 5747 (BBSP, 2010, p. 7). At present, the municipality is obliged to provide services to 33 neighborhoods (Bağlar Belediyesi, 2012).

The elected mayors of Bağlar Municipality since it was founded as a first tier municipality are Ahmet Yağmur (1994), Cabbar Leygara (1999-2004) Yurdusev Özsökmenler (2004-2009) and Yüksel Baran (2009- …). Ahmet Yağmur won the municipality from RP through polling 38.3 percent of the votes in 1994. Cabbar Leygara from HADEP took the chair with 67.4 percent of the votes in 1999. Yurdusev Özsökmenler, as a member of SHP, was elected in 2004 through 61.9 percent and Yüksel Baran from DTP has become mayor after gaining 68.1 percent of the votes in the 2009 local elections.

Table 16 Chairs of Bağlar Municipality since 1994

Date of local election	Periods	Chairs of Diyarbakır municipality	Represented political party	The rate of received votes (%)
27.03.1994	1994-1999	Ahmet Yağmur	RP	38.3
18.04.1999	1999-2004	Cabbar Leygara	HADEP	67.4
28.03.2004	2004-2009	Yurdusev Özsökmenler	SHP	61.9
29.03.2009	2009- …	Yüksel Baran	DTP	68.1

Source: TUİK, 2013

As the first pro-Kurdish mayor of Bağlar Municipality, Cabbar Leygara is one of the founding members of BDP. After graduated from the Law Faculty of Dicle University he began to work as a lawyer in 1989. He became an activist of İHD and a member of

executive committee of HEP. Now, he is the chairman of the constitution and law commission of DTK. Coming from a socialist wing of the movement, Yurdusev Özsökmenler was born in Çanakkale in 1955. She graduated from the faculty of anthropology of Istanbul University. She worked as a journalist and became active in DEHAP in İstanbul till becoming the mayor of Bağlar Municipality. She was arrested during the KCK operations in 2009. Yüksel Baran was born in Diyarbakır in 1969. She graduated from the faculty of communication of Marmara University. Before taking the chair of Bağlar Municipality, she was an activist in different associations related to migration, social aid and support issues.

The current municipal administration consists of a mayor and six vice mayors. The municipality has 21 departments[97]. The municipal council consists of 37 members; 8 of whom were elected from AKP and 29 of whom were elected from DTP (TUİK, 2013). The municipality has totally 338 employees; 261 of whom are permanent laborers, 9 of whom are temporary laborer, 8 of whom are temporarily employed personnel, 59 of whom are public employees and 1 office doctor (BBFR, 2011, p. 12).

6.3.3.1. General Information about the Bağlar district

With 33 neighborhoods, the Bağlar district has a population of 356,243 in 2012. Total population and annual growth rates of population of the district since 1990 are given in Table 17[98]. The district population was 147,799 in 1990. As a result of the coming of the immigrants to the city in 1990s, the population increased to 291,098 in 2000 with the annual growth rate of 67.78‰. As the borders of the Bağlar district were expanded in 2008, the population increased instantly. Also, the increased urban population ratio of the Bağlar district is nearly 98% since 2008.

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[97] The Departments of Bağlar Municipality are: Private Secretariat, Committee of Inspection Department, Media and Public Relations Department, Technical Affairs Department, Parks and Gardens Department, Human Resources and Training Department, Support Services Department, Structure Control Department, Housing and City Planning Department, Legal Affairs Department, Editorial Department, Municipal Police Department, Civil Defense Department, Building License and Control Department, Property Acquisition Department, Hygiene Affairs Department, Machine Servicing Department, Financial Affairs Department, Culture and Social Affairs Department, Health Affairs Department and Family of Soldier Department (Bağlar Belediyesi, 2012).

[98] The final census of population was conducted in 2000. Hence, the data between 2000 and 2007 is not available. The years of 2008, 2010 and 2012 are selected randomly.

Table 17 Total population and annual growth rate of population of the Bağlar District between 1990 and 2012

Years	Total population	Periods	Annual growth rate of population (‰)
1990	147,799	-	-
2000	291,098	2000-1990	67.78
2008	334,954	2000-2008	17.54
2010	336,488	2008-2010	2.28
2012	356,243	2010-2012	28.53

Source: TUİK, 2013; BBFR, 2009

The most crowded neighborhoods of the Bağlar district are 5 Nisan (64,538), Mevlana Halit (56,206), Şeyh Şamil (46,227) Kaynartepe (34,471) and Fatih (24,839) respectively (BBÇTR, 2009).

The Bağlar district which was a country site with vineyards started to expand by the gecekondu settlements in the 1960s. Also the large neighborhoods emerged with the unauthorized multi-storey apartments where middle and low income groups preferred to live in the 1990s. The 5 Nisan, Mevlana Halit, Şeyh Şamil, Kaynartepe and Fatih neighborhoods are known as the *old* Bağlar and mostly populated with migrated and impoverishment people. On the contrary, Bağcılar (the *new* Bağlar) as a newly developed area accommodates relatively higher income groups live prestigious apartment blocks as well as business towers and big shopping malls in the 2000s. The old Bağlar and the new Bağlar formed the dual spatial and socio-economic structure in the district.

According to a public survey conducted in Bağlar, 24.6% of the household heads are worker, 23.3% of the household heads work in marginal (temporal) jobs. The ratio of those who have no regular work becomes 35.5%, if the household heads who work in marginal jobs are included. In the 16 of 100 houses, there are people who go out the city for seasonal work. Also, 4 of 100 adult women have a regular work in Bağlar. 10.6% of the household's incomes are under 250 TL and 15.8% of those are between 250-400 TL in 2009. The ratio of people who have green card is 36.84% in Bağlar (BBSP, 2010, pp. 12-27).

6.3.3.2. Socio-Spatial Practices of Bağlar Municipality

Bağlar is one of remarkable districts where all the similar physical, cultural, economic and social troubles, which were observed throughout both Diyarbakır and the region, become intense. When most of the forced migrants came and settled in Bağlar in the 1990s, the local and central governors had no physical, economic and social provisions

against the problems which would be the results of this sudden, acute and dense migration. The lack of the state policy culminated in the humiliation of the already injured people and thus resulted in the new problems in the district. In fact according to the development indicators, Bağlar stays behind the national and international standards despite being the biggest and most crowded district of Diyarbakır and the region. Half Country and half urban characteristic of Bağlar is widespread. Moreover, industrial and trade investments in the district are rare (BBSP, 2010, p. 12). Bağlar has become adjacent to the airport and to Ofis in which planned multi storey apartments were built. This district has a full of nested cul-de-sacs and a congested fabric (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002). The first impression commonly said for the old Bağlar is that you cannot walk through the streets thanks to existence of huge amount of the children. In addition, there are plenty of women sitting and cracking seeds on the stairs of their houses.

In order to understand the spatial imaginations of the municipality, municipal perspective of the recent mayor Yüksel Baran is given as.

> We don't perceive the functions municipalities in the narrowest sense as meeting the people's needs and designing parks, gardens, etc. Of course, these are obligatory, indispensable services. But at the same time, we consider that the municipalities should also fulfill their responsibilities concerning social and cultural needs – such as training, sports and women issues – of the city. Within this scope, the municipalities should take sides with people, embrace every [social and economic] group of people and produce social spaces through using its all capabilities and pushing the limits. (…) As BDP municipalities, we think that our all previous works are our heritage, and we attempt to keep, enhance and improve this heritage. We have conducted practices especially in women, training, health, sport, cultural issues, etc and produced spaces in line with these practices. All in all, our paradigm is an ecologic, democratic and gender-based municipalism. [B1]

Baran presented the municipal perspective in line with the party policies. Also, she gave the examples of social and women-based policies that the municipality really concentrates on. During the whole interview, Baran often emphasizes the practices that the municipality put into practice or projects which are currently being designed. Her spatial imagination can be deduced from these words of her: "In truth, whenever I find a land-area, I would immediately like to transform that area for women and I really want women to appropriate that place".

All the socio-spatial practices of Bağlar Municipality are provided in the Appendix Table 10. Their location, service scale, target group and followed policy are also given. The spatial units of Bağlar Municipality are given in the following:

- Neighborhood Houses
- Condolence Houses
- Women's House
- Education Support House
- Aid Store
- Parks and green areas

The spatial units which are peculiar to Bağlar Municipality are provided in the following. Most of them are about women (and children) policies.

- Spatial units for women (the Women and Child Health Center, the Women's Art Atelier, The Women's Life Park with its monument)
- Rehabilitation Center for Children
- Youth Library
- Mass Demonstration Area (the Newroz Square)

The Neighborhood Houses (NHs) of Bağlar Municipality

The neighborhood houses in Diyarbakır were opened by Bağlar Municipality in 2007. These are built in the 5 Nisan, at Yunus Emre and Kaynartepe neighborhoods, respectively. As parallel to the DTK's decision on democratic participation, there are also Equal-Free Citizen's Associations in Bağlar Municipality during this period.

The objective of the neighborhood houses were defined according to the previous Neighborhood Houses Regulation[99] set by the Social and Cultural Works Directorate of Bağlar Municipality. It was aimed to provide the neighborhood dwellers to play an active role in the social and cultural life; to research, develop solutions, ways and methods regarding social, cultural and psychological problems of the women, children, young and old people; to foster solidarity and procure the practicability of the 'governance' principle through empowerment of the neighborhood residents. In launching the neighborhood houses, the municipality would incorporate the neighborhood residents in the planning, budgeting and decision making process; in other words, the residents would be given a chance to express their opinion about the issues about themselves, their families and their neighbors. For this aim requirements and priorities of the neighborhood would be defined

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[99] The document of this regulation was gained by the author of this thesis during one of the visiting to the Bağlar Municipal Building in the 2012 summer.

and so a close relation between neighborhood and municipality took place. The functional issue*s* of the neighborhood houses were collected under ten titles: for activities which are carried out towards participation, good governance and decentralization; employment and active participation to economic life of neighborhood residents; guidance, counseling and leading services; health issues; enabling cooperation, solidarity and coordination between state/private institutions and non-governmental organizations; press, publication and public opinion; scientific research and analysis are conducted; projects are developed and implemented and neighborhood library is established.

The terms which were put in this regulation such as 'active participation', 'shareholders' 'governance' 'good governance' refer the new government model of EU and World Bank. As Değirmen (2013, p. 2) mentions, during the second municipal period, the pro-Kurdish municipalities adopted the discourses of the neo-liberal municipalities, such as 'the local development', 'the local governance', 'the private-public collaboration'. Yet, this regulation has been revised and recalled as "the People's House *(Halk Evi)* Regulation". During the interview with Özlem Yasak, the coordinator of Social and Cultural Works Directorate of Bağlar Municipality, she clarified that the name of neighborhood house literally did not coincide with the original goals of our houses, so they have revised the regulation and preferred calling it as *Halk Evi*.

In the revised regulation, the terms 'governance' and 'good governance' have been removed and replaced with 'the democratic participation principle'. Also, a new article has been added to the service principals of the house: "No discrimination is allowed between the people who want to benefit from the services in the commons house in terms of race, color, gender, language, religion, creed, political thought, philosophical belief and ethnicity". As it is clearly induced from the regulation, NH would function as an institute to realize the cultural policies of the municipality. Also, the NH would serve for all of the dwellers in the neighborhood scale. All the NHs in Bağlar were built during the second municipal period. No NH has been built afterwards.

Within the scope of this field research, the 5 Nisan NH in Bağlar was visited. Next to the building of the NH, there is also a youth library which was built through the restoration of an historical vineyard house which had been located at old Bağlar. The most intriguing point about all the NHs (5 Nisan, Yunus Emre and Kayanartepe) is their locations in the old Bağlar's neighborhoods which are known as the liberated zones of the Kurdish

movement. Hence, like the other produced spaces of the pro-Kurdish parties in such neighborhoods, the NHs are always with the crowds who are prone to the movement. A woman executive in the 5 Nisan NH informed about NH.

> Everyday a lot of people come together here. The officers of the municipality sometimes come here for public meetings or public seminars. Some courses are also given here. Sometimes screenings or various meetings are also organized here. You may ask whether these are sufficient. No. I mean, for me the neighborhood houses could have been further improved. The neighborhood committees don't work fully as we imagine. (…) How did we imagine? Up to me, the officers of the municipality should have come here more often and we should have participated much more to the administration. For, we said democratic autonomy should take place in everywhere. [B2]

She criticized the way of use of NHs and offered some ways which are in accordance with the original purpose that is to facilitate the democratic participation to the local governances through the neighborhood committees. Besides, the various meetings turned out to be the meetings of the party and pro-Kurdish movement in Bağlar.

The Education Support Houses (ESH) of Bağlar Municipality

The first ESH of Bağlar Municipality was opened in Körhat Neighborhood. The second ESH of Bağlar, named Ferzad Kemanger, in the Şeyhşamil Neighborhood was activated in 2011. Within the scope of this study, the Ferzad Kemanger ESH was visited. Like the other ESHs in Diyarbakır, the Ferzad Kemanger ESH has also numerous classes, ateliers for art and cultural activities and a library with full of books and computers. A trainer from the Ferzad Kemanger ESH narrated the origin of the ESHs. According to this narrative, in the beginning of the 2000s, a group of university student in Ankara, who identified themselves as youth Kurdish patriots, launched an education support activity especially for the Kurdish juveniles of primary and middle school age. The parents of these Kurdish children had immigrated to the metropolitan cities. The university students were voluntarily giving courses to these marginalized juveniles in line with the Turkish education system. This limited but important endeavor was the beginning of the institutionalization of the ESH in the municipals of the pro-Kurdish parties.

Özlem Yasak, who works in the social project office of Bağlar Municipality, narrated the establishment process of the education support houses. According to him, the first education support house of the [Bağlar] municipality came into an existence in 2004. According to Yasak, the establishment of the ESHs stems from the fact that a clear majority of the Bağlar's population is composed of children who need training supports. After renting a flat, the ESH started its first courses with 80 children through the

cooperation of Dicle University and volunteer trainers. For Yasak, in addition to give free lectures to the school-age-children of the impoverished families, the institution aimed to provide a new space for "the children of Bağlar". In time, a four-storey apartment was firstly rented and then purchased by the municipality in order to the meet increasing demand and to operate under physically and technically better conditions. As a result of further increasing demands, the second ESH, called Ferzad Kemanger Education Support House, emerged opened. The new building was on the land of the municipality and it was funded by the Japan Embassy. The Ferzad Kemanger ESH includes a children park, ateliers and a big library. This ESH was defined as a paragon and after this ESH 57 more ESHs were built in the other BDP municipalities. The Number of children who are registered and who participate in the cultural activities of the ESHs in Bağlar is around 2,500. In addition, within the scope of ESH project, the children's family are always visited, informed and provided social supports. Besides volunteer trainers, several professional municipal staffs have been employed in the ESHs. Yasak listed the main problems of the ESHs as deficiencies in financial, technical and human resources. She also added that there are negative and biased attitudes of the central state on the ESHs. She stated that the ESHs were raided by the police for several times.

On the other side, Leygara narrated the origin of the free art and culture courses which were provided by the Bağlar Municipality for the poor people:

> In Bağlar, the other suffering group is children, of course. Unfortunately, a healthy generation has not been raised. In 5 Nisan Neighborhood, you know in the old Bağlar, there were classes with 80 students in the schools. It was not easy for the children even to go the toilet. At the end of the school, seven thousands of the students were in the streets for a while. I started a campaign to push the state to build schools there, and I achieved in success. In addition, I suggested these children to participate in the social and cultural activities. They also needed music, painting, photography courses. Their artistic ability should have come out. However, I got many reactions for saying these. They said to me "Hey! Although these children are hungry you are talking about?" Okay, let their stomach be full at first. But, excuse me, they are not animal; they are child, girls. Art and culture is also important for their personality development. So, I made a contact with TEGEV[100]. There was a very valuable land of us which are located at the behind of the existing Carrefour. The union had came and told me to sell there to pay the workers' salaries. Yet, I hired this place to the TEGEV for its Training Park for the children. Thanksgiving them, they made a huge investment and established a training centre. The people began to come here from the Old Bağlar. For me, this was the most important investment in the city. Unfortunately, they [the subsequent municipality] took the land back from TEGEV since they considered this investment as wrong. (…) The real origin of the free art and culture courses which are provided by the municipalities was this investment. They thought that this service provision should be made by the municipalities. [B3]

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[100] TEGEV is a foundation on training volunteers.

From these narratives of Leygara, it is understood that there are some distinctions between the first municipality and the subsequent municipalities in terms of their spatiality understanding; nevertheless, the subsequent ones continued to conduct the social projects. The former one prefers to negotiate with the state or the private organizations and it left such social services to them. The letter ones, on the other hand, prefer to conduct these services on their own through finding international funds. Of course, the increasing importance of the European countries in terms of fund provisions in Turkey could be also a factor in this shift.

The Condolences Houses of Bağlar Municipality

Bağlar municipality built two condolences houses in the Kaynartepe and Pınaroğlu neighborhoods in 2010 and in 2012, respectively. As mentioned before, the condolence houses are used in case of a funeral. The dwellers come together and express their condolences in these spaces. The first condolence house in Diyarbakır was built by Bağlar Municipality upon the heavy demands of the dwellers of Kayanartepe neighborhood.

During the interview with the current Mayor Yüksel Baran, she stated that there are lots of condolence houses in the city center's neighborhoods which were built by the fellow countrymen (*hemşehri*) associations. Yet, there were no condolence houses in the impoverished and rural neighborhoods. Hence, the pro-Kurdish municipalities started to build the condolence houses on-demand in mostly these regions. Baran pointed that:

> We have built condolence houses with the aim of improving solidarity. In case of a funeral, neighborhood dwellers come together and share each other's sorrow in the condolence houses. Previously, the people used to put up a tent and come together there. Yet, this created a lot of troubles, especially during rainy and snowy weathers. In fact, the people asked for building condolence houses. We promised that we would respectively build a condolence house in each country neighborhood. More precisely, we would build a "general gathering space". But it was impossible to organize a funeral in every day of a year! Hence, the condolence houses are not used only for condolence, but also for various purposes. For example, we conduct medical screening in these houses. Also, we generally build the muhtar offices next to the condolence houses. Let's say, we visit that neighborhood to give a seminar, then we will use that condolence house. Or people usually use them for wedding, engagement or *Sunnah* ceremonies. For these houses are very large. As you said, these houses become a social space of the neighborhood. Besides the condolence houses in country neighborhoods, there is also another one that we rented and designed in Kaynartepe Neighborhood. Yet, it is used only for condolence. [B4]

As Baran stated, condolence houses in the city centre are used only for condolence, but in the country neighborhoods, they are used for multi-purposes, such as meetings, social and cultural activities and traditional ceremonies.

The Günışığı Aid and Solidarity Store

The Günışığı Aid and Solidarity Store began to serve in 2007 within the scope of improving the responsibility and solidarity culture as well as of developing cloth and house furniture aid to the low income families. As one of the projects on struggle against poverty, the store has an extended promotion network. During the aid activities, it is attempted not to offend the aid-takers. The store is located in the Selahaddin Eyyubi Neighborhood and it serves at the municipal scale (BBÇTR, 2009, p. 28).

Although women's centers are common produced spaces among all the district municipalities, the women center's as well as the women's cooperative and the women's labor bazaar of Bağlar Municipality will be discussed under the title of women based spaces peculiar to Bağlar Municipality.

The Parks and Green Areas of Bağlar Municipality

Bağlar Municipality has a 255,490 meter square parks and green areas. The active green area per capita is 0.72 meter square in Bağlar, which is quite under the offered ratio of 10 meter square per person. Yet, this ratio is expected to increase in the following years because there are numerous park building projects of the municipality. The Newroz Park, the Women's Life Park, the Evdalê Zeynikê Unhindered Life Park (for the disabled groups), the Rıhan Park, the Leyla Qasim Park and the Göletli Park are the most prominent parks which were built by the pro-Kurdish Bağlar Municipality. Also, a project is carried on to produce a long green belt on the Hatboyu channel. As the empty and extended lands are in the new Bağlar (Bağcılar), the big parks have been built there.

Socio-Spatial Practices Peculiar to Bağlar Municipality

In this sub-section the socio-spatial practices peculiar to Bağlar Municipality which are the rehabilitation center for children, the youth library, the Newroz Area and the spaces for women and children will be discussed. Yet, the modernization policies and the certain development practices during the first municipal period should be handled at first. Hence, the initial spatial imagination of the first municipality will be analyzed.

The first works of the pro-Kurdish municipality in Bağlar was to deal with the hygiene and sanitary issues, such as infrastructure amelioration of the whole district. Besides, healing the wounds of the forced migrated and impoverished people in Bağlar and bestowing them with an urbanite identity are the primary goals of the municipality. These are the modernization projects of the pro-Kurdish municipality in Bağlar. Also, the

foundation of the *New* Bağlar through the development plans is another spatial practice of Bağlar Municipality. After psychologically and physically recovering the city, the socio-spatial practices began to gain importance in the municipality. The women based practices of the municipality left their marks on the social production of space in Bağlar. In addition, the production of spaces for children and young people, such as rehabilitation center and youth library, are the other significant practices of the municipality. Finally, establishing the Newroz Square to city of Diyarbakır can be evaluated to be a noteworthy practice of Bağlar Municipality.

Modernization Practices of Bağlar Municipality in the 2000s

During the field research, an interview was conducted with Cabbar Leygara, who is the first pro-Kurdish mayor of Bağlar Municipality, in his law bureau in order to gain data about the first municipal period. He portrayed the city of Diyarbakır which had just come out of the war. As most of the forced migrated people came and settled in the Körhat, 5 Nisan and Kaynartepe neighborhoods of Bağlar, the municipality initially had to deal with the problems of these areas. He defined these neighborhoods as "migrated *varoş* areas" and "big villages". In the words of Leygara:

> In the past migrations, the situation was very different. The *urbanites* are the main social groups in those migrations. To illustrate, we moved from Suriçi to Yenişehir. My mother told us, "My sons, we are going to the apartments, we are going to pretend like them." And we were imitating them. We were trying to be an urbanite like them. However, being already a village in the past, Bağlar encountered with the migrants of villages in the 1990s. The city experienced a dramatic population explosion. The city was unprepared to a migration. The infrastructure, the city squares, the green areas, the developed areas; none of them exist. It turned to a big village. Hence, the people lived there as if they were in their villagers. They also maintained their old-habits of the village life. What are those? The garbage used to be put down to the square of the village. The act of throwing the garbage to the streets continued in Bağlar. If you put the rubbish bins in the streets, the garbage would have been put down out of the bins. (…) You can see there are tandırs on the top floor of the apartments and livery stables (*ahır*) on the ground floor of the apartments. The Apartment, tandır and livery stables together composes the view of the houses at Bağlar. [B5]

Leygara was asked whether or not the municipality attempted to shift this profile. He replied that they could not shift, but they tried to make this profile suitable with the urban life. He pointed the tandır houses which were opened by the greater municipality. He continued as:

> For another example, we built parks and put benches. Yet, the villagers do not sit on these benches; they continue to sit on the grasses! They came from villages; they had no such a habit. Then we found a way: We put tables between benches and drew checkers on the tables. The villagers like to play checker, so they started to sit on the benches to play. We

also built small parks in the neighborhood squares so that women come together and have a chat with each other. Indeed, women in Bağlar still sit on front of their apartments. [B6]

In her book, Watts talks about her observations on the pro-Kurdish municipalities in the beginning of the 2000s: "The modernist logic of pro-Kurdish governance was evident in many of their activities and in their discourse." (2006, p. 146). Watts continues that the initial activities of the pro-Kurdish municipalities are based on hygiene and sanitation of the city. She adds that "Along with programs for the centralization and regulation of food sales such as yogurt, campaigns to clean up Diyarbakır's city streets were heavily promoted by the municipalities" (Watts, 2006, p. 146).

Watts also talked to Cabbar Leygara in 2003. In this meeting Leygara complained about the new-comers to the city from villages. Although the municipality built stone benches in the parks, the 'villagers' did not sit on these benches; rather, they preferred to sit on the ground. He claimed that the municipality should "teach them how they live in the city." (2006, p. 146).

During the interview conducted by the author of this thesis, Leygara also told about the heavy problems which they inherited from the previous municipality. During the first period of the municipal period, the municipality had to deal with all these problems as well as the socio-economic troubles of Bağlar. Leygara told that:

> A considerable amount of debt inherited us from the RP municipality. Let me tell it in this way: When I first came into office, the salaries of the [municipal] laborers [in total] were 300 million; whereas the share coming us from the İller Bank was 50 million. When the man [the previous mayor, Ahmet Yağmur] realized that he wouldn't be elected again, he employed 860 laborers although 150 laborers were enough in Bağlar Municipality and he gave the highest amount of salaries them. Then, [there was] no building of Bağlar Municipality, no development department. The sewer system was problem, the drinking water was problem, the development areas were problem and the residential areas were problem. The population sharply decreased to half and three times in the last 3 years. [Bağlar was] like Bangladesh, the peoples were chock-full. You build a park. While 40-50 people should sit in this park, 500 people are coming there… We didn't follow a populist policy. We followed the policy of which people were in urgent need. Let me give an example. The sewage was flowing on the ground in Bağlar. The ratio of typhoid diseases was three times more than the average of Turkey. Now, this ratio has decreased to 1 percent. In the municipal governance, the most ungrateful investment is the sewer system. Why? For it is underground, invisible. Yet, if you think from the perspective of popular health, it becomes the most substantial investment. (…) Of course, we could do such "*cicili bicili*" (garish) things, but we first built the infrastructure of the city… We also didn't know much what the Municipalism perspective is…We came over all of these in our period. We achieved much in the sense of public health. These were not the hard ones. The actual hard ones were the socio-psychological mode and the economic structure of the city. Our actual succeed was coming through that trauma. [B7]

For Leygara, as they could only relieve the city of infrastructural deformity and social disorder, they could not produce social spaces. They made the city ready for the following municipalities to be able to conduct social and cultural municipal practices for the people. Watts also cited the Leygara's speeches in 2003. The observers thought that the municipality could not run anything on their own at first. "But now we as Kurds have demonstrated that we have power, and we can manage our own affairs. Even though it is our first experience in office, we have proven we can manage, even in these difficult conditions". Watts renders these first experiences of the pro-Kurdish municipalities "modernization and the definition and regulation of the population, in this case defined as multicultural and mostly Kurdish" (2006, p. 145). On the other side, during the interview in 2012, Leygara admitted that the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır could have been more successful since they have the experiences of the 13 years local government practices. In fact, while he was saying, "Of course, we could do such *cicili bicili* things"; he alluded to the two subsequent municipal periods of the pro-Kurdish municipalities which have produced numerous social spaces in the city of Diyarbakır.

Early Development Practices of Bağlar Municipality and Formation of New Bağlar

Leygara narrated what the municipality practiced in terms of development of Bağlar. For him, an over start planning in the old Bağlar would be very complicated. Also, the municipality could not provide any income to the very poor people of Bağlar. In addition, the people asked for aid from the municipality. Hence, the policy makers came to a decision to develop new lands within the boundaries of the Bağlar district. In Leygara's word:

> We opened *the new Bağlar*. We opened the roads in the regions of current Bağcılar, Hamravat, Gökkuşağı and cross the bus terminal. The ŞPO, İMO and MMO told us that we should open these roads and we did. The 50 Metrelik Road and the Newroz area are my works. However, while we were doing this, we took too many critics. Why did we take critics? I could have plant flowers, etc. They shouted at me, "Why are you providing service for that mountain top? There is no man there!" However, the city planners and engineers supported me. I told our people: "*We should carry the city out.*" Let us open the 30 Metrelik, 50 Metrelik and 75 Metrelik roads, hence the people can build houses there. Then the built houses will bring us income. These incomes will come from the high income groups. The money that will take from here, we will provide service for old Bağlar; Körhat, 5 Nisan, Muradiye, etc. However, this paid an arm and leg for me! Why? For, I was severely criticized. They thought that the mayor must have a land there and must have an individual profit. The development issue is like this… Then, we had a very grateful architect teacher and we requested him to draw the plan. We hesitated whether or not we were making right. The teacher told me, "You are making right; your value will be understood 15 years later." Then, I built the municipal building in the newly developed area, in Bağcılar. After that, the richest people came to the poorest region of Diyarbakır. They bought flats from Hamravat Houses and Gökkuşağı Houses. In this point too, we were again criticized. And as you know, our people have a psychology to side with the oppressed one. They always stated that "The New Bağlar is the richest region; whereas the Old Bağlar is the poorest region." They told that the mayor provided service for them. However, after these lands gain value, a

new business opportunity emerged and the income of the municipality increased. We started to collect estate taxes, garbage taxes, etc regularly. [B8]

The major problems in the urban fabric of the old Bağlar are the excessive number of buildings, the too crowded population hazardous and risky settlements and constructing areas in case of a disaster.

During the interview with Pirinççioğlu, he narrated the complicated case of the old Bağlar as:

> The apartments are quite unhealthy. They are apartment-gecekondu. I might understand if it is in-site transformation and say that the buildings are unhealthy; they are collapsing on their own. They were built very quickly. They are unauthorized and devoid of a proper engineering. Even a first aid team does not have any chance to enter those neighborhoods. If there is a fire, you have no chance to enter. If there is an earthquake like Van and İstanbul, you cannot reach to the Bağlar-Dörtyol area for a month by walking. You cannot clean the debris with a digger. [B9]

The common opinion of the executives of both Bağlar Municipality and the GMD was that reordering the old Bağlar is hardly possible. During the interview with Hikmet Öcal, the chair of the Directory and Housing and City Planning Department of the GMD, he claimed that the local governments cannot cope with the problems of the old Bağlar on their own. For him, a central state intervention will be inevitably required. During the interview with Demir Çelik, he stated that:

> We are researching for how an urban transformation can be implemented in Bağlar without detaching the people from their spaces. (…) Yet, Bağlar municipality cannot finish this process on its own, since the existing problems reach beyond the power of the municipality. Except Kayapınar, the municipalities in Diyarbakır are not able to pay their debts; sometimes, they even cannot pay the personnel salaries. Unfortunately, the state itself should undertake such kind of processes which requires a more comprehensive vision. As an alternative, the state may transfer plenty of sources to the municipalities and as a result the municipalities may become autonomous in the administrative deeds and in the financial and political fields. In this way the municipalities may implement the urban transformation projects on their own. However, there is no administrative, financial and political autonomy. The policy makers are now Ministry of Environment, Urbanism Ministry and TOKİ itself. The authority of development projects was completely given to the ministry and TOKİ. Unfortunately, TOKİ is the single hegemonic power over the cities. [B10]

One of the municipal council members, Meral Demiroğlu, alleged that conducting public surveys or contacting with the dwellers living in the apartment sites for the municipality was quite troublesome and it was nearly impossible to enter into the houses. Therefore, the political organizing, activities, mobilization and local solidarity are attempted to be prevented.

The Spatial Units of Bağlar Municipality for Women

The services of Bağlar Municipality are mostly based on the women (and the children) policies. As mentioned before, most of the displaced women in the Old Bağlar are in the forefront of social and political life; therefore, the policies of the municipality are shaped in accordance with this local's specificity. As in the case of Glasgow Women's Housing Association given by Duncan *et al* (1988, p. 119), organizing power of the women changes the local social relations and the labor division. Because gender relations are founded by different occupational participation of women in different local needs and demands, functions of the local governments are determined by these specifies of the local units (Duncan & Goodwin, 1988, p. 119).

Most of the women lost their husbands because the men have either been imprisoned or they have participated to the armed struggle of the Kurdish movement, or they have gone to work in other cities or they have experienced a trauma. Therefore, women and children of the Old Bağlar are more visible in the everyday practices of the urban life. Hence, to build spaces and carry out the socio-spatial practices of the municipality have targeted women. Also, the fact that the mayors are women during the last two municipal periods has played a major role to determine these policies. In addition to the women's house, women and child health centre, women's art atelier, women's cooperative, women's labor bazaar and women's life-park as well as women coach drivers are specific to Bağlar Municipality. In addition, the numerous projects regarding gender issues, women's awareness, rights, freedom, participation to the management and labor processes, etc have been put into practice more frequently when compared with the other district municipalities. The distinctive policy of the municipality is also observed in the web page of the municipality. "*Bijî 8 Adar ê!*"[101] which is the welcome message of the official web site of Bağlar Municipality was inscribed in a purple background.

During the interview, Cabbar Leygara narrated the origin of the existing women's house and women's health center. According to it, the municipality opened a women and child care center in Şeyh Şamil Neighborhood as first. Leygara stated that, this neighborhood which has a 50 thousand people is one of the poorest regions of Diyarbakır. Through renting a house in this gecekondu region, the municipality established a mother and child

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[101] This slogan means in Kurdish, "Long live March 8!" It was probably inscribed in the International Laborer Women's Day, but it still exists in the official web site of the municipality (Bağlar Belediyesi, 2012)

care center. A doctor, a nurse and a psychologist provided free health service for the women and children living in the gecekondu settlements. This center which was relocated to Fatih Neighborhood of Bağlar in 2005 was turned into a big health center (the Kardelen House-2) servicing at the municipal scale there. Leygara, made a criticism about the replacement and turn of this health service in the gecekondu neighborhood into a central service. In his words:

> However, we wanted it [the health centre] to be within walking distance. The friends [the subsequent municipalities] soon constructed a building. Rather than having one big building in some area of the city, such as the Sümerpark model; our desire was to rent a house for this service in each poor neighborhood. Let the women walk to this centre. Let them not to go there by paying money for transport. Let them not to spend much more times since they either hardly gain permission from their husbands or have to tell lies to go out from their house. [B11]

Surprisingly, Leygara is thought to be a figure who is relatively more tolerant in the choice of location and in the scale of the services of the women health centre when compared the women mayors. Being aware of the time and space restrictions of the women, he explained the hard conditions of the Bağlar's women in details. The current centre is again located in the old Bağlar. Yet, as Leygara said, much more small centers should have been opened in each neighborhood. As also Pirinççioğlu argued, the other vantage point of servicing at the neighborhood scale is that the municipality realized much more needs and troubles of the neighborhood. Furthermore, reaching the collective consumption and the participating to the municipal governance of the dwellers become much easier. Leygara continued his words that:

> You can also understand the psychology of them better. A psychologist who is a friend of mine used to show his notes in regular intervals and I read them one by one. You can realize that some women need a more extensive treatment and we send them to the hospital. Or you realize another problem and hence we direct them. For example, an interesting demand was made to us [from that neighborhood]. The people who made this demand claimed a literacy course. Then we allocated a room and organized a literacy course for 20-30 people. It was in the winter; one brought heating stove, the other brought wood and coal, the other brought desk and chair. [B12]

Leygara also propounded that the need for the project of women's labor bazaar indeed stems from the existence of "*Aşefçiler Bazaar*" which was established during the first municipal period. In his words:

> We initiated to establish the women health centers, the training courses, and then they [the subsequent municipalities in Bağlar] improved them. Furthermore, we opened the cheese bazaar or in our words, "*Aşefçiler Bazaar*" in a street of Şeyh Şamil. The *aşefçi* women sell their foods in this bazaar and the poor people come and buy from these women. The

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subsequent municipalities improved this project. What is it now? It's turned into a labor bazaar of women. [B13]

The term of *Aşefçi* which is used in Diyarbakır denotes the women who work in the farms as day-laborer in the rural sides of the city. They circulate the waste product and low-priced vegetables between each other. The property owner does not intervene in this. As a result, these women become the owner of these products and they come to city center to sell their products. They sell them in the streets and therefore they are called as aşefçi women. The first pro-Kurdish municipality of Bağlar built the *Aşefçiler* Bazaar for these women. Thus, the municipality solved their problems in terms of a proper place to trade their products and provided to the aşefçi women with a more convenient work conditions. Such an approach would be improved by the third period of the municipality for both the aşefçi women living in the rural sides and unemployment women living in the city centers.

The second pro-Kurdish mayor of Bağlar Municipality, Yurdusev Özsökmenler, is not originally from Diyarbakır and is not a Kurd. As an activist in the Kurdish movement, she worked in the KESK and the women commission of HADEP in İstanbul before taking the chair in Bağlar Municipality. Through the women's quota of the party, Özsökmenler came to Diyarbakır from İstanbul and became the first woman mayor of Diyarbakır. An interview with Özsökmenler was published in a web site named "*Sosyalist Kadın*" about her municipal practices in Bağlar. Özsökmenler informs about their primary goals as:

> Establishing the centers where women could produce social life areas through coming together, dealing with their problems and giving education on woman and child's health, hygiene and training child were remarkable deeds. The other major goals were to equip the children with a democratic culture, sustain primarily support education of the children whose parents are poor, died or left; open vocational courses and cooperatives to struggle against poverty and collaborate with civic organizations, unions and various chambers while providing services (Sosyalist Kadın, 2012).

As it can be understood from the spatial practices and produced spaces, Özsökmenler achieved all these goals. The mayor then talks about the municipal services which are oriented towards women issues. The Kardelen Women's House and the Women's Art Atelier in the Women Life Park all together constitute a small-scale women's campus. In this campus, there are numerous cost-free facilities ranging training vocational and artistic courses to counseling services. In collaboration with the Amnesty International, the municipality also built the "Woman's Life Monument", which is built in honor of the women who are victim of murder in Turkey, in the park (Sosyalist Kadın, 2012). Also,

the Women and Child Health Center under the name of the Kardelen Women's House-2 was opened in 2005 in 5 Nisan Neighborhood. In this centre, the free health and psychological services in vernacular language are provided to the impoverished women and their children. The doctors and employees of this center usually run free medical screening and seminars on health and hygiene seminars through visiting the neighborhoods and rural regions (BBÇTR, 2009).

Özsökmenler underlines that the issues of defining the women perspective to local governments and solving, within this perspective, the problems were often argued with the party. Hence, the party organized numerous national and international seminars, symposiums, etc. Besides, giving courses on being entrepreneurship and reaching the resources within the frame of the "Promoting the Women Entrepreneurs Project" which is funded by the World Bank, were important deeds of the municipality. . Also, opening a business office was promoted for women. Moreover, by the promotion of European Union, the Bağlar Women's Cooperative was activated within the scope of women employment (Sosyalist Kadın, 2012). In the activity report of Bağlar Municipality which covers the years between 2004 and 2009, all the social projects are provided in details (BBÇTR, 2009, pp. 58-76). The projects which are also oriented towards the children who work in the street, honor killings of women, improving women's rights and cultures, young women specialists sponsored by supra-national organizations were put into practice.

The most important characteristic of this period is to conduct innumerable social projects on the issues of women, children, migration, poverty, etc. which were funded or credited by the World Bank, Euorepean Union, United Nations, International Money Fund and other supranational fund and credit organizations on behalf of socio-economic development. In his thesis called "Does Development Develop Diyarbakır and Mexico-Tierra Blanca Cases?", Balsak[102] deduced that such projects which were carried on through micro-credits, funds or direct aids are not efficient in alleviating poverty; conversely, they make the poor people become more dependent on the creditor (2010).

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[102] For more details about these project-based practices in Diyarbakır, see the thesis of Balsak (2010).

Figure 14The Women and Child Health Center of Bağlar Municipality
(Source: Personnel Archive)

During the last period, Bağlar Municipality has continued to implement its women based practices. As Leygara stated, a new central and big health centre for women was activated in Fatih Neighborhood by combining the women and health centers in Şeyh Şamil and 5 Nisan neighborhoods with the promotion of the greater municipality. Its current location is very close to Train Station in the Yenişehir. During the field research, this health Women and Child Health Center was visited. It was established in a three-storey building. The top floor of the centre is allocated for the Kardelen House-2. The health center provides free health treatment, medical screening and health trainings services. This center provides services not only in Bağlar, but also frequently in all the districts of Diyarbakır including the villages. The main target groups are women and children; yet the medical screening and training services are also provided to the males, including municipal workers, peasants and farmers.

On the other hand, there are further square building projects which are designed especially for the women and children. These squares will be built in the Şeyh Şamil and 5 Nisan neighborhoods. There will be tandır places and play tools for children in the square. During the interview Baran stated that "Women in Bağlar always sit in front of their houses since they can't find any place to sit and chat; so, I want to amalgamate all empty lands and produce spaces for only women and if any for their children". Since Yüksel Baran has a remarkable role in conducting the gender based policies, she has been granted an award in the municipal affairs and selected as the most successful woman mayor according to the results of a public survey. The fact that the mayors are women

during the last two municipal periods has played a major role to determine the gender based policies of Bağlar Municipality.

The Bağlar Municipality Children Training (Rehabilitation) Centre

The Bağlar Municipality Children Training Centre was opened in Mevlana Halit Neighborhood in 2009.[103] However, it was shutdown two years later. The main target groups of this center were children who were homeless, work in the streets and drug addicted. They were not only physiologically cured but also trained in certain ways. It was aimed to provide vocational, social, cultural, artistic, sporting services for children who did not have sufficient economic, social and physical conditions and had no opportunity to develop their personal identity. Above 500 children per year benefited from this center through the volunteer trainers. By favor of the center, the children published their own newspaper, called *Dengê Zarokan*[104], after getting the Kurdish literacy courses and the international children's right seminars. They also distributed the newspapers – included various news, photographs, poems, histories written by themselves – in the streets to the children of Bağlar and Dağkapı[105]. Besides, they made their own photograph exhibition after attending photograph workshops of the center[106] (Bağlar Belediyesi, 2012).

Özlem Yasak explained the reason of the shutdown during the interview. She stated that service provision of the children training and rehabilitation centre, which has been conducted under the supports of the Bağlar Municipality Education Support House, was not actually cut off. The center was affiliated to the ESHs in order to provide required psychological support to the children. Yet, in a newspaper, which does not exist now, informed that after long lasting state repressions and warnings, the centre was closed due to the fact that it had no legal permission. It seems that this center could not survive out

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[103] During the interview with Özlem Yasak, she stated that they did not prefer to use "rehabilitation" in the denomination of the center due to its negative impact on the public opinion and children psychology.

[104] In Kurdish, *Dengê Zarokan* means voice of the children.

[105] For a few news about the newspaper and its context, see the Bianet web site: http://www.bianet.org/konu/denge-zarokan

[106] For a detailed information about the activities of the children training centre, see the municipal's web site: http://www.baglar.bel.tr/bilgi661-Baglarli-cocuklarin-kisisel-gelisim-Merkezi--Cocuk-Egitim-Merkezi.baglarbelediyesi

of the social and economic order, like the other most socially reproduced spaces could not.

The 5 Nisan Youth's Library

The youth library was built through the restoration of an ancient two-storey wooden vineyard house in 5 Nisan Neighborhood in 2007. Thousands of books were donated for establishing the library (BBÇTR, 2009, p. 9).

Figure 15 The views from the 5 Nisan Youth Library of Bağlar Municipality
(Source: Personnel Archive)

During the field research, the youth library was visited. A young executive boy gave information about the library. The juveniles of 5 Nisan Neighborhood usually come together and organize reading and discussion sessions. The library also provides a convenient space for studying. The university students give free lecturers for the people. The juveniles make film and documentary presentations, poem performances, sessions of the literary discourse analyses. As the library is very close to the neighborhood house, they can easily get feedbacks of their works. They get into contact with certain civic organizations, the municipality and its units for organization of meetings, workshops, medical surveys, etc. It was clearly observed that the library is actively being used and its place, in this sense, is being socially reproduced through the activities of the juveniles.

The Newroz Square

As celebrating Newroz festivals were unauthorized in Diyarbakır before, producing a space for these celebrations was very vital for the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Millions of people throughout the country have poured in the city for the Newroz festival. Comprehending a 140 thousand meter square, the Newroz square was built as an

enormous complex in 2009 in Bağcılar. Besides Newroz celebrations, large scale organizations have been also held in this area. During the interview with Yüksel Baran, she informed about the Newroz Square.

> When the Newroz Square became operational, I was a candidate [for the 2009 local elections]. As the candidates for mayoralty, we first waved a greeting people in the Newroz Square in the Newroz day of 2009. (…) the Newroz celebration was a big problem for our municipalities. In 2008, Newroz square began to be built to solve this problem. As Newroz was our festival, we needed a space to celebrate our festival. Apart from the Newroz celebrations, there are picnic areas. Our people often go there for a fresh air, the previous night I was there for a big meeting which was organized by our municipalities. All of us sat with the people on the grass and had nice conservation all together. [B14]

As also Baran stated, there are a giant arena, a big concert stage, picnic sites, children's parks and play grounds, cycling road, walking trails, sports zones within the Newroz area, etc. As an open space, the multi-purpose usage of the Newroz area meets also the green area demands of the dwellers in Bağlar. The Newroz Square turns into a unique social space on the March 21 in every year. Introducing this open space to the city of Diyarbakır can be evaluated as a remarkable practice of Bağlar Municipality.

6.3.3.3. Evaluation for Bağlar Municipality

To sum up, the socio-spatial units of Bağlar Municipality are the neighborhood houses, the condolence houses, the women's house, the education support house, the aid store, the parks and green areas. The specific socio-spatial practices of the municipality are the women oriented spaces (women and child health center, women art atelier, women life park with its monument), the rehabilitation center for children, the youth library and a mass demonstration area (the Newroz Square). As it can be easily seen, most of them are based upon social and women-friendly (and children friendly) policies. Since the displaced women in the *old* Bağlar are politically more active within the Kurdish movement and more visible in the everyday practices of the urban life, the policies of the municipality are shaped in accordance with this local's specificity. Also, the fact that the mayors are women during the last two municipal periods has played a major role in defining these policies. The first attempt of the first period municipality was to deal with the hygiene and sanitary issues, such as infrastructure amelioration of the whole district. Besides, curing the wounds of the forced migrated and impoverished people in Bağlar and providing them an urbanite identity are the primary goals of the municipality. A women clinique and several free courses were opened in a gecekondu neighborhood. These can be seen the modernization projects of the pro-Kurdish municipality in Bağlar.

Also, the foundation of the new Bağlar through the development practices is another important practice which started during the first municipal period. The mayor of that period Cabbar Leygara asserted that through developing practices in the empty areas of Bağlar, the municipality increases its revenues to meet the demands of the old Bağlar which has no opportunity for conducting any renovation project. However, at the end of the developing practices, two different socio-spatial structures emerged in the district as *new* and *old* Bağlar as it is evident from their names. A few popular gated communities, such as the Hamravat Houses and the Gökkuşağı Houses, and the big shopping malls are located in Bağcılar (the new Bağlar). Nonetheless, all the socio-spatial units, such as the education support houses, the neighborhood and condolence houses, the women's houses of the municipality, were built in the old Bağlar. Only the extended parks, such as Rıhan Park, were built in the Bağcılar region since there is no adequate empty area in the old Bağlar. The Newroz Square is also built in this region. Nowadays, the social complexes which need extra empty areas are being still built there. The socio-spatial units for women and children were completed and opened mostly after the first municipal period.

The second municipality period inherited a recovered city. At least, the important portions of the municipal service, such as infrastructure, hygiene and sanitation practices had been finished. Moreover, the first seeds of the social and cultural practices had been already planted. Hence, the second pro-Kurdish municipal government of Bağlar could initiate its service provision under more favorable conditions, when compared with the first period. The first education support house, the Kardelen Women's House, the Women Health and Social Affairs Centre, the women's cooperative, the women's art atelier, the Life Park for women, all the neighborhood houses, the youth library, the Günışığı Aid Store and the sport complex were opened in the second municipal period. The mayor was a woman and came from amongst the cadres of the women's movement of the pro-Kurdish party. She made significant contributions in women-based municipal services. Yet, at the same time other projects were launched in the Bağlar Municipality. Numerous social projects on the issues of women, children, migration, poverty, etc were funded or credited by the World Bank, EU and the supranational fund and credit organizations on behalf of socio-economic development. The municipal revenues were very restricted and the number of demands about these social projects increased. Therefore, the municipality had to conduct such projects through micro-credits, funds or direct aids which were not

efficient in alleviating poverty. On the contrary, these aids and funds constitute a risk to render the poor more dependent on the creditor.

The women-based socio-spatial practices were carried during the last municipal period which was also run by a woman mayor, Yüksel Baran, who has been granted an award in the municipal affairs and selected as the most successful woman mayor. There are numerous projects again, but the municipality could not find fund anymore. As the international funding organizations started to restrict or give up funding and the central state attempted to prevent such funds to flow to the region, Bağlar municipality cannot build as much as socio-spatial units when compared with the second period. Nevertheless, the women shelter house, the second education support house, the condolence house and the park for disabled people were opened. Among the woman-based practices, employing of the women in chauffeur services after is remarkable. The women's labor bazaar and the park for have been built, too. Besides, introducing the Newroz Square to the city of Diyarbakır can be evaluated as a noteworthy practice of Bağlar Municipality. The participation of the urban dwellers to the urban management processes is provided through the neighborhood committees which were established in the neighborhood houses and the citizen's associations in Bağlar as well as in the other municipalities. Yet, women of the old Bağlar are more active in Bağlar and always play an important role in the socio-spatial practices of the municipality. The Kurdish movement is also more active in the old Bağlar, such as in the 5 Nisan, Kaynartepe and Yunus Emre neighborhoods which are composed of the displaced groups. This region has always attracted the municipality's attention. Hence, as aforementioned, the municipality concentrates on its socio-spatial practices of this region.

6.3.4. Kayapınar Municipality

"The New Face of Diyarbakır"[107]

Being completely different from the other districts in Diyarbakır, Kayapınar has a regular, enormous, green and 'modern' spatial design. It witnesses the last urban development wave in Diyarbakır. The first settlement of Kayapınar was the village of Peyas, the owner of whose lands was one of the city's wealthiest families. In 1991, Peyas was defined as a

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[107] Welcoming message in the website of Kayapınar Municipality (www.diyarbakirkayapinar.bel.tr)

belde[108] and affiliated to the central district of Diyarbakır (Yüksel, 2011, p. 450). By means of the Law No: 5216 Peyas was claimed as a first degree municipality and renamed as Kayapınar Municipality through affiliation of nine villages in 2004. Kayapınar Municipality is redefined as a district municipality by Law no: 5747 in 2008 (KBSP, 2010, p. 16). Kayapınar Municipality has totally 12 neighborhoods, three of which is the biggest urban neighborhoods (Huzurevleri, Peyas, and 500 Evler) and the others are the neighborhoods (Cankatran, Cücük, Çölgüzeli, Gözalan, Gözegöl, Uyanık, Yolboyu, Beneklitaş and Talaytepe) which would be affiliated to the municipality later.

Those who won the chair of Kayapınar Municipality since it was founded as a first tier municipality are M. Hanifi Kılıç (1994-1999), Mehmet Can Tekin (1999-2004), Zülküf Karatekin (2004-2009), Zülküf Karatekin (2009-2009), and the vice mayor, Mahmut Dağ (2009- …). Hanifi Kılıç won the Kayapınar Municipality from RP via obtaining 27.3 percent of the votes in the 1994 local elections. During the 1999 local elections, Mehmet Can Tekin as a candidate of HADEP gained 51.7 percent of the votes while FP scored only 14.2 percent. Zülküf Karatekin was selected from SHP with 58.6 percent of the votes in 2004. Karatekin won the municipality as the candidate of DTP with 63.8 percent of the votes in the 2009 elections.

Table 18 Chairs of Kayapınar Municipality since 1994

Date of Local Election	Periods	Chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality	Represented Political Party	The Rate of Received Votes (%)
27.03.1994	1994-1999	Hanifi Kılıç	RP	27.3
18.04.1999	1999-2004	Mehmet Can Tekin	HADEP	51.7
28.03.2004	2004-2009	Zülküf Karatekin	SHP	58.6
-	2009-2009	Zülküf Karatekin	DTP	63.8
29.03.2009	2009- …	Mahmut Dağ (Vice Mayor)	DTP	-

Source: TUİK, 2013

Mehmet Can Tekin was the first pro-Kurdish mayor of Kayapınar Municipality. Zülküf Karatekin was in charge of the municipality between 2004 and 2009. Karatekin as a civil engineer was the chair of the Chambers of Civil Engineers in Diyarbakır until being a mayor. He again won the competition in the 2009 local elections. Yet, he was unseated and put into jail through the KCK operation in December, 2009[109]. Instead of him,

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[108] In Turkish, *Belde* refers to interim administrative units between districts and villages

[109] Zülküf Karatekin was released in March, 2013. Therefore, I could not conduct an interview with him during the research field of this project which was made in the summer of 2012.

Mahmut Dağ, who was one of the vice mayors of the municipality, sits in the chair as a deputy mayor of Kayapınar Municipality now.

The municipal administration of Kayapınar comprises of a mayor and three deputy mayors. In addition to the, there are 12 directorates affiliated to the deputy mayors. These are the Editorship and Record Keeping Directorate, Development and Urban Planning Directorate (Planning Department, License Department and Building Control Department), Real Estate and Expropriation Directorate, Technical Affairs Directorate, Park and Gardens Directorate, Hygiene Affairs Directorate, Cultural and Social Affairs Directorate, Municipal Police Directorate, Financial Services Directorate, Human Resources Directorate, Legal Affairs Directorate and Support Services Directorate (Kayapınar Belediyesi, 2012). The municipality has 27 council members. While 19 of them were the members of BDP, 8 of them were the members of AKP. According to the data which was gathered in 2010, the municipality has 131 employees in total. There are 31 public employees, 81 workers, 8 casual laborers, 11 contract employees (KBFR, 2010, p. 1).

6.3.4.1. General Information about the Kayapınar District

The Kayapınar district has a population of 262,875 in 2012. The district has 12 neighborhoods. The city went through two big waves in terms of population boom. Kayapınar was firstly founded as a *belde* municipality in 1991 with a population of approximately 3,000. One of the most important migrations to Kayapınar took place between 1992 and 1995 as a result of coming of the immigrants whose villages were villages (KBSP, 2010, p. 16). During this period the gecekondu areas of the city began to emerge in the district. The population reached to 68,150 in 2000 (Table 19). The population multiplied approximately 23-fold within nine years. The annual growth rate of population is calculated as 29.33% between 1990 and 2000. The district reached a population of 75,834 in 2004 after it was turned into a first-tier municipality. In 2008, Kayapınar was turned into the district municipality. Hence, the population became 194,601 since nine villages were affiliated to the district as neighborhood. This was the second drastic increase in population of Kayapınar. The annual growth rate of population is calculated as 23.56% during that period. Since Kayapınar became the final destination of the immigration wave within the central city of Diyarbakır, it was full of the immigrants from villages and adjacent provinces in the 1990s. The population increased approximately 2.5 fold in four years and 4 fold in the last twelve years.

Table 19 Total population and annual growth rate of population of the Kayapınar district between 1990 and 2012

Years	Total Population	Periods	Annual Growth Rate of Population (‰)
1990	3,627	-	-
2000	68,150	2000-1990	293.33
2004	75,834	2004-2000	26.71
2008	194,601	2008-2004	235.60
2010	229,577	2008-2010	82.64
2012	262,875	2010-2012	67.72

Source: TUİK, 2013; KBSP, 2006

According to the strategic plan report of the municipality, reasons of the increase in population in Kayapınar between 1990 and 2000 are that the building sector has improved in a meteoric mode the district is located within the development region and the new settlement axis of Diyarbakır. With reference to the same strategic plan, there are 24,984 houses in the Kayapınar district. The most crowded settlements of the Kayapınar district are the Peyas, Huzurevleri, 500 Evler (Barış) and Yolboyu neighborhoods, respectively (KBSP, 2010).

The average household ratio in the Peyas, Huzurevleri and Barış neighborhoods is 6.8 people per house. In Diyarbakır, most of the people who work in the building sectors accommodate in the Kayapınar district. Between 2004 and 2009, totally 820 building licenses, 497 of which were new, 236 of which were alteration and 87 of which were restoration, were given. In 2009, building in 250 blocks was in operation. It is estimated that 4000 thousand of people work in this building sector in Kayapınar (KBSP, 2010)

According to the strategic plan of the municipality, there are 2,242 trade buildings in 2006. The data about the distribution of employee according to the activity branch is provided in the Table 20. The total number of working people is 21,055 in Kayapınar in 2006. The estimated population in 2006 is approximately 170,000. Hence, the ratio of working people (people who have a regular work) in Kayapınar in 2006 is calculated as 12.4%. Most of the employees work in the building sector (35.62%) and trade sector (31.94%). As there are still rural settlements in Kayapınar, 15.2% of people work in the agriculture and stockbreeding sectors. Yet, as these data belong to 2006, there must be a shift within six years. As the building sector has been expanded in Kayapınar, the ratio of the employee in the building sector has increased, while the ratio of employee in the agriculture and stockbreeding sectors has probably decreased.

Table 20 Distribution of employee according to the sectors in Kayapınar in 2006

The Sector	Number of Employee	The Employed Population Ratio (%)
Agriculture and Stockbreeding	3,200	15.20
Trade	6,726	31.94
Crafts	695	3.30
Public Services-Personnel Services	1,216	5.78
Building	7,500	35.62
Transportation-Communication	170	0.81
Education	1,333	6.33
Health	168	0.80
Religious	47	0.22
Total	21,055	-

Source: KBSP, 2006

Total number of the people who had green card in 2006 is given as 15,094 among out of 230,150 people in total in Kayapınar (KBSP, 2006, p.41). The highest number of people with the green card is seen in Barış Neighborhood. The Ratios of the people with green card are 3.9%, 1.3%, 1.1% in the Barış, Peyas and Huzurevleri neighborhoods, respectively.

In the strategic plan report, there is also general information about the socio-economic condition of the neighborhoods in 2006. In Talaytepe Neighborhood, 85% of the dwellers live below the poverty line. There is no school and health center in those years in Talaytepe. In Barış Neighborhood, the socio-economic level of the dwellers is quite poor. The houses were illegally built. The unemployment ratio is over 90%. The people work in the marginal sectors and the families are living under the hunger threshold. The Huzurevleri Neighborhood has several improving areas with middle class; whereas there are also gecekondu settlements where very low income groups live. Similarly in Peyas Neighborhood, in addition to the developing areas populated with middle income groups, there are also areas where low income group live. The other neighborhoods of Kayapınar, such as Cücük, Cankatran, Uyandık and Beneklitaş are the rural settlements where people are employed in agriculture and stockbreeding sectors. Yet, their economic potential is quite weak.

6.3.4.2. Socio-Spatial Practices of Kayapınar Municipality

In order to grasp the spatial imagination of Kayapınar Municipality, the municipal perspective was asked to the recent (deputy) mayor Mahmut Dağ.

Our municipal perspective is in line with the policies of our party offered for the local governments. We describe the other municipal practices as ordinary. Alternative to those conventional practices, we started out with the claim of a human-based, service-to-human, ecologic, gender libertarian and democratic municipality. And we continue to conduct our services within this scope. [K1]

Then, the imprisonment of Zülküf Karatekin hindered the municipal practices. As a result, the dependency of our practices to a one man began to be questioned. Dağ replied that:

Of course, it slows down our municipal practices. You know, Zülküf Karatekin had been mayor since 2004. He had a five year good experience in the municipal affairs. That he was elected for the second time turned a good advantage for the municipality. After a while, his arrest became a disadvantage for both us and the people. For, Kayapınar is a new development region and Mayor Zülküf is a civil engineer. For this reason, it was a disadvantage especially in terms of the development policies which are related with his profession. On the other hand, it was also a psychological disadvantage. You determined and selected your mayor for the second time and after a few months later your mayor was arrested. Surely, it is hard to fill his place that he left behind and to conduct the municipal activities. [K2]

As Mahmut Dağ stated, Zülküf Karatekin was an important actor in the development and the urban practices of the municipality. Apart from being a civil engineer, he was an activist in the chamber of the civil engineer in Diyarbakır and became a three-year president of the chamber. Also, he has a very effective character in both the social relations and the municipal affairs. Before the 2009 local elections, he took the first place in the surveys which were conducted by DTP to measure the intentions of the people. Hence, his arrest became a disadvantage for both the municipality and the local people. Yet, as it was also observed in the research field, the municipal cadre is quite hard-working and they became successful in the municipal affairs. They collectively play active role in the production of space in Kayapınar. In this regard, it is important to touch upon the Gloomy Thursday Actions under the slogan of "Don't touch my volition!" Since Karatekin was captured through the KCK operation on Thursday, all the municipal employees and council members have come together on every Thursday in front of the municipal building and went to a strike. Also, the numerous supporters from various civic organizations take part in those actions.

Before analyzing the socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar Municipality, it should be clarified that the most important characteristic of Kayapınar is to have a partial socio-spatial structure within the borders of the district. While the larger portion of the city stays within the boundaries of the new developed residential areas where high income groups live, certain parts are formed by the old neighborhoods where the middle income

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groups live. Also, the city has a few neighborhoods where the immigrant and impoverished groups live. Besides, the rural structure still exists.

Figure 16 The Gloomy Thursday Actions under the slogan of "Don't touch my volition!"
Source: Kayapınar Belediyesi, 2012

The socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar Municipality are given in the following (see also Appendix Table 11):

- Neighborhood Houses
- Condolence Houses
- Education Support Houses
- Women's Center
- Children's Library
- Parks and green areas

The socio-spatial practices and produced spaces which are particular to Kayapınar Municipality are provided in the following.

- Youth Center
- Conservatory
- Film Festivals
- Street Tournaments
- Life Centre for Disabled People
- Life Centre for Old People
- Sport Complex
- Development practices

Since Kayapınar is a new developed region of Diyarbakır and it attracts the attention of the building sector much more when compared with the other districts, the development practices of Kayapınar Municipality are handled within the specific socio-spatial practices.

The Neighborhood Houses (NHs) of Kayapınar Municipality

Kayapınar Municipality began to build the NHs in 2007. Two NHs are opened in the Cankatran and Pirinçlik neighborhoods. The municipality also opened the NHs in Gözalan, Beneklitaş, Uyandık, Taşova, Gözegöl, Cücük, Talaytepe neighborhoods between 2008 and 2009. Besides, a building under the name of the condolence and art house was opened in Kuyusırtı rural neighborhood in 2012. Kayapınar Municipality intends to build these NHs in the rural sides[110] of the municipality in 2008. Yet, the Musa Anter[111] Halk Evi and Medine Yakut[112] Halk Evi were opened in Gaziler and Metropol neighborhoods in 2012 where the relatively higher income groups live. It is essential to point out that there is no NHs in certain residential areas in Kayapınar where the luxury houses (gated communities and expensive flats) are located. During the interview with the mayor, Mahmut Dağ, he mentioned that there is no need and demand for the NHs in those regions. The officers of the municipality often come together with the building officers so as to learn the needs and demands of the dwellers living there. The NHs in the city of Diyarbakır was generally built either in the municipalities which were in the village statue in the past or in the regions where low or middle income groups live.

Within the scope of this field research, the Musa Anter Halk Evi in Gaziler neighborhood was visited. This house seemed to be quiet, when compared with the NHs in other districts. The dwellers attributed this to the summer season and hot weather. Yet, the difference of this house in Gaziler from the other NHs is quite obvious due to the

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[110] The rural sides of the municipality are the villages which were affiliated to the municipality as neighborhood.

[111] Musa Anter was a very famous Kurdish author, journalist and activist. He was murdered in a street of Diyarbakır in 1992.

[112] Medine Yakut, known as the 'mother' of political struggle of the Kurdish movement in Diyarbakır, was dead in 2012. As well as the name of Musa Anter, the name of her was given to the new built neighborhood house through the council decision of Kayapınar Municipality.

presence of dwellers from the middle and upper middle income groups and the relatively low politic mobilization in the Gaziler region.

The Education Support and Culture Houses of Kayapınar Municipality

Kayapınar Municipality opened its first education support house in 2006 in Peyas sub-district. In 2007, two education and art houses were established in the Huzurevleri and Beşyüzevler neighborhoods. In 2011, the Ali Erel[113] and the Aydın Erdem[114] Education Support and Culture Houses (ESCH) were opened by Kayapınar Municipality in the Huzurevleri and Gazi neighborhoods. All of the trainers and officers are contracted employee of the municipality. Deputy Mayor Dağ narrated the building story of the first ESCH during the interview. In 2006, a cafe house (*kahvehane*) with two rooms in the Peyas village was turned into a library and a multi-purpose saloon. Hence, the education support project was launched. Within the scope of this field research, the Aydın Erdem ESCH cross the Musa Anter neighborhood in Gaziler was visited. Since it was summer, there were very few pupils in the ESCH. Only, the trainers were making registrations to the house. There are classes, computer classes and a big library with a lot of books and studying furniture. Each of class was nominated by popular Kurdish names. A corner in the entrance of the building was allocated for Aydın Erdem where his photographs, newspaper cuts and flowers were hanged. In this house, scholastic, social and artistic courses as well as Kurdish language course are provided.

The Women's Center of Kayapınar Municipality

Kayapınar Municipality opened Ceren Women Counseling Center in the Peyas Neighborhood in 2010. The municipality was conducting the women policies under the Ceren Women's Association before. In the Ceren Women Counseling Center, cultural and training activities as well as social and physiological support is given to women. The women who complete the training courses are granted by a certificate there are also women employee in the centre (KBFR, 2011). During the field research, the Ceren women center was visited. A two storey wooden house was built for this center in the Ekin Ceren Park. There is also a big café-restaurant which is run by women. The municipality provided this enterprise to the women without taking any money. Besides, the municipality gives promotions to the Umut Işığı Women Cooperative. The

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[113] Ali Erel was a DTP council of Kayapınar Municipality and dead in 2009

[114] Aydın Erdem (23) was a university student in Dicle University and murdered by a police in 2009

municipality also opened a children library called Astrid Lindgren Children's Book and Artistic Improvement House in 2006. This library is the first to have story books which were published in the Kurdish language (KBSP, 2006).

The Parks and Green Areas of Kayapınar Municipality

Kayapınar Municipality has the biggest portion (361,000 m²) of the green area in Diyarbakır. Active green area per person is 1.37 square meter in Kayapınar, which is the biggest ratio among the other district municipalities. The most prominent of the parks are the Metin Lokumcu, Halil İbrahim Oruç, Ekin and Dorşin parks. The Halil İbrahim Oruç Park is the first park to be supplied with the electric energy which was generated by the solar panels in Diyarbakır. Also, the maintenance of the Kent Ormanı (City Forest) as the largest green area of the city belongs to Kayapınar Municipality. In addition, Kayapınar Municipality has a nursery garden (1,000 m^2) where seedling and growing of the plants is practiced for the green areas of the municipality.

The "Unauthorized" Park Names

One of the major practices of Kayapınar Municipality is to build parks. Unlike the other district municipalities, Kayapınar Municipality has vast empty areas to be filled. Under the ecological policies of the party, the municipality prefers to invest its incomes to build parks as well as social and cultural facilities. In almost every summer nights, the open-air film demonstrations are organized in the parks.

Despite the central administration's objections, the municipal council has insisted to name the parks in Kurdish letters since in the middle of 2000s. Most recently, the Kurdish names of 19 parks and the Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre in Kayapınar have been removed by the court on the grounds that "the foreign, immoral and separatist names cannot be given" (Doğan, 2005). After a long struggle between the district governorship and the municipal council, the district governorship applied to the Diyarbakır Administrative Court for the removal of the Kurdish names. As a result, the court decided to remove the names through referring the statements of a regulation on addressing and numbering that "… the names of the places, such as neighborhood, street, road and boulevard cannot be inappropriate to the basic principles of the constitution, current legislation and common moral values. The words and statements of a foreign language and the ugly, vulgar and ridiculous names cannot be given." The names of the parks were Zembîlfiroş, Nefel, Daraşîn, Bêzar, Ciwan, Sosin, Beybûn, Şîlan, Roşna, Rojbîn, Rojda,

Berfîn, Gûlîstan, Roşan, Jiyanan Azad, Aşîti, Yek Gûlan and Derwişî Ewdî.[115] The intriguing one is the removal of the name of 33 Kurşun[116] Park which is in Turkish. There have been already such objections and removals regarding the denominations of the parks in Kurdish letters in Kayapınar.

Figure 17 One of the parks of which name is *unauthorized (the Dorşin Park in Kayapınar)*
(Source: Kayapınar Belediyesi, 2013)

During the field research, the municipal executives told that after the council asks for the names to the dwellers through public surveys, then they give the decision according to the outputs of these surveys. Also, the municipality leaves triple dots (…) in the signboards of parks of which names were refused. To illustrate, the name of the Dorşin Park was inscribed as "The … Park" (see, Figure 17). In the signboards, the court's ground of refusal was also written.

As Sancar (2012) argues, the state still keeps having the "description power" which is one of the major traits of the dominant systems. The existing government, AKP, does not deny the Kurdish identity anymore, but this time AKP, itself, tries to define what is to be a Kurd. This challenging position can be seen in certain cases. On one hand AKP opens the TV channel of TRT *Şeş* which broadcasts in Kurdish, on the other hand the courts decide to remove the Kurdish names from the streets or parks (Sancar, 2012). Conversely,

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[115] The names are in Kurdish means, Basket-maker, Trefoil, Green Tree, Mute, Youth, Water Lily, Daisy, Wild Rose, Daylight, Sunlight, Shinning, Snowdrop, Rosery, Daily, Free Women, Peace, 1st May and the name of a love mythos.

[116] The 33 Kurşun (the 33 Bullets) is one of the poems of Ahmed Arif who was a popular poet in Turkey. The poem is about the murder of 33 Kurdish villagers in the 1940s by the state forces. The municipal council decided to give the name of "Ahmed Arif" to the park, but it was refused. On the other hand, ironically, there is a park called Ahmed Arif in Ankara.

the pro-Kurdish municipalities carry on naming or renaming of street or park in their original names. Jongerden (2009, p. 11) claims that naming or renaming places "weaves values and meaning into the geographic fabric of everyday life". He also adds that "[t]hrough commemorative naming a past is brought into the present and versions of history into a setting of everyday life" (Jongerden, 2009, p. 13). The proposed names for the parks by Kayapınar Municipality are also weaved into the city geography with a left-wing or radical discourse. The Metin Lokumcu Park, the Halil İbrahim Oruç Park and the Yek Gulan (1st May) park are some examples.

The other common practice of Kayapınar Municipality is about the intuitional structure of the municipality. Like the other district municipalities, Kayapınar Municipality puts the affirmative items in the collective labor agreements. In the 21th March Newroz Festivals, the municipal employees do not work. Also, positive discrimination for the women in Kayapınar Municipality – as common for all district municipalities – has been implemented. As an example, according to the agreement, if the employee commits violent to his wife, half of his salary will be handed over to his wife.

The socio-spatial practices peculiar to Kayapınar Municipality

The socio-spatial practices and produced spaces which are peculiar to Kayapınar Municipality are: Youth center, conservatory, film festivals, street tournaments, life centre for disabled people, life centre for old people, sport complex, development practices. Since Kayapınar has extended areas which are rapidly developed, it turned into "a construction paradise" of Diyarbakır and attracted the building sector. Therefore, the development practices of Kayapınar Municipality are evaluated within the frame of specific socio-spatial practices in this thesis.

The Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre and Conservatoires

Kayapınar municipality built the Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre in the Diclekent Boulevard in 2009. This center is the first and the biggest culture and art centre four only young people in Diyarbakır and in the region.

The Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Center was opened in 2010. In the opening speech, Zülküf Karatekin (Cegerxwin, 2010) stated that:

> We, as Kayapınar Municipality, hope that we keep our people's language, culture, traditions alive and improve our people's social, cultural and intellectual life by means of

opening such spaces with a perspective of an alternative local government. Within this scope we have brought our people in this center that covers an area of 5.500 meter square.

The Cegerxwîn Conservatoire was also opened by Kayapınar Municipality in 2010. As mentioned before, name of the Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre was not approved by the district governor. Moreover, its library was raided by police and the 10,000 books in various languages were confined by the police in 2011. Despite all the repressions, the center still operates for especially the young people. Numerous art and culture activities, such as conferences, theatres, film demonstrations and dancing activities have been organized. An international film festival (the Filamed Festival) has been organized for two years in the Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre.
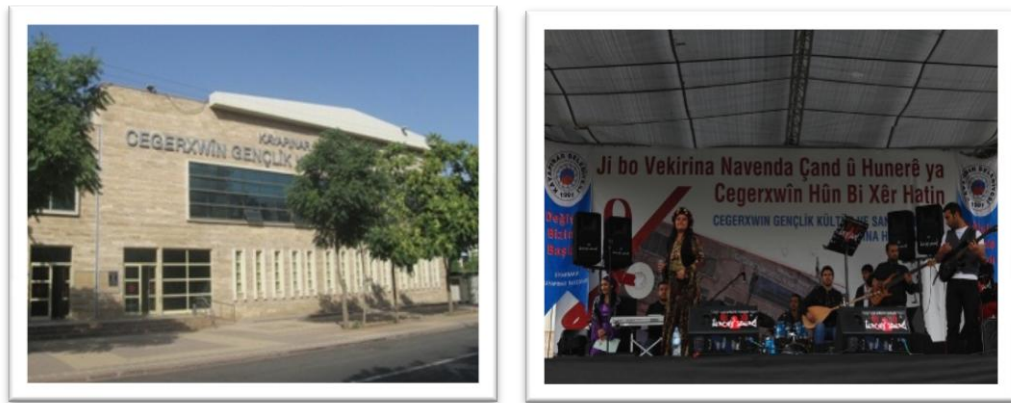
Figure 18 Views from Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre
(Source: Personnel archive and Cegerxwin, 2010.)

Besides, the Musa Anter Disabled Life Center the Bahar Life Center for old people and a big sport complex have been recently opened in Huzurevleri neighborhood. Furthermore, street tournaments for children and young people are quite remarkable. In the neighborhoods, the municipality sets out sport tournaments, such as street basketball and beach volleyball tournaments.

The Planning Practices of Kayapınar Municipality

As the last wave of urbanization in the city of Diyarbakır has been materialized in the Kayapınar district, the planning practices of Kayapınar Municipality is a striking issue within the frame of this dissertation. Owing to the fact that these practices have been affected on the social, political and economic structure of the district, an analysis on this issue will contribute to find out the differences between the district municipalities with regards to the production of space.

The existing development plan of Kayapınar was lastly revised in 2002. In this revised plan it was projected to meet the demands of the increasing population, such as housing, social facilities and green areas (KBSP, 2006, p. 28). Under the affairs of Planning Unit of the municipality, the emerging problems in the implementation of the 1/1000 and 1/5000 scaled plans has been removed by the revision plans and plan notes (KBFR, 2011, p. 16). The development practices in the early of 2000s resulted in the rapid construction in the large and empty areas of the Peyas village which would soon turn into a big city, Kayapınar. In the meanwhile, the population explosion with a 30-fold magnitude in Kayapınar created a new socio-economic structure in the district, as it is defined "the new face of Diyarbakır" by the municipality. Kayapınar became a region which has "sparsely populated apartment blocks and gated communities scattered around parks, shopping centers and larger arterial roads" (Yüksel, 2011, p. 450). On the other hand, there are also regions which are populated by the middle class, immigrant and impoverished groups within the district. The rural structure of the district is altered to a great extent.

According to the Strategic Plan Report of Kayapınar Municipality (2010, p. 17), the reasons of the population increase in Kayapınar between 1990 and 2000 are that the building sector has improved in a meteoric mode and the district is located in the development region and the new settlement axis of Diyarbakır . The most important migration to Kayapınar took place between 1992 and 1995 as a result of the evacuations of villages. In 1991, the population of the Peyas *Belde* was approximately 3,000. The population increased to 20,000 in 1994, 42,000 in 1997 and 68,000 in 2000. Then the population reached to 75,512 by means of the affiliation of nine villages in 2004. In 2009, the population drastically increased to 185,626 after being claimed a district municipal statue in 2008. While Kayapınar let in a lot of immigrants from the villages and adjacent provinces in the 1990s, Kayapınar became final destination of immigration within central city of Diyarbakır. Eventually, "Kayapınar has become an 'attraction center' through turning into a model city as a consequence of implemented development policies and produced social spaces" (KBSP, 2010, p. 17).

In the development region of Kayapınar, the local choices of the commercial centers intensifies on the ground floors of the housing buildings, the axis of the Dicle Kent Main Street and the axis of Urfa Highway. Besides, the shopping malls are located in the bigger shopping centers such as Carrefour and Migros. Moreover, the private training centers, private hospitals and policlinics were built-in this region in addition to the city centre

(Karakaya, 2009, p. 55). As Karakaya (2009, p. 55) claims that , if one investigates the current land use and master plan decisions in the Kayapınar region, it is clearly seen that an urban structure which is similar to those exist in the Yenişehir-Ofis region and Sur could not be created in this region. The social facility areas which are donated to the public as free ,the building lots which is less dense than the business centre of the city, and the larger main streets have been built in this "modern" residential area. Thus, the houses were constructed to meet the needs of sheltering of the local people (Karakaya, 2009, p. 55).

Karakaya (2009, p. 55) points out that the housing problem cannot be overcome by just constructing new houses in Kayapınar where the difficulties of creating a sociable urban environment and the basic urban function, such as working, sheltering, etc., cannot be maintained. Karakaya (2009, p. 56) continues his observation that although the Kayapınar district corresponds to a middle sized city with regards to its population, an urban way of living did not emerge in this area. There are significant straits to shape "a social life characterized by urbanite". During the interview, Şeyhmus Diken made a criticism about the urbanization process of Kayapınar.

> To be honest, I can't say that I approve the way urbanization of Kayapınar. In my opinion, Diyarbakır is a convenient city to a horizontal development. Diyarbakır is not a city which appears as a castle city, like Mardin. Diyarbakır is a city which was established on a pretty slope of the Karacadağ Watershed. In other words, Diyarbakır has a pretty slope on a basalt plateau flowing to the Tigris River. I have seen many new cities which were created in peripheries of the metropolitan cities. To illustrate, you go to New York; New Jersey is just 1.5 hour far away from New York. In front of the one or two storey houses in New Jersey, small gardens of 10 or 20 meter squares were designed. The people care about their gardens and they become happy. In Diyarbakır, if the beautiful wide regions were not handed over to the property developers and block site planners who are ambitious to make huge profits, maximum four or five storey houses would be built. For the region is very wide in Diyarbakır. [K3]

The officers of the municipality and the other participatory actors in the city planning of Diyarbakır thought that if the vertical construction was provided, the more green areas would have emerged. This could have attributed to the ecological policies of the party. Yet, Diken said that the both urbanization and ecological policies of the municipality are made to establish a horizontal sprawl rather than a vertical one. As above mentioned, he referred the garden-city model. He added that Diyarbakır has large areas for the implementation of such a model. However, as he bemoaned, the outcomes are not satisfactory in Diyarbakır. Diken also pointed the existing segregation of the social classes in the city.

> Well, what happened now? That suits with the contractor's book! [The municipality] tell the contractor that according to the building license for low storey buildings, the contractors should be using, let's say, a 60 percent of the land as a constructing area and 40 percent of that land as a green area. The more increased number of storey must require the more extended garden area. You can use only 20 percent of the land as a constructing area and you must use 80 percent of that land as a green and recreation area. Hence, that serves the purpose of contractor better! The contractor is building 20-30 storey apartments. What a fool's errand! The Very high buildings have risen around the 75 Metrelik Road from Urfa Road to Elazığ Road. I personally do not affirm this style of structuring! In addition, this style increases the price of developing areas extremely. That results in a very huge gap between the social classes in the city. On one side, there are gated communities with security guards at their entrance doors. By earning 200-300 billion money, people buy these luxury houses with whirlpool baths, camellias, etc. and they live a in a sterilized and exclusive life. In Diyarbakır, such areas belonged to military and isolated regions in the past years. When you went to a military region or visited someone in a military lodging, you were stopped at the entrance door; a phone call was made for the entrance permission, your identity card was taken and then you could go in. Now, civil populations are doing the same to each other. This is a terrifying social segregation. [K4]

Şeyhmus Diken was informed that Kayapınar Municipality claims to be a model city in accordance with the local governance ideas of the party. But, he criticized the urban growth of Kayapınar, too. Besides, Diken informed that Kayapınar Municipality has not provided infrastructure services to the new and luxury districts areas. Diken claimed that:

> We would not be against to build these complexes, if the structuring is planned in a good manner, in accordance with the city topography. Let me give another example: There is no municipal service around the 75 Metrelik Road where tall and luxury apartments were built. There is no municipal service there now! The streets look like a village road. Neither natural gas and water service, nor electricity service has been supplied there. Last week, the constructors who are working in that region made a statement to the press that they were protesting the municipality. They are saying that they are making huge investments there, but the municipality even does not build the roads. So, they say their vehicles were worn out. This is the strange side of the issue; you cannot make the people happy, too. They are winning lots of money, yet they can become hostile towards the institution which creates opportunities for them to gain that money. In fact, why? They are saying that they could sell these flats more than their price now; however, the citizen come and see that there is no road, water or electricity, so the flats are sold in a lower price. On the other hand, when such spaces are developed, the municipality should firstly prepare infrastructure. The man shows you a land like a mountain, and says, "Here is yours land, began to build your property, but, there is no water system, no road. Anyway, in my opinion, the city areas should not be filled with such tall storey blocks. For the topography, the natural structure of Diyarbakır is suitable for extending the city horizontally. [K5]

Şeyhmus Diken asserted that there is not any municipal service in the newly developed areas where the gated communities and luxury houses are built. According to him, Kayapınar Municipality does not give priority to such regions which the building sector leans over and the gross capital circuit in. Hence, it can be asserted that the municipality detaches itself from the gated communities and cannot apply the local government policies of the party in these areas.

In Diyarbakır, apart from the gecekondu regions, as Karakaya (2009, p. 56) argues, the population who live in the developed areas of the four districts generally is composed of all the layers of middle class. The families, who are either migrating from country areas or coming from other parts of the city, are likely to live together in the district. On the other hand, the social class formation in the residential regions, which are mostly located around and in the axis of Urfa and Silvan highways, is different than the other parts of the city. These areas are defined as "prestigious" residential areas of the middle-upper and upper classes. The problems of low life quality which are the results of over-crowded the population, the huge density of the constructions density in the city centre, air pollution, heavy traffic and noise pollution are less in amount in these areas. Rather, these areas are developed places, in terms of the quality of the buildings. Another characteristic of these regions clearly displays a social segregation in the spatial local choice developed depending upon socio-economic structure differentiation. The houses which can be bought only by the higher income groups have emerged as self-enclosed, sheltered and safeguarded apartment blocks, literally "gated communities". Within the perspective of planning and architecture discipline, it is observed that these residential areas are created to utilize the space so as to build greater numbers of housing unit. In fact, they are composed of the houses resembling each other (Karakaya, 2009, p. 56). The residential areas involving duplex houses, a set of social facilities and landscapes are located in the axis of the Silvan Highway, nearby the university and the Tigris valley. Those, which were projected as low intensity dwelling regions in the development plans due to their geological and soil structure, were built in the real estate (Karakaya, 2009, p. 56). Likewise, the residential areas in the Hamravat region along with the Urfa Highway share similarities with those in the axis of the Silvan Highway. On the other hand, as the high intensity housing areas have mushroomed in due course around these low intensity prestigious areas, the latter ones has begun to lose their appeals partially (Karakaya, 2009, p. 57).

During the interview with Pirinççioğlu on Kayapınar Municipality, he brought forward the issues of the construction sector:

> Construction sector has always been the most viable sector in Diyarbakır. Diyarbakır has no an industrialized economy. Therefore, the city is affected by the crisis of capitalism. Or there is always a crises situation here. Yet, the construction sector has always taken place here. And, there is a housing sector in Diyarbakır that meets the demands of the middle-class and the upper-middle class. The construction sector in Diyarbakır is not based upon a build-and-sell model. He sells, and then builds. There isn't so much capital accumulation in

Diyarbakır. Hence you [the municipality] have to pay attention to the demands of construction sector. [K6]

According the activity report of Kayapınar Municipality (KBFR, 2011), there were totally 820 building licenses in Kayapınar between 2004 and 2009: 497 of which were new, 236 of which were renovation and 87 of which were restoration. , there is a great deal of under-construction buildings, like a shipbuilding yard, in Kayapınar. Most of the people who work in the building sectors accommodate in the Kayapınar region. In 2009, the 250 blocks were built. It is estimated that 4000 thousand of the people work in this building sector in Kayapınar (KBFR, 2011). Besides, as Pirinççioğlu argued this construction sector in Diyarbakır is run by a different method. He explained the "sell-and-build model" that he formulated for Diyarbakır as:

> Let's say, he comes and takes money from you, then he starts to build. He earns but spends too little. As soon as he finishes that building, he has to buy another. He can't manage even ten days, otherwise he falls. For, he hasn't any accumulated capital. He works with existing capital. From this reason, he first sells. As a result, it is not called as a build-and-sell model; on the contrary, it is called as a sell-and-build method. Such a sector exists in Diyarbakır. Just before delivering a building, he has to start to make another building. For, hot money has to come from the selling of former building. Such a loop exists. There are workers, electricians, plumbers of the building, and each of them has to make money to live. If he engages in another kind of business, all of them will become unemployed. All of these cycles and people are dependent to each other. [K7]

During the interview with Demir Çelik, he accounted the main reason of high housing demand in Kayapınar as huge population explosion. He explained in simple terms that most people can afford to buy a flat in Kayapınar since they sold their lands and arable fields in their evacuated villages and they begun to save money after coming to the city and working for years. Çelik also added that:

> The prices of the houses in Diyarbakır were much lower when you compare with the houses in İstanbul or another metropolitan city. You can find a house with a maximum price of 300 thousand lira; whereas there is no house much than 500 thousand lira. (...) Now, there is an excessive migration. There is a huge demand due to this migration. Kayapınar is the only remained space in Diyarbakır to meet this housing demand. The gross building sector in Kayapınar, on one hand, compensates the unemployment in Diyarbakır and on the other hand, meets the housing demand. At this point, the municipality is in a position of a facilitator. In addition, the municipality heeds the urban fabric and cares about the environment; it, at least, allocates 70% of the building complex for green area as long as the green area does not exceed the area of ten storeys in an apartment. The circulation of water, wind and sun light should be considered together ultimately. [K8]

All the interviewees admitted the allegation that Diyarbakır has become a 'divided city' due to these developments in the Kayapınar region. Yüksel also points out the emerged

differences between the districts thanks to the class-based preferences which are made by the municipalities among the dwellers.

> All these developments inevitably mark a rapid and stark segregation in the urban reconfiguration, and run a great risk of turning Diyarbakır into a 'divided city'. The middle classes as well as upper-middle classes who prefer gated and 'safe' building complexes, with parks and social facilities for their children, gradually started leaving their old apartments in Yenişehir, whereas migrants are rather segregated in the inner parts of slum areas, such as Bağlar, or the historical city within the city walls (Yüksel, 2011, p. 451).

During the field research, it was observed that there is a common approach among the dwellers to the luxury apartments and the gated communities in the Kayapınar region: "As being Kurds, don't we deserve a wealthy, peaceful and green city? Then, why don't we want to live in these houses?"

As Yüksel (2011, p. 450) states, especially for the middle class, the green areas, parks and social spaces are important factors in their housing and living area preferences. These middle class refers to the people who lived mostly in Yenişehir or Bağlar in the past but soon moved to Kayapınar. Kayapınar Municipality was acting upon such demands of the dwellers and it was producing a plenty of green areas, parks and other social facilities. Also, as the municipality claimed, the municipality is one of the debtless municipalities in Turkey; they are able to conduct their big social projects by only using their own revenues. Meanwhile, as Pirinççioğlu stated during the interview, the municipality has to establish and maintain good relations with the groups of the construction sector. For, a lot of incomes are flowing to the municipality budget thanks to the abundant building practices in Kayapınar. Besides, the taxes which are collected from the dwellers are also high.

During the field research, one of the municipal executive, Zeydin Kıral, in the department of park and garden affairs told that the municipality will build extended roads for bicycle track and walking paths. He was asked whether the dwellers in Kayapınar are pleased with such facilities. After hesitating a while, he answered by showing himself as an example. His family is one of the migrants who moved from Yenişehir to Kayapınar. When he was a child, he was living in Şehitlik neighborhood in Yenişehir. His family bought a flat in a building complex in Kayapınar after working and saving for years. He stated that they have a very comfortable life with green area, social facilities and a safe environment in the complex. He asked whether he missed the old life style in the İplik neighborhood. He answered, "Don't I miss? I still go to and stay in *my neighborhood* in

almost every weekend." When it is thought that he works every weekday until evenings, it is easily understood that he frequently spends his everyday life practices in *his neighborhood*. The building complex offering a prestigious life becomes an ostensible space. Yet, this might be not a general assertion for all the dwellers.

On the other hand, as aforementioned, Meral Demiroğlu, council member of Bağlar Municipality, asserted that conducting public surveys or contacting with the dwellers living in the gated communities is quite troublesome for the municipality thanks to the intensive security measures there. Also, it was observed that the creation of the prestigious residential areas in Kayapınar resulted in the fewer amounts of political activities, and local solidarity networks. During the interview with Demir Çelik, he was informed all these critics and asked whether Kayapınar Municipality could have prevented these issues. Çelik replied that:

> Those are beyond the power of Kayapınar Municipality. While Diyarbakır was in an advanced level of the economic development ranking in the 1940s, nowadays it has regressed to the 71th rank. This is the outcome of the last 80 years politics which has been implemented in the Kürdistan region. That only Kayapınar Municipality, only the Greater Municipality can resist and survive on its own is not easy. In spite of this full state siege, our friends were able to create this district. Our people deserve better of these. Our friends also would like to do more. However, if we reflect on the portions, we will miss out that whole picture itself: The state pursues lofty goals there. To mobilize the exploded population in Kayapınar without causing social and political traumas and to enable the population to get accustomed to the historical, social and cultural fabric is the thing only the municipalities could pursue. [K9]

Çelik clearly ensured that only the pro-Kurdish municipalities – including Kayapınar municipality – could have achieved to save, ameliorate and even further progress such a severely wounded and ruined city. On the other hand, he also made self-criticism regarding the pro-Kurdish municipal practices.

> We achieved but this time we didn't pay any attention on ecological balance. We appreciate with the multi-storey enormous buildings that we produced in Kayapınar. This is not our ecological approach in the scope of our libertarian, democratic and ecological local government model. The spaces which provide the balance and cycle of soil, water and wind and let the wind turbulent and sunlight penetrating are our spaces. I wish such spaces in Kayapınar or in Bağlar wouldn't have belonged to us. (...) That is the misfortune of Diyarbakır as well as the Kurdish people: to practice our model in a space which come out of the very severe war and was exposed to a wave of the forced migration. This is the material, cultural and political reality of Diyarbakır. [K10]

Çelik asserted that if the city of Diyarbakır had not such a bad luck, the pro-Kurdish municipalities could have achieved better. Afterwards, Çelik was asked whether the

practices of Kayapınar Municipality are in compatible with the party policies and its local governance model. Çelik replied that:

> Kayapınar is not a place that is too compatible with our model. Yet, there are very significant practices of Kayapınar Municipality. If, another movement who had a different perception came to the power in Kayapınar, Kayapınar would have been a city in which a great deal of rent emerged. The consequence of our friends' resistance is to conduct a responsibility development project in Kayapınar where a high demand for housing exists [K11]

Demir Çelik alleged that if a municipality different from the pro-Kurdish party came to power in Kayapınar where housing demand is too much, there would be a much more conflict for rent in the city. Yet, the most important issue is that how the existing rent is distributed within the city. To distribute the revenues to the impoverished people is an indispensable factor in being an alternative municipality.

6.3.4.3. Evaluation for Kayapınar Municipality

Consequently, the socio-spatial units which were built by Kayapınar Municipality are the neighborhood houses, the condolence houses, the education support houses, the women's center, the children's library, the parks and the green areas. The socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar Municipality are youth center, conservatory, film festivals, street tournaments, sport complex, life centers for disabled groups and old people and development practices. The Service provision of the municipality has been diversified due to the fact that Kayapınar has a fragmented socio-spatial structure. Apart from the rural areas, the district consists of new developed areas which accommodate high-income groups and form the larger part of the city, the areas which are populated by the middle income groups; and the gecekondu areas which are populated by the migrated and low income groups. The major role of the municipality in the prestigious areas, which was emerged through development practices of the municipality itself, is to build infrastructures, engage in construction controlling and collect taxes and fees in high prices. On the other hand, the main practices of the municipality, which are based on the social policies, have been conducted for the remaining parts of the city where middle and low income groups live. Also, as Kayapınar municipality is one of the debtless municipalities in Turkey, they can put the major social projects into practice without getting any external credit or loan thanks to their own high revenues coming from the prestigious areas. While Kayapınar Municipality claims to be a model city in line with the party policies, its urbanization practices are severely criticized. Increasing the land prices after conducting development

practices and creating a segregated socio-spatial structure in the city are the major points of critics. Kayapınar is shown as a region where housing and land markets turned to be the instruments of the capital accumulation. Yet, this issue cannot only be attributed to the municipality. There are multiple actors in the localities. Furthermore, when compared with the municipal periods before 1999, the city was converted into a more regular and stable structure. It is also important to state that the municipality organizes numerous cultural activities only with its own revenues. Also the fact that the prestigious mayor of Kayapınar Municipality, Zülküf Karatekin, was arrested in 2009 should be evaluated as an important disadvantage for both the municipality and the dwellers. He is also known with his individual achievements in the planning practices as being a civil engineer and old chair of the chamber of the civil engineers. Kayapınar municipality built a dozen of social units to be a model city since it has a well-supported municipal cadre. In addition to numerous parks, the biggest youth center of the region, a conservatory, life centers for disabled and old people, a sport complex as well as the people's houses, the condolence houses, the education support and culture houses were opened during the last municipal period. Also, these socio-spatial units were mostly built in the regions where middle and low income groups live.

When all these practices of the municipality are taken into consideration, it should be alleged that Kayapınar Municipality become a good epitome in terms of social municipalism. Yet, the municipality carries the risk of turning into a charity institution. For the sake of being a model city which is offered by the party policies, the municipality successively builds the spatial units. In this regard, the democratic participation of the dwellers becomes very important. It can be claimed that the participation of the dwellers in Kayapınar is relatively very low when compared with the other municipalities. The name of the parks is well known when they were asked to the dwellers in the public surveys. Also, the officers of municipality regularly come together with the apartment keepers or managers. Yet, the participation of all the dwellers, especially of the low income groups is not clearly known. Hence, it can be asserted that representations of space play an important role in the production of space in Kayapınar.

6.4. Comparison of the Socio-Spatial Practices of the District Municipalities

As noted before, Duncan and Goodwin state that the class relations, gender roles, political cultures, etc. do not form in the same way; hence the localities different from each other emerge. Since the social relations in each locality are unevenly developed, each local

state formulates and puts into practice different policies (1988, p. 41). In this section, the four district municipalities of the greater municipality (Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar) will be compared with each other in terms of their spatial practices. As noted before, the common facts about these districts are: all of them are within the borders of the same greater municipality; all of them have been run by the same political party since 1999; and all of them have been subjected to the same party polices. In addition, although main spatial practices are common in all the district municipalities, there are some variations between the spatial practices that should be revealed out. While some spatial practices are common in only two or three of them, some others are implemented only by one municipality. Besides, there are also certain variations between common practices in terms of their local choice, commenced period, number of beneficiaries and purposes of use. In this sub-section, comparison of the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities will be made by dividing the practices into three categories:

i. The socio-spatial practices which are common in all the district municipalities
ii. The socio-spatial practices which are common in only two or three district municipalities
iii. The socio-spatial practices peculiar to one municipality

6.4.3. The socio-spatial practices which are common in all the district municipalities:

The common socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities are neighborhood/people's houses, education support houses, women's centers, culture and art centers, cultural events, multi-lingual municipal services special institutional implementations parks and green areas. As it can be seen in the Table 21, common socio-spatial practices of the municipalities are generally put into service at the municipal scale. The target group involves all the people in general, except two services, which are education support houses for low income groups and women's centers for low and middle income groups.

In the following part, each spatial practice that is common in all the district municipalities will be evaluated. However, there are also certain variations in each common socio-spatial practice of the municipalities. These variations are concerning with local selection,

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commenced period, number of beneficiaries[117] and use purposes of the spatial practice. Hence, these variations for the common spatial practice will be also revealed out.

Table 21 Socio-spatial practices which are common in all the district municipalities

Municipal Services	Scale	Class / Group	Aimed Policies	SM	YM	BM	KM
Neighborhood Houses	Neighborhood	All[1]	Adm[2]	√	√	√	√
Education Support Houses	Neighborhood	Low income	Social	√	√	√	√
Women's Centers	Municipality	Low and middle income	Social, gender based	√	√	√	√
Culture and art centers	Municipality	All	Social	√	√	√	√
Cultural events	Municipality	All	Cultural	√	√	√	√
Multi-lingual services	Municipality	All	Cultural	√	√	√	√
Special institution implementations	Municipality	All	Adm.	√	√	√	√
Parks and green areas	Municipality	All	Ecology	√	√	√	√

(1) "All" at the "class/group" column refers that any specific class or group is not targeted for that service and involve all people. (2) Adm: Administrative. SM: Sur Municipality, YM: Yenişehir Municipality, BM: Municipality and KM: Kayapınar Municipality

1. The Neighborhood (People's) Houses

The first neighborhood house in Diyarbakır was firstly established by the greater municipality in Suriçi in 1999. However, existing neighborhood houses in Diyarbakır are different from this EU Neighborhood House in some respects. During the meeting with Vedat Çetin, who is ex-counselor of Mayor Feridun Çelik, he clarified that:

> Apart from the EU's one, the reasons of establishing these neighborhood houses were very different, because they were firstly opened through the decisions which are made by DTK in 2007. [D1]

After the local policies are reformulated according to the decisions of DTK in 2007, the existing neighborhood houses were started to be built by the district municipalities. The neighborhood/people's houses were built in the neighborhood scale and they served for all the neighborhood dwellers within the frame of the administrative policies. The common purpose of neighborhood houses is defined as to enable neighborhood dwellers

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[117] Number of beneficiaries of a spatial unit built by a municipality is pointed as "score" of that municipality. There is an inverse proportion between the number of beneficiaries and the score. As the number of beneficiaries decrease, the score of the municipality rises.

to participate in the social, cultural and economic life through establishing neighborhood committees in every neighborhood**.** In accordance with this purpose, the Equal-Free Citizen's Associations, which always keep in contact with the NHs, were also opened in the neighborhoods. If there is no neighborhood house in a neighborhood, the neighborhood committees are founded in the citizen's associations. Hence, their function can be said as parallel with the neighborhood houses.

Sur Municipality has built two neighborhood houses (the people's house) since 2012. These NHs are located in the Küçükkadı and Aslanoğlu neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are located in the rural sides[118] of Sur and built for the multipurpose uses. Bağlar Municipality has built three neighborhood houses. The first NH was opened in 5 Nisan Neighborhood in 2007. In the same year, two more NHs were built in the Yunus Emre and Kaynartepe in Bağlar. All the NHs of Bağlar Municipality is located in the *old* Bağlar and these neighborhoods are known as the hardcore spaces (liberated zones) of the Kurdish movement. Yenişehir Municipality built seven NHs. The first NH of Yenişehir Municipality which was named Aziziye-Gürdoğan-Toplukonut Neighborhood House was opened in 2011. The municipality built six more NHs in the Üçkuyular, Yolatı, Dökmetaş, Güzelköy, Şemsiler and Harbut neighborhoods in 2012. Kayapınar Municipality has built eleven NHs. The NHs in the Cankatran, Pirinçlik, Gözalan, Beneklitaş, Uyandık, Taşova, Gözegöl, Cücük, Talaytepe neighborhoods were opened between 2007 and 2009. These NHs are located in the rural neighborhoods of Kayapınar. On the other hand, the last two NHs, Musa Anter Halk Evi and Medine Yakut Halk Evi were built in Gaziler and Metropol neighborhoods, which are located in the city centre. These NHs accommodate relatively higher income groups. Nevertheless, the municipality has not opened any NH in the certain residential areas where the luxury houses (the gated communities, the high-cost apartments, etc.) are located and high income groups live. During the interview, the vice mayor of the municipality, Mahmut Dağ, explained that there was not any NH demand coming from these areas. The municipality regularly organizes meetings with the doorkeepers and building officers so as to increase the participation. Despite the high number of votes of the pro-Kurdish parties during the local and general elections, there is no powerful organization and mobilization of the Kurdish movement in those regions. It can be argued that the high capital flows weaken the

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[118] The neighborhoods in the rural side were the ex- villages which would later be claimed neighborhoods through being affiliated to the district municipality in 2008.

organized power. Most of the demands coming from the dwellers and building constructors are about municipal infrastructures.

As it is also seen in the Table 22, the numbers of NHs are three in Bağlar, four in Sur, seven in Yenişehir and eleven in Kayapınar. While the highest number of NH has been scored by Kayapınar Municipality, the least one has been scored by Bağlar Municipality. When the number of the NH is divided to the recent (2012) population, the result becomes the same. While in Bağlar, there are nearly 118 thousand of people who benefit from one NH; in Kayapınar, there are nearly 23 thousand of people who benefit from one NH. Although the first attempt to open NH came from Bağlar in 2007, the least beneficiary from NH is observed in Bağlar.

All the NHs in Bağlar was built during the second municipal period when Yurdusev Özsökmenler was mayor of Bağlar Municipality. Afterwards no NH has been built, yet. The NHs in Kayapınar Municipality were mostly opened in the second municipal period. One of the reasons why Kayapınar municipality could build much more NHs is the sufficient revenues of the municipality. Those which are in Sur and Yenişehir were mostly opened in the third period. The main reason why Sur municipality could not previously build any NH is that the municipality did not have enough money and the mayor, Demirbaş, lost his seat during the second period. Besides, Yenişehir has opened the NHs which are prefabricated. On the other side, in the Bağlar, Sur and Yenişehir municipalities, there are sufficient Equal-Free Citizen's Associations and hence the dwellers could establish and operate their neighborhood committees there.

Table 22 Comparison of the Neighborhood Houses in Diyarbakır

Municipality	Municipal Period	Social composition of the district	Number of NH	District population (2012)	Number of people per one NH
Kayapınar	Second	Middle and low income groups and organized	11	262,875	23,898
Yenişehir	Third	Low income, forced migrated and organized	7	204,191	29,170
Sur	Third	Low income, villagers and organized	2	126,785	63,393
Bağlar	Second	Low income, forced migrated and organized	3	356,243	118,748

The NHs in the city of Diyarbakır can be asserted to be generally built in the municipalities which were before in the village statue, or the regions where law or middle income groups live. In the meanwhile, the organized power of the Kurdish movement is

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great in these areas. During the field research, it was observed that the NHs in Bağlar are more active when compared with the NHs in Kayapınar and Yenişehir. Besides, the Hasırlı Equal-Free Citizen's Association in Suriçi is very active. Indeed, all the citizen's associations in Diyarbakır are claimed to be generally active. Yet, these are also used effectively by the party members. During the interview, Pirinççioğlu state that:

> [I]n Diyarbakır, however, the current neighborhood committees are not like the real ones. They become neighborhood councils of BDP. Why? Let me tell you about my observation in Hasırlı. There is a neighborhood committee in the Equal-Free Citizen's Association in Hasırlı. Once, I asked them whether Dom and Romanians could represent themselves in that council. They said no. I asked them how much problems of their neighborhood they pronounced to the municipalities, governor or related institutions. They said none. Then I said them that their council became a house of the party and there remained no difference with the previous neighborhood committees of the party. The councils have turned into a political organization. Of course, I find their practices meaningful; I appreciate establishing such neighborhood councils. Doubtlessly, that the people become organized is a good thing. Also, that the neighborhood dwellers come together, coexisting and resisting together in a neighborhood level is a good thing. Yet, these councils should be inevitably improved. [D2]

He criticized that the committee of Hasırlı does not include all the dwellers in the neighborhood. Also the space of the association has turned into a party organizing house. As stated before, an important trait of these regions (the old Bağlar and certain areas of Suriçi) is to become a place of the most active partisans of the Kurdish movement. Hence, these produced spaces can easily be turned into the grounds of political organizing. Pirinççioğlu added that:

> [The power of the organization] should rise from the grassroots. Otherwise, the municipalities are used for their party organizations. The councils should be established by the grassroots. If a municipality establishes this, how that municipality itself will be a pressure group? Municipality founds the mechanism of the participation and leads them. Municipality paves the way that the demands of the neighborhood dwellers are conveyed directly to the municipality and hence the services that the municipality would bring to the neighborhood are formed through these demands. These are the mechanisms of the participation. [D3]

It is clearly seen that while the numbers of the grassroots movement's organization increase, the dwellers in that organization also increase their demand for the collective consumption services of the municipality.

2. The Education Support Houses

All the district municipalities opened education support houses. Oriented towards to the low income groups, these houses, at the neighborhood scale, serve for the social policies of the municipalities. The education support houses (ESH), which are sometimes named

as the education support and art house, provide free education for the disadvantaged children and juveniles of primary school age.

Sur Municipality built one education and support house which is located in Camii Nebi Neighborhood in Suriçi. The ESH has been run since 2004. Bağlar Municipality opened two ESH in Körhat and in Şeyhşamil neighborhoods in 2004 and 2011, respectively. Yenişehir Municipality activated two ESHs in the Ben û Sen and İplik neighborhoods in 2007. All these ESHs are located in the poor regions which are populated mainly by the immigrants and internally displaced peoples and in the regions where the Kurdish movement is active. Kayapınar Municipality opened five ESHs between 2006 and 2011. These are located in the Peyas, Huzurevleri (two of them), Beşyüzevler and Gazi neighborhoods. These areas of Kayapınar are populated by the middle or low income groups. The dwellers, here, are more organized when compared the other luxurious residential areas of Kayapınar.

All the ESHs in Diyarbakır are built for the low income groups in the neighborhood scale. The ESHs can be evaluated within the context of social policies. Özsoy *et al* (2010, p. 3) define the goals of the education support house project as to promote disadvantaged children for introduction to education, to preclude them to use drugs through contacting with their families and to improve public aliveness on the problem in accordance with 'social justice, equality and children's rights'. The main focus of the project is on "the interdependence of cognitive, psychic, social and cultural dimensions of child education and development." Volunteer trainers are the members of the teachers' union, Eğitim-Sen, and the Dicle University Student Association. Within this scope, various art and culture courses and ateliers (i.e. music, theatre, cinema, photography, painting, folklore, computer, children rights and media) as well as socio-cultural activities, such as attending to concerts, movies, theatres, festivals, etc. have been periodically organized in order to enable children to raise their self-confidence, self-expression and social awareness, and to develop their cultural and artistic senses and skills and to encourage them to participate in social and family life (Özsoy, Coşkun, & Yasak, 2010, pp. 3-4).

In addition, they were generally built during the second municipal period. As it is also provided in Table 23, the numbers of the ESHs are five in Kayapınar Municipality, two in Bağlar Municipality, two in Yenişehir Municipality and only one in Sur Municipality. When the number of the ESH is proportioned to the recent population (the 5-19 age

groups); while in Kayapınar, nearly 50 thousand of people benefit from one ESH, in Bağlar nearly 180 thousand of people benefit from one ESH. As in the case with neighborhood houses, the same output is observed in the building of ESHs. Also, the numbers of beneficiaries from the ESH in Sur and Yenişehir municipalities become much more when compared with Kayapınar Municipality.

Table 23 Comparison of the Education Support Houses in Diyarbakır

Municipality	Municipal Period	Social composition of the district	Number of ESH	District population (5-19age; 2002)	Number of people per one ESH
Kayapınar	Second	Middle and low income groups and organized	5	85,295	17,059
Yenişehir	Second	Low income, forced migrated and organized	2	65,839	32,920
Sur	Second	Low income, forced migrated and organized	1	45,430	45,432
Bağlar	Second	Low income, forced migrated and organized	2	116,452	58,226

3. The Women's Centers/Houses

Main target group of the women's centers in Diyarbakır is the internally displaced women. In these centers, the women are provided with consultancy, research and application activities. The women's rehabilitation and integration to urban life on an egalitarian and libertarian are the major aims of these centers. Özsoy *et al* (2010, p. 2) maintain that the approach of this centers refers the "women as social beings located within an entirety of social relations rather than as isolated individuals, integrating individual, social and institutional aspects of social inclusion and women's empowerment".

After the first women's center DİKASUM was founded by the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakir in 2001, all the district municipalities activated their women's centers or houses as a gender-based social service at the municipal scale. Yenişehir Municipality opened EPİ-DEM (Women′s Training and Psychological Counseling Centre) in 2003. Bağlar Municipality activated the Kardelen Women's House in Mevlana Halit Neighborhood in the Woman Life Park 2005. The second branch office of the Kardelen was also opened in 2005 in Fatih Neighborhood. Kayapınar and Sur municipalities were able to activate their women houses much later. Kayapınar Municipality opened the Ceren Women Counseling Center in the Peyas Neighborhood in 2010. Sur Municipality

opened the KADEM (Women Support Centre) in Hasırlı Neighborhood in 2010. Yet, Sur Municipality has recently founded four more branches of KADEM in the Hasırlı, Bağıvar, Ziya Gökalp and Çarıklı neighborhoods between 2010 and 2012.

The results for the women centers are provided in Table 24. In total, there are ten women's houses (WHs) in the city of Diyarbakır; five in Sur, two in Bağlar, one in Yenişehir and one in Kayapınar. When the number of the WH is proportioned to the recent women population; in Sur Municipality, nearly 12 thousand of people benefit from one WH; whereas in Kayapınar Municipality nearly 130 thousand of people benefit from one WH. On the contrary to the results which are extracted from the neighborhood houses and the education support houses, it is obviously observed that there is no sufficient WH in Kayapınar Municipality. Besides, it is important to state that until Sur Municipality opened its WHs in 2010, Bağlar Municipality was in the first in terms of numbers of the WHs.

Table 24 Comparison of the Women's Houses in Diyarbakır

Municipality	Municipal Period	Social composition of the location	Number of WH	Women population (2012)	Number of people per one WH
Sur	Third	Low income, forced migrated or villagers and organized	5	62,543	12,509
Bağlar	Second	Low income, forced migrated and organized	2	174,170	87,085
Yenişehir	First	Low and middle income and organized	1	101,399	101,399
Kayapınar	Third	Low and middle income and organized	1	131,162	131,162

Although, the mayors stated that there was no local choice to build women's house as it originally includes all the women from all income groups, it is easily observed to be built in the regions where relatively low income groups and forced displaced people live. Also, women's center can be easily turned into one of the organizing strategies of the pro-Kurdish party.

4. Culture and Art Centers

All the district municipalities opened the culture and art centers, such as ateliers, libraries and conservatoires. These public centers which were built at the municipal scale serve for

the social policies of the municipalities. Sur Municipality opened the Art House in Dicle neighborhood and the Theatre and Drama Ateliers in Suriçi in 2011. The municipality also opened two children's libraries in the Melikahmet and Cemal Yılmaz neighborhoods in 2007 and in 2010, respectively. Bağlar Municipality built the Women's Art Atelier in Mevlana Halit Neighborhood in 2008. The municipality also opened a youth library in 5 Nisan Neighborhood. Yenişehir Municipality launched a culture house in Şehitlik in 2006. Kayapınar Municipality opened the Cegerxwin Youth Culture and Art Centre and its conservatoire in Peyas Neighborhood in 2009 and 2010, respectively. Kayapınar Municipality built the Children's Book and Artistic Improvement House in Huzurevleri Neighborhood 2006.

5. Cultural Events

All the district municipalities organize various cultural activities, such as festivals, ceremonies and sports tournaments. Sur Municipality has organized the International Children's Festival since 2001 and the *Sersal* Festival since 2007. Bağlar Municipality has organized various women's festivals, such as film and documentary festivals. Yenişehir Municipality organized the Youth and Sport Festival during the second municipal period. Kayapınar Municipality started to organize Filmamed Festival in 2012. Kayapınar municipality also sets out sport tournaments, such as street basketball and beach volleyball tournaments.

6. Multi-Lingual Municipal Practices

All the district municipalities put the multi-lingual into practices in the sense of cultural policies. In the second municipal period (2004-2009), the district municipalities initially began to use Kurdish letters and famous Kurdish names in their spatial units, such as education support houses, neighborhood houses, parks, monuments, etc. In the last municipal period they start to use other vernacular names in the region and even the names of the leftist-socialist activists in Turkey. In the open spaces, the multi-lingual practices of the municipalities are easily observed. Anyone can see the examples in the signboards, brochures, books, newspapers, magazines, posters, billboards, placards which are set by municipalities and civic organizations (associations, chambers, etc.), in the municipal tools and vehicles (garbage trucks, street cleaning vehicles, fire engines, etc.). In any municipal-owned properties, Kurdish and other local vernaculars are inevitable used. Also, the daily conservations in Kurdish, the Kurdish music and sounds are heard in

everywhere. In the Appendix Table 12, the spatial units of municipalities named with Kurdish language, popular Kurdish and leftist individuals are given.

Gambetti (2008, p. 17) puts forth that "reinvesting in the city by re-appropriating the cultural heritage meant re-appropriating the language". The Kurdish movement launched "the use of Kurdish letters such as "x" and "w" in public places and in names (these letters do not exist in the Turkish alphabet), campaigns for the right of education in the mother tongue, the right to give children Kurdish names, etc." (Gambetti, 2008, p. 18). Yet, this campaign gained a momentum in the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır. They have marked on the urban spaces through using material and discursive modalities such as festivals, cultural events, naming of streets and buildings in Kurdish language. Gambetti asserts that:

> The municipality thus not only allowed the Kurdish language to reinvest open public spaces, but also became the first public institution to permit Kurdish to be spoken inside and to print posters in Kurdish. This can be considered as the reversal of "the social production of aural space by the Kemalist City" (Hurston 2004:14). With respect to the Kurds, this aural production had taken the form of an outright ban of the Kurdish language in schools, public places, publications, street or village names, and even child names, as well as its broadcast on radio or TV, by successive laws ever since 1924 and name-change operations were executed in the 1930s, 1960s and 1980s (Gambetti, 2008, p. 17).

Hence, as also Yüksel (2011, p. 48) and Jongerden (Jongerden, 2009)put forward that the urban space practices have turned the urban space of Diyarbakır into an arena for the new productive forces which were implanted by the pro-Kurdish municipalities.

7. Special institutional implementations within the municipalities

The special institutional implementations within the municipality can be given as a common practice in all the district municipalities. The fact that the institutional practices determine the decision mechanisms and performance of the municipalities makes significant contributions on the spatial practices of them. The multi-presidential system and the woman quota application in the municipal administration and organization board are inevitably implemented by all the district municipalities due to the party policies. Also, all the district municipalities signs collective labor agreement with the municipal employees of the revolutionary unions. Despite the legal frame of, the municipalities in Turkey avoid or refuse to make collective labor agreement. When compared with the other municipalities in Turkey, the pro-Kurdish municipalities are more sensitive to the labor rights. In addition, they abstain from making subcontract and discharging the workers collectively. Another alternative implementation is indeed that they put

affirmative enforcements for the women in the collective labor agreements. Besides, for the important demonstrations and ceremonies, such as the May Day, International Laborer Women's Day and Newroz ceremonies or any protest, all the officers of the district municipalities collectively participate in the demonstrations and the municipal employees do not work in those days. Since all the municipalities, employees and the local people come together in the demonstration areas, the public space is experienced collectively.

8. The Parks and Green Areas

In Turkey, according to legislation[119] on the rules of making plan (dated 1985) the active green areas are defined as the areas which are allocated for parks, children's gardens and playgrounds. According to another legislation[120] on plan amendment (dated 1999), the active green area per person is designated as 10 meter square within the borders of municipality and its adjacent areas and 14 meter square outside of these borders. Sinemilioğlu *et al* (2010, p. 779) assert that "Diyarbakir city is one of the cities that is not providing the standard amount of green area per person." Yet, Baydemir alleged during the interview that the ratio of active green area per person has been drastically raised from 0.5 to 0.8 meter square in the city of Diyarbakır. According to Baydemir, this is an incredible achievement for Diyarbakır.

> In Diyarbakır, when I took the chair first in 2004, ratio of the active green area per capita was 0.5 square meter. However, our current ratio of active green area per capita is 0.8 square meter. While we were planning and designating our city, we fully aimed to produce public spaces. [D4]

The first and achieved aim to increase the active green area in Diyarbakır was the green belt project of the city walls' environs in the 2000s. As Sinemilioğlu *et al* (2010, p. 782) state, "The project contributed approximately 14 hectare area of new green area, bringing the total to approximately 50 ha of green areas in Diyarbakir city and increasing the amount of green area to 0.61 meter square per person in the city centre." Also, Sinemilioğlu *et al* put forth that it is a significant epitome of the participatory planning; indeed, numerous civic organizations (ex. the chambers, associations, and foundations), municipalities and other local state's institutions (the provincial directorships of Culture

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[119] In Turkish, the name of the legislation is "Plan yapımına ait esaslara dair yönetmelik"

[120] In Turkish, the name of the legislation is "3030 Sayılı Kanun Kapsamı Dışında Kalan Belediyeler Tip İmar Yönetmeliğinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik"

and Tourism, Conservation Council, Museum, and Restoration and Monument). They Sinemilioğlu *et al* underline the personal achievement of the mayors (Feridun Çelik and Cezair Serin) and the other municipal employees who conducted interviews with the local people and gained their consent. Furthermore, they elaborate the positive socio-spatial outputs of the project. Some finished projects are about conserving the historical buildings and monuments of both the local people and the local institution, reaching an agreement in the urban services participation, increasing the open space. The authors also emphasize on converting the "men-dominated area" into the "public-dominated area" and opening more space for women and children (Sinemilioğlu, Akın, & Karacay, 2010, pp. 782-783).

Production of the active green areas provides certain advantages not only in the physical/ecological dimension, but also in the socio-spatial dimension. In parallel with this reasoning, building practices of a great number of parks of the pro-Kurdish municipalities bring about not only landscaping the areas and providing dwellers (especially the privileged populations, such as women, old people and disabled group) with leisure times to spend there.

All the municipalities built the parks and/or green areas. The ratios of the green area per capita of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipalities are 0.04, 0.16, 0.71 and 1.37, respectively. Sur Municipality could not build any park since it did not have sufficient municipal owned land. On the other hand, the municipality, with the support of the GMD, produced green areas in the environs of the city walls and designed the gardens of some schools. The municipality purchased flowers and trees for the refuges to plant and vegetable plants for the women's cooperatives. Sur Municipality has also built a nursery garden. Apart from building some parks in certain areas of the district, Yenişehir attempts to increase the ratio of the green area through designing back-gardens in the city center. Bağlar Municipality builds numerous parks primarily in the new Bağlar due to the convenient lands. Also, the endeavor of Bağlar municipality to turn the inactive lands in the old Bağlar into parks is noteworthy. Also, Yenişehir municipality tries to increase the ratio of the green area through designing back-gardens in the city center as this municipality has no empty area within its borders.

Table 25 Green area ratios of the municipalities in the city of Diyarbakır (2011)

Municipalities	Total green area (m^2)	The green area ratio (m^2/person)
Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır	1,158,893	0.81
Sur Municipality	5,000	0.04
Yenişehir Municipality	335,000	0.16
Bağlar Municipality	255,490	0.71
Kayapınar Municipality	361,000	1.37
Total*	2,985,383	0.70

* Including green area of the state. Source: The Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır

In line with the ecological policy of the pro-Kurdish party, the municipalities focus on producing plenty of parks and green areas in Diyarbakır. Their major aim is to increase the ratio of active green area to create an ecological city. During the field research, it was observed that the greatest demand of the dwellers from the municipalities) is to create green areas. As the weather is too hot during the summers in Diyarbakır, it was clearly seen that most of the dwellers went to parks with their foods and beverages and sit under the trees. The parks are always full of the people. This scene was very amazing because one hardly witnesses such a crowded people in the parks in the rest of Turkey. During the first pro-Kurdish municipal period, the parks are built to save the women and children from the streets. In the past years, most of the women used to sit in the ladders of their houses and the children used to play in the narrow streets in Diyarbakır. The municipal cadres asserted that they also aimed to bring the dwellers together to be socialized so as to the "peasant" dwellers turn into the urban dwellers. Pirinççioğlu told about the early attempts of the municipalities about the parks in Diyarbakır as:

> Previously, the guards were shouting, "Don't sit on the grass!" Thankfully, the municipalities solved this problem. The Current parks [built by the BDP municipalities in Diyarbakır] don't resemble normal park designs we know. Here, people do not sit on the benches; they sit on the grass. You know, normally, stepping on the grass is prohibited. Yet, here, the people can walk everywhere; step and sit on the grass on their will. Nobody interferes. (…) When you design a park in a city, you should know and comprehend the social structure of that city, even if you are the best landscape architect in the world. Otherwise, the space will explode in your face. [D5]

As Pirinççioğlu stated, the parks were designed in line with the modernization policies through building benches, walking paths, cafeterias in the parks, yet the "peasant" dwellers paid no mind and continued to behave as the peasants. They did not prefer to use the banks, walking paths, cafeterias; rather, they sat on the grass, talked to each other in company with their owned foods and drinks. Pirinççioğlu continued his words that:

> If they want to sit in the cafeterias of the parks, you also build cafeterias. Yet, you must think about the prices in the cafeterias. I don't know whether the municipalities don't want to or aren't able to reduce the high prices. In fact, the municipalities issue a tender for cafes. As a result, this price will reflect on the consumers. You can't give the permit to one who provides the lower prices; otherwise, the financial auditors will discharge you as causing a public loss. What can the municipalities do at this point? The municipalities can operate the cafeterias in the parks by themselves. Such practices exist in this region now, but these should be a widespread practice. Besides, the BDP municipalities give the permits for operating cafes to the civic organizations and associations. This is another solution. However, sometimes the associations are not successful to operate these places and several problems emerge in this time. [D6]

Yet, in due course, some dwellers who became urbanite (composed of the middle and the upper-middle class) started to sit on the cafeterias. Pirinççioğlu also criticized the existing implementation of Kayapınar municipality on the parks that:

> However, I criticize the park system of Kayapınar Municipality. Parks are the social spaces. There are cafeterias, meeting areas there. However, for instance, the price of a glass of tea is 3 lira in the cafeteria in the Park Orman. It means that only certain groups go there to become more social. Those who have cash money in their pockets can sit and drink tea in such cafeterias. The others go to the park by taking their samovars, sit on the grass and drink their tea and crack their seeds. [D7]

The social segregation between the dwellers in Kayapınar can be also observed in the parks. The criticized point is here that the municipality took a part in this social segregation through building luxury cafeterias.

On the other hand, the attempts of the pro-Kurdish municipalities to appropriate and leave their marks on the city through naming the parks in the Kurdish letters were remarkable. The pro-Kurdish municipalities have denominated the parks in Kurdish letters despite all the objections of the central state. As noted before, the Kurdish names of the 19 parks (some of them are Zembîlfiroş, Rojbîn and Daraşîn) in Kayapınar have been removed by the court on the account of the fact that the foreign, immoral and separatist names cannot be given. Recently, the name of the Merwani Culture Park was rejected by the governorship. Jongerden (2009) argues that the issue of naming streets and parks of the pro-Kurdish municipalities as can be seen as a 'discoursive production of space'. Through giving the Kurdish names to the parks, buildings and streets, they oppose to the central authority. In the words of Jongerden:

> Clearly, the (re)naming strategy of DTP mayors not only directly counteracts past efforts to efface Kurdishness from rural and urban political geography, but also tries to reintroduce a Kurdish politico-cultural sensitivity into the public setting of everyday life. Similarly, reference to multiculturalism, another approach to name selection in this Kurdish (re)naming project, operates as an expression of the pluralism the Kurdish politicians say they adhere to. (Jongerden, 2009, p. 11)

The act of re-naming the parks does not only aim to enhance the Kurdish culture in the region, some names in different languages are also given to the parks. As an example, the name of the Metin Lokumcu Park comes from the man who was killed by the gas bomb in Hopa in 2011. All in all, the names given to the parks by the pro-Kurdish municipalities indicate the resistance to repression and the struggle for survival of the own culture and cultural diversity. Hence, the appropriation of the space through naming that space which can be counted as the discursive production of space in Diyarbakır refers to the local cultures and the opposing ideologies.

6.4.4. Socio spatial practices which are common in two or three district municipalities

Certain socio-spatial practices are common in two or three district municipalities. These are social aid and solidarity centers, condolence houses, women's cooperatives and women's labor bazaars. As it can be observed in Table 26, these municipal practices are generally put into service at the municipal scale and the main target group involves low income groups. Only condolence houses are put into at the neighborhood scale for all the people.

Table 26 Socio-spatial practices which are common in two or three districts

Spatial unit	Scale	Class / Group	Aimed Policies	SM	YM	BM	KM
Social Aid Centers	Municipality	Low income	Social	√	√	√	x
Condolence Houses	Neighborhood	-	Social	√	x	√	√
Women's Cooperatives	Municipality	Low income	Economy and gender-based	√	x	√	x
Women's Labor Bazaars	Municipality	Low income	Economy and gender-based	√	x	√	x

1. The social aid and solidarity centers

The social aid and solidarity centers as social policies of the municipalities serve for low income groups at the district scale. As Baydemir stated during the interview, these centers do not only aid impoverished people, but also enable to improve social responsibilities of the beneficiaries and increase solidarity between them through developing social projects. In addition, these centers function as employment service agency for them. On the other hand, there have been continuous bureaucratic and juridical pressures on these centers.

The "Sarmaşık Association for the Struggle against Poverty and Sustainable Development" is the first social aid and solidarity centre in Diyarbakır. This association was established by the GMD in 2006 in Bağlar. This project has been carried on by the partnership of the municipalities, the non-governmental organizations, the industrialists and businessmen associations and the vocational chambers. In the pursuit of the Sarmaşık, the district municipalities also established social aid and solidarity centers. The Günışığı Store of Bağlar Municipality, the Beyaz Şemsiye Store of Yenişehir Municipality and the Yeşeren Umutlar Clothing Bank of Sur Municipality were opened in 2007, 2009 and 2011, respectively. Although Kayapınar Municipality has not opened any social aid centre, the municipality is one of the most important supporters of the Sarmaşık Association.

2. The condolence houses

The dwellers come together to express their condolences in the case of a funeral in the condolence houses which are opened at the neighborhood scale. This social service is put into service by Sur, Bağlar and Kayapınar Municipality. Yenişehir municipality has no condolence house. The first condolence house is constructed by Bağlar Municipality in 2010 in Kaynartepe Neighborhood. The municipality also activated the Pınaroğlu Village Condolence House in 2012. Sur Municipality built six condolence houses in the Çarıklı, Karpuzlu, Bağıvar, Sarıkamış, Arzuoğlu and Aslanoğlu neighborhoods in 2011. Kayapınar Municipality opened a condolence house in the Kuyusırtı Neighborhood in 2012.

The condolence houses which are opened in the rural side neighborhoods are also used for different purposes such as celebrations, meetings, social and cultural activities and services of the municipalities. Therefore, condolence houses have recently taken place in the neighborhood houses in the especially Sur Municipality.

3. The cooperatives and the labor bazaars for women

The cooperatives and the labor bazaars for women serve under the women's centers for the low income groups at the municipal scale within the scope of the woman and social policies. The Bağlar and Sur municipalities established one for each (of women's cooperative and women's labor bazaar.) However, the Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipalities have not established any women's cooperative and labor bazaar yet. Sur Municipality and Bağlar Municipality established the women's cooperatives in 2005. In

the cooperatives, the women produce henna, mushroom, pickle, source, silk worm and different kinds of handy work to sell them directly to consumers. They sell their products in the women's labor bazaar which have been recently opened by the municipalities. These services can be evaluated as both the gender based and employment policies of the municipalities for the unemployment and under class women. Also, the women are observed to become more organized in these spaces.

6.4.3. The socio-spatial practices which are peculiar to one district municipality

Certain socio-spatial practices are put into by only one district municipality. Therefore, these practices are defined as the 'specific' socio-spatial practices of the municipalities within the frame of this thesis. What the sources of the specific practices are the major issue that can be sort out. As discussed before, each district has different historical, social, economic, political and spatial development. Are the specific practices of the municipalities stemming from the local specificities? If so, which of these factors have mainly determine(s) the municipal practices? Either the class structure or political organizing power, or the individual preference of the mayor, or the institutional structure (the financial capacity, the conditions of the municipal employees and the structure of the council and the administrative board) of each municipality might affect on and determine the municipal specificity. In the first place, the specific socio-spatial practices of each municipality are determined and provided in the Table 27. Then, the questions asked above are tried to be answered.

The specific spatial practices of Sur Municipality are oriented by the cultural policies towards Suriçi. As the historical and cultural fabric of Diyarbakır cover primarily the Suriçi region, only Sur municipality, among the others, concentrates on the restoration projects. The municipality organizes numerous multi-cultural activities to revive the multi-ethnical structure of Suriçi. The specific spatial practices of Bağlar municipality are conducted at the municipal scale on behalf of the low-income groups and these practices are mostly related with the gender-based policies. Also, Bağlar municipality works in coordination with the women movement in Bağlar. Yenişehir municipality gives a special importance to the spatial practices in the Ofis region in terms of its economic policies. Kayapınar municipality built plenty of spatial units, such as the neighborhood houses, the education support houses, the parks and various social facilities. Also, the specific socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar municipality are designed for the neighborhoods where low or middle income groups live. Also, the specific practices of

Kayapınar Municipality are related with the social policies (see, Table 28). On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that Kayapınar is the most significant district in terms of the flow of the hot money due to existence of a huge construction sector. Hence, the revenue of the municipality scores in the highest rates among the other district municipalities.

Table 27 Specific socio-spatial practices of each district municipality

District Municipality	The specific socio-spatial practices	Scale	Class/Group	Aimed Policies
Sur	Restoration of the historical structures	Municipality	All	Cultural
	Urban transformation processes	Municipality	Low income	Cultural
	Multi cultural practices	Municipality	All	Cultural
Yenişehir	Opening passages for vendors	Municipality	Low income	Economy
	Organizing campaigns for the business offices	Municipality	Middle income	Economy
	Art Street	Urban	All	Cultural
	Back-garden arrangements	Municipality	All	Ecology
Bağlar	Women's Shelter House	Municipality	All	Social and gender-based
	Women Health Center	Municipality	Low income	Social and gender-based
	Children Rehabilitation Center	Municipality	Low income	Social
	Women's Life Park	Municipality	All	Gender-based
	Women's Art Atelier	Municipality	Low income	Gender-based and social
	Employment of women as drivers	Municipality	Low income	Gender-based and economy
	Demonstration Area (The Newroz Square)	Upper-scale	All	Cultural
Kayapınar	Youth Center (Cegerxwîn)	Urban	Low and middle	Social
	Conservatory	Urban	Low and middle	Social
	Center for disabled people	Municipality	Low and middle	Social
	Center for old people	Municipality	Low and middle	Social

Differences in the institutional structures of the municipalities

There are also differences between the institutional structures of the district municipalities. The most important difference is stemming from the unequal municipal budgets. Kayapınar has more financial resources than the other district municipalities. Kayapınar Municipality has no debt and the municipality uses its own resources in the

building of the spatial units. Besides, the municipality pays salary of the municipal employees on time and in a regular way. The allocated budget to the salaries does not exceed the legal ratio which is determined by laws as 30 percent of the total municipal budget. On the other side, Sur, Yenişehir and Bağlar municipalities have always grievances in the budget system. Sur and Bağlar municipalities, which accommodate the most impoverished groups of the city, do not collect tax regularly from their dwellers. Besides, the share which these municipalities receive from the central budget is quite restricted. In Yenişehir and Sur municipalities, the personnel salaries score more than sixty percent of the overall budget due to the excessive municipal staff which was assigned during the RP period. When compared with Yenişehir and Sur District Municipalities, Bağlar municipality collects relatively more taxes due to the high number of its population. As Yüksel (2011, p. 447), Gambetti (2005, p. 55; 2009b, p. 67), Watts (2006; 2010) and Sümer (2012, p. 35) put forth, these three municipalities have financial constraints stemming from the conditions the both local and central budgeting. Hence, they attempt to attract the attention of the international funds to put the social projects into practice. Yet, the approval of internationally funded projects of these municipalities has been detained by the Ministry of the Interior especially since 2009. As Yüksel states (2011, p. 447), in spite of their restricted financial resources, the municipalities in Diyarbakır have strived to provide the city with a "modern and metropolitan" profile. Yüksel states by referring their report presented to the government (2011, p. 447):

> In their report to the government, the Diyarbakır municipality emphasizes that the dramatic unemployment rates, growing informal sector, increasing number of street kids and child labor in the city should be contextualized within the framework of regional disparities (the inability of state incentives to stimulate economic activities and insufficient public investments in the city) and the flow of IDPs to Diyarbakır after 1990s. These developments sharply deteriorated the economic structure of the city and resulted in a diminishing workforce and taxes. Today, among the greater municipalities, Diyarbakır gets the smallest share of financial support from İller Bankası and the Ministry of Finance. Moreover, despite the growing weight of the EU and other international organizations in the urban economy through international funds, the central government, DPT and İller Bankası are still important mechanisms that channel these funds into the region. Many projects have remained in limbo due to bureaucratic and institutional difficulties.

Besides, the funding organizations especially the European ones, such as EU and UN cannot give fund or credit anymore due to the recent economic crisis. Sümer (2012, p. 34) claims that the restricted sources, over-employment as well as political pressures have negatively influenced the municipal administrators and employees during the service

provisions. Hence, the spatial practices of these municipalities are also restricted. While Kayapınar Municipality builds much more spatial units, the others cannot build so much.

6.5. The Evaluation of the Policies Followed by the District Municipalities

As noted before, Duncan and Goodwin state that the autonomy of the local governments requires dealing with the local interests. Each local government has its own structure, internal dynamics and personnel; hence, these distinctive characteristics influence the local policies and service provisions on different levels (1988, p. 5). Although the local government policies of the pro-Kurdish party were prepared for all its municipalities, the policies and service provisions of the studied district municipalities are different from each other. In section 5, it was demonstrated that each municipality has different historical, economic, social and cultural dynamics.

In this sub-section, all the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities will be evaluated in terms of their policies. Also, the coherence between these policies and the party's local government policies will be searched.

In the Appendix Table 13, the policies of the district municipalities are evaluated. Also, all the spatial units and practices of the district municipalities are given in this table. The spatial imaginations of the district municipalities should be evaluated through the aimed policies and the number of spatial units and practices. As it can be seen in the Appendix Table 13, social policies become prominent for all the district municipalities. Yet, it is deduced that the Bağlar and Sur municipalities concentrate more on the social policies when compared with Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipality. Likewise, the gender-based policies are brought into prominence in the Bağlar and Sur municipalities. The cultural policies come to the fore in Sur Municipality. The economy policies in Yenişehir municipality and the urbanization policies in Kayapınar municipality become significant. The following table provides the policies on which each district municipality mostly concentrates. Bear in mind that those deductions should not be seen as clear-cut and prevalent.

Table 28 Prominent policies of each district municipality

District Municipalities	Prominent Policies of the district municipalities
Sur Municipality	The cultural policies
Yenişehir Municipality	The economy (employment and labor oriented) policies
Bağlar Municipality	The gender-based policies
Kayapınar Municipality	The social policies

6.6. Evaluation of the Socio-spatial Practices of the District Municipalities in line with the Party Policies

As the policies of the pro-Kurdish municipalities for local governments have been developed with a years of experience, the accordance of the policies in the service provision of the municipalities since 1999 is evaluated with regards to the last party, BDP policies. In this thesis, the local government policies of the pro-Kurdish parties were compiled from the party program and the political attitude, called Towards Democratic Autonomy along with Freedom Democratic Local Governments of BDP.

The clues about the policies for local governments can be reached from the party program of BDP.[121] The main target of BDP, in this program, is shown as to create a democratic, libertarian, egalitarian, peaceful, pluralistic, participative economy based, gender egalitarian and ecologic society. Also, the party services are oriented towards to the proletarians, the oppressed people and the disadvantages groups (children, youths, old people, disabled people, gay, lesbians, etc.). The program is consisted of three parts: the Policy Principles, the Economic Policies and the Social Policies. The democratic-participation principles (the administrative policies) are given within the pages of the policy principles. In the economic policies, the struggle to solve the unemployment problem and the principles for employment, agriculture, stockbreeding, forestry and mining sectors are mentioned. The social policies part comprises the right to education and vernacular education; the health; the social insurance and the social rights (such as; the protection of children and the old people, the participation of the disabled people to the social life, the family and social affairs), issues about migration; the housing and urbanization problems; culture and art policies.

A democratic, ecologic and gender libertarian society model which is offered by the Kurdish movement was formulated as "democratic autonomy" by DTK in 2007. After three years, BDP organized the first conference of Ecology and Local Governments in Diyarbakır. The party announced that the nine pilot regions (the Van, Tunceli, Viranşehir, Bağlar, Nusaybin, Varto, Digor, Kolludere and Erentepe municipalities) were selected in order to put this model into practice. Also, a stance document called "Towards

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[121] For the whole program of BDP visit the formal web site of BDP: http://bdp.org.tr/devam/17-bdp-program.aspx

Democratic Autonomy along with Freedom Democratic Local Governments" was manifested (Fırat News Press, 2007). This political attitude comprises policies and principles for all the local governments which are run by BDP. With the aim of creating an alternative organized society, the municipalities should immediately take part in establishing the neighborhood committees and city councils, enlarging the public spaces against the monopolist capitalism and launching the development of the participatory community economy which depends upon the principles of the self-sufficiency and solidarity. The stance document was prepared in a detailed manner and it corresponds with the policies which took place in the party program of BDP.

In this thesis, all the policies of the pro Kurdish parties (HADEP-DTP-BDP) which are offered for local governments was brought together and shortly signified as the "party policies". In the Appendix Table 14, the spatial practices of the studied district municipalities are compared with the main local government policies of the (pro-Kurdish) party as well as their implementation mechanisms.

As it can be easily seen in the Appendix Table 14, all the district municipalities do not completely follow the party policies. It can be asserted that all the municipalities sheer away the ecology policies of the party, such as using alternative energy sources, encouraging to build ecologic houses and constructing cycling roads.   In addition, the municipalities failed to a certain extent in the policies regarding the support for the homosexuals and the old people. Although all the municipalities stated that the disadvantaged people are their main target groups, they have not built sufficient spaces for gays, lesbians and old people. Indeed, the party policy for homosexuals is defined for the first time in the local government stance in 2010. If one conceives the long lasting prejudices against the different sexual choices among the societies in Turkey, it is understood that why it is very hard for the municipalities to provide a public sphere for the gays and lesbians. During the interview with Baydemir, he stated that they have just allocated an office for their organization. Also, the mayor of Sur Municipality, Demirbaş, stated that they asked the municipality for an office for their association and the municipality leaned towards to meet that demand. Besides, only Kayapınar Municipality has just built a center for old people. The other district municipalities as well as the GMD have not opened centers for the old people or a nursery house. Indeed, there might be no demand for such spaces coming from old people in Diyarbakır. Also, as the family relations are bounded tightly, there might be no demand for nursery houses in Diyarbakır.

Thirdly, as one of the economic policies of the party, all the district municipalities are expected to establish numerous cooperatives in the cities. Yet, only Bağlar and Sur municipality have found cooperatives only for women.

On the other hand, through building the neighborhood houses, the education support houses, the women centers and parks, all the district municipalities did what are necessary for the very main principles of the democratic, ecological and gender libertarian model for the local governments. These spatial units also comprise the common services of the district municipalities. In the following, only the main principles of the party policies on democracy, gender equality and ecology are evaluated in details.

The Participatory-Democracy Principles

The local democracy principle of the pro-Kurdish parties is completely related to their comprehension of autonomy and self-management. Through democratic policies, all the urban dwellers would participate in the decision-making processes and become functional in the urban management. Thus, the municipalities should turn into the open, transparent and participatory institutions. Also, through the participatory municipal budgeting, the municipal services for the collective consumptions would be collectively determined. The major contribution of putting this policy into practice is that, all the urban dwellers as representational spaces play an effective role in the production of space in the city. Building of the neighborhood houses by all the studied district municipalities can be evaluated as the first step of the improvement of the local face-to-face democracy. Through activating the neighborhood committees, the participation channels of the urban dwellers to the decision-making processes, municipal budgeting and local management are constructed. The neighborhood committees conduct their activities in the neighborhood houses or the equal-free citizen's buildings which are always in contact with the district municipalities. On the other side, the Sümerpark common life area, where city council, city volunteers and the civic organizations come together, can be evaluated as a democratic spatial unit for the whole city. Although losing its direct democracy attribution, the city council has functioned as an organ of the representative democracy for the participatory municipal budgeting. Furthermore, all spaces, where the municipality and the dwellers come together, can be easily turned into a public space for building the local democracy. The public meetings, seminars, conferences, etc., which are regularly organized by the municipalities in any space such as neighborhood house, education support house, party house, a cafe house, or an open-air space, can be

reproduced socially, too. Hence, as the interviewees from the municipal administrative boards claim, any spatial unit, which is built by the municipalities, turn into a space during the struggles for the democratic participation in the city administration. The major criticisms about the participatory-democracy principle of the municipalities can be counted as; the city council has served for the representative democracy, the neighborhood houses could be easily turned places for the party organization houses and the neighborhood committees have not been established in every neighborhood and they do not function with the participation of the people.

Gender Libertarian Principles

The other main policy of the pro-Kurdish parties regards creating gender equality and freedom society. In the cities, the participation of women to the political, economic and social life comes into prominence for municipalities. Hence, the first and the main spatial practice of all the studied municipalities was building the women centers in accordance with this principle. The other spatial units in line with the party policies are mostly built by the Bağlar and Sur municipalities are women's cooperatives, labor bazaars, health centers, art houses and shelter houses. With other spatial practices for women in line with this principle, Bağlar and Sur municipalities are more successive when compared Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipalities. The municipalities (particularly Bağlar Municipality) often organize various activities within the scope of struggle for their rights and freedom such as courses, seminars and demonstrations. The women quota, women councils and the co-administration system offered by pro-Kurdish parties has implemented by the municipalities. Also, positive discriminative principle for women offered by the party is assigned through addition of specific articles to the collective labor agreements by all the district municipalities. As such practices within the municipal administration influence the projects for representations of space; socio-spatial practices of the municipalities are canalized to create a gender-based life in the cities. Furthermore, the municipalities tried to implement women quota in the employment fields. The other implementation mechanism offered by the party is gender budget system for creating spaces for women. Bağlar Municipality has attempted to found a gender-based budget. Yet, there is no such a budget item defined by the legal procedures in Turkey. Therefore, the municipality cannot apply the gender-based budget system in formal and regular ways and they had to submit the budget item under other items of the municipal budget.

Principles on Ecology

This part of the thesis will try to find out whether the district municipalities conduct the spatial practices harmony with the principles on ecology determined by BDP in its party program and the political attitude. In the party program, BDP points the dialectical relationship between environmental disaster and chaos which the capitalist system usually encounters with. Also, the party protests against any type of urbanization that damages the ecological balance. Hence, all the spatial practices of the municipalities should be conducted basically through taking the ecological balance into account. In addition, municipalities should enhance the rural-urban balance and try to turn the urban and rural areas into the livable and healthy spaces (BDP, 2009). The municipalities should immediately establish an ecology council of which members are the municipal employees who work in the water and sewage department, the parks and gardens department, the public health and hygiene department. The ecology council will control the development practices of the municipalities whether the practices are harmony with the ecology policies of the party (BDP-EYYK, 2010, pp. 41-42).

According the ecology policies of the party, all of the people have the right to access to clean and healthy water free of charge. Also, municipalities should give the gecekondu neighborhoods priority to get water and wastewater system (BDP, 2009). In Diyarbakır, the previous municipalities which were in power before 1999 neglected the environmental and public health issues. Yet, all the studied pro-Kurdish municipalities have given importance on the infrastructure of the city and provided the urban dwellers with healthy water sources since 1999. Particularly during the first municipal period, the municipalities struggled with the epidemic diseases in the city and as a result, decreased the level of infection. Also, they have made significant efforts to keep the open spaces clean. Apart from the cleaning services, the municipalities often organize seminars, courses and campaigns in the local languages in order to improve the dwellers' consciousness on the environmental issues, especially the garbage. Furthermore, as also for the party policy, the municipalities establish good relationships with the civic organization on environmental issues and they create mobilizations for the environmental problems by getting their support.

According to the party policies, the construction of the ecological buildings and the creation of the open spaces should be promoted by the municipalities (BDP, 2009). The Solar House of the GMD which has an ecological design is indicated as a model by the

municipalities. Kayapınar municipality, which has new residential areas, is supposed to fulfill this principle since there are numerous houses that they have recently built. Yet, it was observed that there are no houses which were built harmony with ecology. Kayapınar Municipality only built the women's house which has an ecological design. Moreover, the party claims that the municipalities should build parks and green areas and give courses on ecology for the local people so that they would learn to adopt and protect these areas (BDP-EYYK, 2010). Kayapınar, as the most active municipality, and Bağlar and Yenişehir municipalities have built parks and green areas. Although the first and accomplished practice to increase the active green area in Diyarbakır is the green belt project of the city walls' environs in the early 2000s, Sur Municipality could not build another park. Furthermore, within the frame of the ecological policies, the party advises that the development plans of the municipalities should reveal and protect the historical identity, local architecture and cultural heritage of the cities (BDP-EYYK, 2010). Sur municipality which has the most significant places in terms of the ancient fabric of Diyarbakır acts fully by giving this principle at an utmost importance.

As it can be clearly seen that the ecology policies of the party are mostly related to the principles on the "environmental" and "public health" issues, such as environmental protection, pollution prevention, treatment or removal of the wastes and improve the public health that the municipalities should already obey according to the legal regulations. However, the party tries to improve the ecology policy that offers an alternative and anti-capitalist approach and aim to create eco-communities within the frame of the social ecology. It should be stated that within the scope of this thesis, it is very hard to measure whether or not the municipal practices completely coincide with these ecology principles. Yet, almost all the interviewee admitted that the district municipalities have great difficulties on conducting the spatial practices in compliance with the ecology policy of the party.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis mainly focused on the spatial practices of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır since 1999. In this regard, the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır (GMD) and its four district municipalities, namely Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar were selected as the case study. The major scope of the thesis is to reveal out the role of the municipalities in the production of space in Diyarbakır. Also, this study aimed to find out differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities and the reasons of these differences. Furthermore, service scales, target groups and policies followed by district municipalities were examined. Which policies they mostly concentrate on and how much they diverge from the party polices were analyzed.

In the beginning of the thesis, the common features of the district municipalities are determined as follows: i) all the district municipalities are located within the borders of the same greater municipality, ii) all the district municipalities have been run by the same political party since 1999, iii) all the district municipalities have been subjected to the same party polices. Despite these common features of the district municipalities, several differences between their spatial practices were observed during the study. In order to explain the reasons of these differences, a socio-spatial analysis which would reveal the diverse social configuration of the municipalities was conducted.

7.1. Summary and Findings of the Research

This section provides the summary of the thesis and the findings of the case study as well as the literature review with regard to main questions and sub-questions of the thesis. After a brief introduction, aim and scope; selection of the case, research method and structure of the thesis were presented in the first chapter. In the second chapter, theoretical tools were presented in order to show the perspective to approach to data about underlying mechanisms of the spatial practices of the municipalities. Lefebvre's theoretical framework on the production of space was applied in order to explain the dialectic relations which are inherent in the spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces. Hence, the roles of the municipalities in the production of space were put forward through analyzing their spatial practices. Furthermore, the uneven development theory on the local states which were developed by Duncan and Goodwin was taken into consideration through analyzing local variations in terms of their

social structures in order to comprehend differences in the spatial practices of the district municipalities. As the selected district municipalities and the greater municipality of Diyarbakır have been run by the parties under the control of the Kurdish movement, an analysis of these parties was required, too. Hence, in the third chapter, historical background and socio-political context as well as the election success of the pro-Kurdish parties in national and local levels were provided. Considering the fact that the capitalism causes uneven development both between localities and within social relations, detailed information about each district was necessary for the sake of this study. Thus, in Chapter 4, the historical and economic background of the city of Diyarbakır was analyzed through existing literature and statistical data about Diyarbakır. In this respect, the historical, cultural, demographic and economic structure of the city was presented respectively. In Chapter 5, the socio-spatial practices in Diyarbakır until 1999 were evaluated in a detailed manner. Within this chapter, the urbanization dynamics and planning processes; the housing supply and housing development; the socio-spatial structure and transformation of the districts were discussed in a chronological order. In the first section of Chapter 5 (5.1), the socio-spatial development of Diyarbakır, from the foundation of Republic to the 2000s was analyzed within four main period as: the Early Republican Period (1927-1950); the period between 1950 and 1980; the period between 1980 and 1990 and the period between 1990 and 2000. In the second section (5.2), the housing supply and housing development in Diyarbakır was evaluated. It was deduced that the city of Diyarbakır was highly devastated between 1930 and 2000 through the both central and local state policies. Several reasons were displayed for the devastation of both physical and historical fabric of the city. First of all, some of the decisions in the development plans do not suit the social, cultural and historical fabric of the region. Secondly, the Socio-economic structure was continuously transformed due to the perpetual immigrations to the city. Thirdly, the illegal constructing could not prevented by the local governments due to their lack of policies on this issue. Fourthly, the unnecessary spatial practices were engaged for the sake of modernization. On the other hand, one of the significant problems of the city was to construct houses that meet the dwelling requirements due to the growing population in the 1990s. By the 2000s, that the housing supply was practiced via the land owners, building contractors and TOKİ in the city resulted in lack of solution. In the last section (5.3), the socio-spatial transformation in Diyarbakır until the 2000s was elaborated. First, the transformation of the city through homogenizing strategies of the Turkish nation building project up to the 2000s was examined. Then, the attempts of reversing the dominant culture through socio-spatial

processes by the Kurdish movement and the influences of its local governments as well as the simultaneous effects of the neo-liberal policies on the urban space were evaluated.

Ultimately, an important result which rises from the given information of the city in previous chapters and from the analysis of the field research's data is that: Each district has its own specific local conditions. These specificities refer to the historical, social, economic and political and socio-spatial structure of each district. More clearly, in order to deal with the uneven development processes of the capital, each district has developed different practices due to its different historical and economic structure, urbanization structure, class composition, social and cultural fabric and pattern of political mobilization. In this sense, everyday life practices, needs, demands and struggles for the urban collective consumption services of each district are also different from each other. The fact that each district has its own specific local conditions provides to understand the reasons of the differences in the socio-spatial practices of district municipalities.

In order to understand the socio-spatial practices from a theoretical perspective, a field research was conducted in Diyarbakır. In Chapter 6, the case study of the spatial practices of the municipalities which lasted for fourteen years were analyzed. In the first section of the case study (6.1), after a brief introduction to the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities along with their definitions and scopes along with an attempt for their classifications with regards to scale, class and policy was made. Such an attempt was to reveal the differences in the spatial practices of the municipalities. For the following sections, in-depth interviews, observations and short meetings were conducted so as to collect data with regard to the research questions of the thesis. The field research data of this study was examined through applying quantitative and qualitative analysis method. Taking the data sets into consideration, the comments and arguments of the interviewees were discussed within the certain theoretical perspectives. The spatial practices of these municipalities as representations of spaces and their roles in the production of space are the core issues of this study. Hence, the theoretical perspectives of Lefebvre on the production of space along with the socio-spatial dialectic were referred. Also, how the pro-Kurdish district municipalities deal with these differences was a significant question. In this point, the approaches of Duncan and Goodwin on uneven development and local governments were applied.

In the next section (6.2), the spatial practices of the greater municipality of Diyarbakır (GMD) and their role in the production of space were analyzed. First of all, the spatial imaginations of the pro-Kurdish municipalities as representations of space were

comprehended. It was deduced that their spatial imaginations have changed over time. Referring to the municipal experiment of Mehdi Zana[122], the first municipal (HADEP) cadres represented the "the people's children municipalism" which embraces the forcibly migrated, impoverished and unemployment Kurdish dwellers in the city. However, in the subsequent periods, the municipalities began to turn their face into the middle class through adapting the discourses of the neo-liberal policies, such as the importance of the local development, the local governance and the mutual existence of the private-public sector. Despite the effects of the democratic autonomy principle on the neo-liberal practices of the municipalities, they have concentrated on the multi-cultural policies on behalf of development of the local tourism that carries the risk of the city to expose to the dangers of commercialization. At the end, it was inferred that the roles of the greater municipalities in the production of space has been changed since 1999.

The first attempt of the HADEP greater municipality (1999-2004) was the provision of the urban collective services, such as services on infrastructure, transporting, housing, drinking water, staple foods and sanitary processes mainly for urban poor. The major scope of the GMD was to heal the wounds of the traumas and to maintain services for those people, especially for women and children who had never benefited from a municipal service before. Their other remarkable achievement is to play a significant role in the transformation of the social spaces. The GMD redesigned the urban spaces by building spatial units for the people's self-expression and free mobilization and organizing various art and cultural activities which resulted in the transformation of Diyarbakır into a Kurdish model city. Through cooperating with the civic organizations, the GMD contributed to the visibility and mobilization of the civil society in the public spheres. Hence, they turned the highly devastated city of the OHAL period to a vibrant public space. Also, the HADEP municipalities were the first ones to focus on the cultural practices. An extended public participation to the urban life was the result of using the Kurdish language in the open spaces. Besides, the cultural events, such as Newroz celebrations and various festivals, demonstrations, etc. were conducted or supported by the GMD to provide an arena for members of the Kurdish movement in the cities. It is obvious that the re-appropriation of space for creating a Kurdish identity was succeeded through the cultural policies of the GMD. The cultural events of the first GMD also resulted in decreasing of the high-tension between the Kurds and Turks. On the other hand, The GMD also started to design projects for protection and restoration of the

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[122] The municipal period between 1977-1980 in Diyarbakır

historical churches in the city. Hence, the municipalities reversed the state's strategy of the ignorance of the non-Muslim heritage. The cultural policies of the GMD also demonstrate that the pro-Kurdish municipalities do not only emphasize on the Kurdish identity, but they also bring the cultural and historical heritage of "others of the regime" to light. In addition, by filling in the places which were left vacant by the previous local and central state institutions and curing the wounds of the low intensity war in the region in the 1990s, HADEP municipalities took an active role in the production of space in Diyarbakır. In the beginning of the 2000s, the Kurdish dwellers perceived the HADEP municipality as 'one of them'. They only wanted from the municipalities to solve the Kurdish issue. However, once the municipalities penetrated into the neighborhoods through providing collective consumption services with modernization projects, the neighborhood dwellers turned into the 'urban actors'. The everyday life practices of the dwellers also changed. Eventually, they started to demand what they need among these services, even struggle for them until they take what they want.

The second pro-Kurdish municipal period (2004-2009) in Diyarbakır witnessed the neo-liberal policies which were introduced to the city relatively later than the other greater municipalities in Turkey. The major reason was the uprisings of the urban poor activists of the Kurdish movement in Diyarbakır. As the clashes between the Turkish army and PKK started again, the peaceful atmosphere which lasted since 1999 came to an end in 2004. Even, the clashes, which occurred in the urban spaces, turned the city of Diyarbakır again into a war arena during this period. On the other hand, the development practices had already become prominent for the municipalities in Turkey. After the enactment of the Law on the Greater Municipality in 2004, the significant opportunities in the planning frame were provided to the greater municipalities. However, the GMD could complete the 1/25000, 1/5000 scaled master plans and the Dicle Valley Master Plan (with Fiskaya, waterfall, café and lagoon prospective projects) in 2006. The construction sector revived in these new developed areas under the favor of the development practices for especially outside the city center; thus, the GMD introduced the neo-liberal practices. Also, the idea of making alliances with the local and inter-local business circles came into local agenda of the GMD. The neo-liberal policies were conducted in the modern areas of the city which are full with the cost residential areas and gated communities. Although the demands of the low income groups had already increased, the GMD started to turn its face to the relatively high income groups. Eventually, the municipalities began to leave the policy of the "people's childhood municipalism" during the 2006 uprisings of the low income groups which were represented by the grassroots of the Kurdish movement. The

production of space in Diyarbakır during the second municipal period occurred when conflicts between the Kurdish movement vis-à-vis the state as well as the urban grassroots of Kurdish movement vis-à-vis the municipalities were alleviated. Also, by virtue of the neo liberal policies, the GMD remained trapped between the demands of the active urban dwellers and the local entrepreneurs. The other important finding about the second municipal period is that the GMD did not open any socio-spatial unit between 2005 and 2008. After starting to build the socio-spatial units, the GMD tried to re-gain its legitimacy in the public eye. Their emphasis on the disadvantaged groups (especially women, children, youths, disabled and other ethnic groups) increased.

The last period of the pro-Kurdish (BDP) municipalities started with the KCK operations in which numerous municipal cadres were arrested. Simultaneously, the policies for the local governments of the pro-Kurdish parties took the final shape under the democratic autonomy model. All the pro-Kurdish municipalities decided to increase their efforts to establish a democratic, ecologic and gender libertarian society. Hence, the party policies for the local governments began to influence production of space in Diyarbakır more directly. The GMD started to take its step more carefully to diminish the side effects of the neo-liberal policies on the urban spaces. Besides, the efforts to make cooperation with the local social and cultural networks have increased through the attempts of Baydemir. The multi-cultural events and multi-lingual practices of the GMD have a significant effect on the formation of a public space in the city. The major cultural events of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in Diyarbakır are the festivals. The construction of the Dengbej's House, the Aram Tigran City Conservatory and lastly the Cem Culture House for Alevi people met the demands of the different cultural groups in Diyarbakır. Hence, Diyarbakır discoursively turned into the "cultural and the artistic capital city of the Middle East". By means of the cultural practices of the GMD, the struggle for the appropriation of the city occurs between the local and central state actors, sometimes in a harsh manner or sometimes in a smooth way. The GMD makes political and cultural struggle of the Kurdish movement visible on the urban space; at the same time, it attempts to join in with the competing localities via cultural strategies. Besides, the urban transformation projects which were embodied in Suriçi[123] is the most criticized practice of the GMD. The project was expected to make major contributions to the city tourism and provide employment opportunities through turning the Suriçi into an "open-air museum". The popular

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[123] The transformation project in Suriçi was launched by TOKİ and the governorship in 2008. The GMD and Sur Municipality, was included into this project in 2010.

discourse of this process is to establish the peace through cultural heritage tourism that would be imposed by the neo-liberal policies to the cities with stagnant economies. Hence, the cultural values in the historical spaces would be commodified in the markets where localities are competing.[124] Such a case is one of the most challenging issues on the production of space between the dwellers and central state as well as the municipalities. Although some of the dwellers agreed to evacuate their houses and move to TOKİ's mass housing area, most of them reject to leave their houses. As a result, the GMD, which is aware of the symptoms of evacuating the houses and sending the people to live in TOKİ houses without any subsistence strategy, started the in-situ transformation projects by itself and built social housings in the project area for the people whose houses were demolished.

In the following section (6.3), the socio-spatial practices of district municipalities and their role in the production of space were analyzed. Each of the Sur, Yenişehir, Bağlar and Kayapınar municipality was elaborated respectively. After brief information about each district, the projects for representations of space and socio-spatial practices were scrutinized. The major results about the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities are given in the following:

- Sur Municipality mostly focuses on the ethnicity issues and cultural (historical and ethnicity based) activities.
- Yenişehir municipality gives relatively more important to the spatial practices on economic policies when compared the other districts.
- Most of the practices of Bağlar Municipality are based upon women and children.
- Kayapınar mostly deals with the urbanization issues, such as urban planning and large scale urban projects as well as building social facilities.

In the subsequent section (6.4), a comparison of the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities is provided. The comparison was made through three steps: *i*) the socio-spatial practices which are common for all municipalities; *ii*) the socio-spatial practices which are common in only two or three municipalities; and *iii*) the socio-spatial practices which are peculiar to one municipality were given respectively. Also, each of spatial practice was evaluated through the comparison of the district municipalities. The scale, the class and the policy which that spatial practice serves for were given in details.

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[124] Although such a discourse on cultural tourism has not been abandoned yet, the GMD began to step back from the project by pointing severe criticisms to the policies and implementation of TOKİ. Recently, TOKİ and the ministry have taken all the authority over the municipalities through the last regulations.

Besides, the variations between municipalities in terms of selected location, commenced period, number of beneficiaries and usage purposes of that spatial practice were analyzed.

The socio-spatial practices which are common in all district municipalities were defined as the neighborhood/people's houses, the education support houses, the women's centers, the parks, the culture and art centers, the cultural events, the parks and green areas, the multi-lingual municipal services and the special institutional implementations within municipality. The common socio-spatial practices of the municipalities are generally put into service at the municipal scale. The target group involves all the people in general. Nevertheless, the education support houses target the low income groups and the women's centers target the low and middle income groups. It was noticed that there are certain variations in each common socio-spatial practice of the municipalities. These variations stem from the local selection, commenced period, and number of beneficiaries and usage purposes of the spatial practice. Hence, these variations for each common spatial practice were also revealed out in this study.

The spatial practices which are common in only two or three district municipalities were defined as the social aid and solidarity centers, condolence houses, women's cooperatives and women's labor bazaars. These municipal practices are generally put into service at the municipal scale and the main target group involves the low income groups. Only the condolence houses are conducted at the neighborhood scale for all the people. Finally, the spatial practices which are peculiar to one district municipality were determined for each municipality. For Sur Municipality, the restoration of the historical structures, urban transformation processes and multi cultural practices are analyzed. Opening passages for vendors, organizing campaigns for the business offices and back-garden arrangements and the Art Street are the socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir municipality. Those of Bağlar Municipality are the women's shelter house, the women health center, the children rehabilitation center, the women's life park, the women's art atelier, the women drivers, and the demonstration area (the Newroz Square). The specific practices of Kayapınar Municipality were determined as the biggest youth center (Cegerxwîn), the conservatory, the center for the disabled people and the center for the old people. In the following, more details for the specific socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities were provided.

The unique socio-spatial practices of Sur municipality are the restoration and renewal projects and the distinctive multi lingual and multi-cultural projects. Among the pro-Kurdish municipalities, Sur Municipality has become the most popular one in terms of

intense efforts to make the Kurdish culture and the other repressed cultures visible. On the other hand, the municipality has taken a part in the transformation projects of Suriçi which is the most challenged arena of the municipality. It can be asserted that Sur Municipality plays a dual role in the production of space. On one side, the municipality re-appropriates spaces for the Kurdish culture and the other oppressed ethnic cultures in the city through confronting against the spatial homogenization processes of the nation state. On the other side, the municipality attempts to transform the cultural sites to the areas for the cultural heritage tourism. Although the transformation project was predominantly carried by the TOKİ and the governorship, Sur Municipality also has an important role in this process in terms of social, cultural and political influences of the project. As it was mentioned before, the main critique of the project is to displace the dwellers who live within the project area. Hence, Sur municipality pretends to not have any influence on the projects in order not to lose the political base, which is composed of the organized Kurdish movement and its new supporters in Sur. The thought of the municipality to build the peace through opening the Suriçi to the cultural heritage tourism remain ineffective due to the central state's restrains.

The specific spatial practices of Yenişehir municipality are based on economic (labor-based) policies. Hence, the new passages for vendors, the campaigns for the business offices, the items of affirmative action in the collective labor agreements, the good relations with the labor unions and occupation chambers and close relations with its employees can be accounted for the economy police forces of the municipality. Indeed, Yenişehir Municipality is aware that the municipality should establish good relations with the workers and stabilize the tensions between the craftsmen, street vendors, municipal polices and civil society. The most significant practice of Yenişehir Municipality is to provide two office buildings for the street vendors in Ofis. Thus, the municipality creates employment areas; additionally, it decreases the tensions between vendors and the other craftsmen and polices. Eventually, the free and 'aesthetic' physical spaces are generated for a lot of people who rush into the Office region, every day. Besides, Yenişehir Municipality has implemented the White Flag project and Golden Scissors projects for the craftsmen in the city for providing the hygiene and controlling the sales. Hence, the municipality controls the offices regularly without formal and police pressures and regulates the competition between craftsmen in a peaceful way. Such practices are appreciated both by the crafts and customers. The other important and specific socio-spatial practice of Yenişehir Municipality is back-garden arrangement of the narrow corridors between buildings and streets. This spatial practice is quite applauded and well

adopted by the people. There is no litter in the streets which are turned into the gardens anymore and the people became to have the sense of being a modern citizen. During the second municipal period, additionally the cultural activities and buildings for especially young people were in the forefront of the municipal practices. The youth sport complex was built and the youth festival was organized. In addition, the Art Street, which was built in 2004, can be seen as another socio-spatial practice of Yenişehir Municipality. Although it was initially built to serve for artistic and cultural activities, the Art Street lost its original function in time. The buildings around the street were rented to the numerous café enterprises. Despite the severe criticisms to the Art Street, the municipality did not intervene in the opening of the cafes there. On the other hand, as an alternative place for the Art Street, the municipality opened a culture park, called Merwani Park in 2012.

The specific socio-spatial practices of Bağlar municipality are the women oriented spaces (the women and child health center, the women art atelier, the women life park), the rehabilitation center for children, the youth library and the mass demonstration area (the Newroz Square). Since the displaced women in the *Old* Bağlar are politically more active in the Kurdish movement and more visible in the everyday practices of the urban life, the policies of Bağlar municipality are shaped in accordance with this local's specificity. Also, the fact that the mayors are women during the last two municipal periods has played a major role in shaping these policies. The first attempt of the first period municipality was to deal with the hygiene and sanitary issues, such as infrastructure restoration of the whole district. Besides, the attempts to cure the wounds of the migrated and poor people in Bağlar and the efforts to bestow them with an urbanite identity are the primary activities of the municipality. These can be evaluated as a kind of the modernization project of the pro-Kurdish municipality in Bağlar. Also, the foundation of the *New* Bağlar through the development practices is another important practice which started during the first municipal period. However, at the end of the developing practices, two different socio-spatial structures emerged in the district as *new* and *old* Bağlar. A few popular gated communities and the big shopping malls are located in Bağcılar (the new Bağlar). Nonetheless, all the socio-spatial units such as the education support houses, the neighborhood and condolence houses and the women's houses of the municipality were built in the old Bağlar. The socio-spatial units, for women and children, were mostly completed and opened during the second municipal period. Yet, at the same time the project-based period was launched in the Bağlar Municipality. Numerous social projects on the issues of women, children, migration, poverty, etc. were funded or credited by the supranational fund and credit organizations. However, such projects which were

conducted through micro-credits, funds or direct aids, could not ultimately be efficient in alleviating poverty; on the contrary, they involve a risk to render the poor people more dependent on the creditor. The women-based socio-spatial practices were carried during the last municipal period. On the other hand, women of the old Bağlar are more active in Bağlar and always play an important role in the socio-spatial practices of the municipality. The Kurdish movement also is more active in the old Bağlar, such as in the 5 Nisan, Kaynartepe and Yunus Emre neighborhoods which are populated by the displaced groups. This region has attracted the municipality's attention every time. Hence, as aforementioned, the municipality concentrates its socio-spatial practices on this region.

The socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar Municipality are the youth center, the conservatory, the film festivals, the street tournaments, the sports complex, the life centers for the disabled groups and old people and the development practices. Service provision of the municipality is diversified due to the fact that Kayapınar has a fragmented socio-spatial structure. Apart from the rural areas, the district consists of newly developed prestigious areas which accommodate high-income groups and form the larger and sparser part of the city; the areas which are populated by the middle income groups; and the gecekondu areas which are populated by the migrated and low income groups. The major activities of the municipality in the prestigious areas, which emerged through development practices of the municipality itself, are to build infrastructures, to control the structures and to collect high taxes and fees. On the other hand, the main practices of the municipality which are based on the social policies have been conducted for the remaining parts of the city where the middle and low income groups live. Also, as Kayapınar municipality is one of the municipalities in Turkey which has no debt, they can put the major social projects into practice without taking any external credit or loan thanks to their own high revenues which are coming from the prestigious settlement areas. While Kayapınar Municipality claims to be a model city in line with the party policies, its urbanization practices are severely criticized. The major issues are the high land prices and the powerful building sector which segregate the social groups further. Through the neo-liberal policies, Kayapınar is pointed as a region where house and land markets turned to be the main tools to accumulate the capital. Yet, this is not the fault of only the municipality. There are multiple actors in the localities. When compared with the municipal periods before 1999, the city was converted into a more regular and controlled place. It should not be ignored that the municipality organizes numerous cultural

activities with its own incomes and without any debt or corruption. Also the fact that the mayor of Kayapınar Municipality, Zülküf Karatekin was arrested in 2009 should be evaluated as an important disadvantage for both the municipality and the dwellers. On the other hand, due to the well-educated municipal cadre, Kayapınar municipality carried on building a dozen of social units within the scope of being a model city. Apart from the extended and numerous parks, various social facilities were opened during the last municipal period. Also, these socio-spatial units were mostly built in the regions where the middle and low income groups live. When all these practices of the municipality are taken into consideration, it could be alleged that Kayapınar Municipality become a good epitome in terms of the social municipalism. Yet, the municipality carries the risk of turning into a charity institution.

At the end, it can be deduced that the major socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities have been conducted within the frame of the social policies in the neighborhoods where the low income and immigrant groups live. On the other hand, the specific practices of each municipality diverge from each other in terms of policies. Hence, the policies should have been deeply probed in the point where the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities differentiate.

In the next section (6.5), the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities were evaluated in terms of their policies. Although the main practices of the district municipalities are put into practice through the social policies, their implementation method and frequency are various. The social policies of the pro-Kurdish municipalities have been conducted in the regions which accommodate mostly the impoverished and migrated people as well as the active members of the Kurdish movement. Hence, Bağlar and Sur municipalities concentrate much more on the social policies when compared with Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipality. Unlike other districts, social policies in Kayapınar are embodied in a different manner. Within the borders of Kayapınar Municipality, there is no laundry or tandır house and no aid center. That might stem from the existence of the relatively high income groups and little dweller's demand. While the policies are generally implemented in pursuit of the organized groups' demands in other districts, Kayapınar Municipality put them into practice without encountering any demand. Therefore, Kayapınar has a risk of being a representative of space. Also some of the practices such as centers for disabled and old people serve for the middle class. Likewise, the gender-based policies are given a special importance in the Bağlar and Sur municipalities due to the fact that the women's issues and women's movement are more

visible in these districts. Since the cultural and historical fabric of the city emerged in the Suriçi region, the cultural policies are mostly put into practice by Sur Municipality. Besides, Yenişehir Municipality gives special attention to the economic policies as the district is the trade and business center of Diyarbakır. Since Kayapınar district has vast areas which are suitable to develop, the officers has the more opportunity to deal with the urban policies.

In the final sub-section (6.6), the spatial practices of the district municipalities were examined by paying attention to the party policies, which were designed for its all local governments. The local government policies of the pro-Kurdish parties are the compilation of the party program and the stance document of BDP. In line with the Democratic Autonomy model, all the local government institutions of BDP should adapt the participatory-democratic, gender egalitarian and ecologic principles. In this thesis, the district municipalities were basically evaluated over these principles. It is hard to say that the district municipalities fully coincide with the party policies. Yet, to build the neighborhood houses as well as their committees, the education support houses, the women centers and parks are approved by the main principles of the party policies. These spatial units also comprise the common services of the district municipalities.

The major contribution of putting participatory-democracy principle into practice is that all the urban dwellers play an effective role in the production of space in the city. All the studied municipalities opened the neighborhood houses in accordance with this principle. Through activating the neighborhood committees, the participation channels of the urban dwellers to the decision-making processes, municipal budgeting and local management are constructed. Also, the Sümerpark Common Life Area where the city council, city volunteers and the civic organizations come together was defined as a spatial unit. This is consistent with the participation principle of the party. Indeed, any spatial unit which is built by the municipalities has a potential to become a democratic space during the struggles for creating direct participation to the urban management. Yet, the major criticisms about the participatory-democracy principle of the municipalities were as following; the city council has served for only the sake of the representative democracy; the neighborhood houses have a risk to turn into the party's organizing houses; and the neighborhood committees were not established in every neighborhood and they do not represent every social group living in that neighborhood. Consequently, it can be asserted that the degree and way of the public participation is different according to the class structure of the locality. The participation mechanisms in the neighborhoods, where the

impoverished, migrated and politically active people live, are well functioned but this situation carries a risk to turn these spatial units into the means of the party organization. The participation mechanisms in the neighborhoods where middle and upper-middle groups live are seen as quite satisfactory by the municipalities. Yet, the participation mechanisms in the areas where upper class live are not established and run by both the dwellers and municipalities. For example, in Sur and Bağlar where the Kurdish movement is active and the people who are poor and forcibly migrated can easily organize for the urbanization issues. Yet, such an organization has not turned into a long-lasting urban movement in terms of the political and identity struggles for the Kurdish issue. On the other hand, in Kayapınar there is no organization and neighborhood house in the gated communities, hence the participative mechanisms did not develop there.

According to the gender-based principles, the women centers should be opened so as to improve the participation of women to the political, economic and social life. This is an important issue for the municipalities. In fact, all the studied municipalities opened the women centers in accordance with this principle. With other spatial practices for women in line with this principle, Bağlar and Sur municipalities are more successful when compared with Yenişehir and Kayapınar municipalities. The praiseworthy socio-spatial practice for women was to open the Beyaz Kelebekler Laundry and Tandır Houses in Sur, Yenişehir and Bağlar where the forcibly migrated and impoverished people live.

With respect to ecological principles, all the spatial practices of the municipalities should be conducted basically through comprehending the ecological balance. Since 1999, all the studied municipalities have given importance to the infrastructure of the city which had been devastated before. Thus, the urban dwellers had an access to the healthy water resources. Particularly during the first municipal period, the municipalities struggled with the epidemic diseases in the city and decreased the level of infection. Also, they have made significant efforts to keep the open spaces clean. Apart from the cleaning services, the municipalities often organize seminars, courses and campaigns in local languages in order to improve the dwellers' awareness on the environment issues, especially on the garbage problem. Furthermore, as also for the party policy, the municipalities establish good relationships with the civic organization on environment issues and mobilize along with them. According to the party policies, the ecological buildings and open spaces should be built by the municipalities. The Solar House project of the GMD is indicated as a model by the municipalities. Yet, the socio-spatial services of the district municipalities in line with the ecological policies of the party are insufficient. Moreover, the party

claims that the municipalities should build parks and green areas and give courses on ecology for the local people so as to adopt and protect these areas. Kayapınar as the most active municipality Bağlar and Yenişehir municipalities have built parks and green areas. Although the first and successful practice to increase the active green area in Diyarbakır is the green belt project of the city walls' environs in the early 2000s, Sur Municipality did not build another park afterwards. Furthermore, within the frame of ecological policies, the party supposes that development plans of the municipalities should reveal and protect the historical identity, local architecture, cultural heritage areas of the cities. . However, the municipalities did not follow the ecologic policies of the party, such as using alternative energy sources, encouraging build houses in line with ecology and constructing cycling roads.

On the other side, the municipalities have failed in the party policy regarding the support for the homosexuals and old people. Although all the municipalities stated that all the disadvantaged people are their main target groups, they have not built sufficient spaces for gays and lesbians. Nonetheless, it should be considered that this newly enacted policy have been restricted by the traditional values. Also, there are not sufficient places for the old people. Although Kayapınar Municipality has just built a center for old people, other district municipalities as well as the GMD did not open centers for the old people or a nursery house. Indeed, there might be no demand for such spaces coming from old people in Diyarbakır. Also, as the family relations are bounded tightly, there might be no demand for nursery houses in Diyarbakır. Moreover, as one of the economic policies of the party, all the district municipalities are supposed to establish the public cooperatives in the cities. Nevertheless, only Bağlar Municipality and Sur Municipality have found cooperatives for women so far.

7.2. Suggestions for the Further Studies

Certain suggestions can be made for the further studies by taking the limits of this study into consideration. In order to understand the mechanisms of the production of space in Diyarbakır, the analysis of the triple dialectic processes of Lefebvre is inevitably required. Although the spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces are indispensable dimensions of the triple dialectic, this study is incapable to comprehend the triple dialectic fully. One of the main limits of this study is that the in-depth interviews with the urban dwellers could not be conducted. Only daily meetings and conservations with some dwellers were done during the field research. Hence, the data to comprehend the representational spaces in Diyarbakır could not be gathered

sufficiently. In addition, as the time for the field research was quite restricted, everyday life practices of the city could not be adequately observed. In brief, certain dynamics and mechanisms for a socio-spatial dialectic analysis could not been exactly revealed. Therefore, collecting data for grasping the representational spaces and everyday life practices in Diyarbakır through an ethnographic study method is strongly recommended for further studies. The other limits of this thesis are that the relations; i) between the greater municipality and the district municipalities, ii) between the district municipalities, iii) between the municipalities and the pro-Kurdish parties, vi) between the municipalities and the central government since 1999 could not be investigated. Such an investigation would contribute to understand the differences in the spatial practices of the municipalities stemming from the institutional capacity of each municipality. For, the degree of autonomy (dependency or independency) of each municipality (and each mayor) from the party or central government also determines the specifities in the service provision and the local policies. Hence, such an investigation would be better for the further studies so as to comprehend the institutional differences in the socio-spatial practices of the municipalities. On the other hand, in order to theorize the role of the pro-Kurdish municipalities in the production of space, a more comparative analysis should be required. This comparison could be made either between the other pro-Kurdish municipalities in the region or between the municipalities which are run by the different political parties in Turkey. Thus, it would be much easier to generalize the results for the pro-Kurdish municipalities.

7.3. Policy Proposals for the Pro-Kurdish Municipalities in Diyarbakır

In the light of the conclusive remarks of this study, some policies can be proposed to the pro-Kurdish municipalities. Although the pro-Kurdish municipalities are under certain difficulties, such as political discourages, financial straits and governmental oppressions, their first mission should be to struggle against the destructive effects of the neo-liberal policies. They should principally fulfill all the obligations of the urbanization and economy policies which are offered by BDP for local governments. The project of democratic autonomy also offers the municipalities to create democratic, gender-based and ecological communities in the smallest local units, such as streets and neighborhoods. According to this project, the municipalities should always act with the urban dwellers and the grassroots of the Kurdish movement through improving the mechanisms of the participatory democracy. In this sense, the municipalities should build neighborhood/people's house in every neighborhood and encourage the neighborhood committees to include in the local administration processes. Besides, they should improve

the Zana's municipal model and should always act with the urban grassroots of the movement. The municipalities ought to provide much more collective consumption services to the poor people. They should conduct or involve in the transformation projects without detaching the dwellers from their living and business areas. In addition, they should increase the number of social housing projects for the low income group.

As the ecology policies integrated with the economy, democratic organizing and gender-based principles, most of the spatial practices of the municipalities are related with the ecology, indeed. Hence, there are various alternative methods for ecology policies which can be developed by the municipalities in the city of Diyarbakır. First of all, the pro-Kurdish municipalities should improve the production and consumption cooperatives. The municipalities can organize training coerces for running the cooperatives. The use of local natural resources and the self-production processes should be further supported. For example, the large parks and gardens can be utilized as soil production areas. These areas can be distributed to the urban dwellers for the micro scale farming in the cities. In addition, cycling and walking trails should be built along the highways. The solar house project of the GMD can be implemented for all the spatial units of the municipalities. The social houses which will be produced by the municipalities can be a favorable model to create democratic, gender-based and ecological communities.

Certain policy proposals with regards to socio-spatial practices can be made for each district municipalities. Beginning with Sur Municipality, the main issue is the urban transformation project for Suriçi. The idea of marketing the cultural assets for tourism should be definitely abandoned. The municipality should urgently establish commissions in the project neighborhoods which consist of the dwellers and the civic organizations. The decisions which were taken by these commissions should apply sanction to the municipality. Besides, all the attentions should not paid to only Suriçi. There are numerous disadvantaged and poor neighborhoods in the Sur district which should be prioritized. Also, as there are no sufficient green areas in Sur, the municipality should build park and green areas. For example, the back gardens implementation of Yenişehir municipality can be taken as an example. Secondly, since Yenişehir municipality has only one women's center, it should build more spaces for women (e.g. women's center, women cooperative and women labor bazaar) in the neighborhoods. Also, the municipality should open more spaces for young people, such as culture and art centers. Thirdly, as the old Bağlar has inconvenient physical conditions, Bağlar Municipality should prepare emergency action plans. It should prepare renovation projects for the

urban fabric harmony with the social structure of the neighborhoods. Such a project should not resemble with the urban transformation projects of TOKİ and should not break the politically fragile population. Before any kind of intervention to the settlement areas, the municipalities should act in line with the demands and decisions of the dwellers. Each neighborhood can reach a common decision for their living areas through establishing committees, councils, etc. in the neighborhoods. Lastly, Kayapınar Municipality should primarily pay utmost attention to the urban policies, such as implementation of the development plans, distribution of the urban rent, etc. Moreover, the municipality should create more democratic participation channels for urban dwellers. In the sense of the social municipalism, Kayapınar Municipality should show its difference from the social policies of AKP. Hence, the municipality should give priority the demands and needs of the poor neighborhoods. The municipality should also lead to establish and operate the neighborhood committees in the gated communities and luxury residential areas. Besides, the municipality ought to build more spaces for women (e.g. women's center, women cooperative and women labor bazaar) in the neighborhoods. As the Kayapınar district is a recently developed city, it has more chance for spatial practices in harmony with the ecology policies offered by the party. Finally, the relations between the GMD and district municipalities should be improved in order to decrease the results of uneven development of the districts. A common pool for the financial supports could be founded. Thus, the municipalities which have high incomes could promote the municipalities which have financial straits for building the spatial units. In this sense, improving the financial and institutional capacity of GABB will provide the municipalities a basis for struggle against the destructive effects of the neo-liberalism.

All in all, this thesis intended to reach viable generalizations with more appropriate and comprehensive questions through establishing relations between theory and practice. Yet, the discoursive ones should ultimately turn into the material ones. This proposal is valid for academic researchers, policy makers and actors in the local governments. For Lefebvre, the praxis is a revolutionary action. As also a Kurdish proverb says, "*Kirinek ji hezar gotinan çêtir e*." It means that one action is better than thousand words.

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APPENDIX A: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MUNICIPALITIES[125]

Belediyenin Genel Politikaları

1. Belediyecilik anlayışınızı nasıl tanımlanıyorsunuz? Yerel yönetim politikalarınız ve ilkeleriniz nelerdir?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
2. Partinizin yerel yönetim politikaları nelerdir? Faaliyetleriniz partinizin bu politikaları ile uyumlu olarak yürüttüğünüzü düşünüyor musunuz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
3. Önceki belediyelerden ve Türkiye'deki diğer partilerin belediyelerinden farklı olarak ilçenizde neler yaptınız? Farklılıklarız hangi faaliyetlerde ve politikalarda aranmalı?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Belediyenin Kent Mekânın Toplumsal Üretimindeki Rolü

1. Belediyede yönetime geldiğinizden bugüne ilçenizde hangi mekânsal birimleri inşa ettiniz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
   a. Bu mekânların kuruluş amacı nedir? ………………………………………………..
   b. Bu mekânlar hangi tarihte faaliyete geçti? …………………………………………..
   c. Bu mekânların faaliyet alanı neresi? …………………………………………………
   d. Bu mekânlar hangi gelir grubuna yönelik (hedef kitlesi) inşa edildi? …………….
   e. Bu mekânlar ne tür politikalara hizmet ediyor? ....
2. Önceki belediye yönetimlerinde üretilen mekânlarda herhangi bir değişiklik yaptınız mı? Hangi mekânları değiştirdiniz? Hangi mekânları değiştiremediniz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
3. Kent mekânındaki fiziksel yapılar açısından HADEP-BDP çizgisindeki belediye olarak kaldırdığınız sembol, anıt, değiştirdiğiniz mekânlar oldu mu? Neleri korudunuz veya ihmal ettiniz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
4. Ne tür çevre düzenlemeleri, sokak, cadde, meydan düzenlememeleri (isimlendirme dâhil) yaptınız?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
5. Kentte kentsel yenileme anlamında çalışmalar yapıldı mı? Bu çalışmalarla kentin nereleri nasıl yenilendi?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
6. İnşa ettiğiniz toplumsal mekânların projesini hazırlarken başka projelerden esinlendiniz mi? Ulusal veya uluslararası projelerden örnek mi aldınız? Yoksa kendi özgün çalışmalarınız mı?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………
7. Bu mekânlarla ilgili olarak nasıl bir geri dönüş alıyorsunuz? Kent sakinleri bu mekân ve faaliyetlerden memnunlar mı? Herhangi bir eleştiri alıyor musunuz? Bu eleştirileri değerlendiriyor musunuz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Belediyenin Toplumsal Mekân Üretiminde İzlediği Politikalar
a. Yönetim ve Örgütlenme Politikaları

1. Belediye olarak halk ile birlikte toplantılar düzenliyor musunuz? Nerelerde toplanıyorsunuz?
   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

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[125] In the set up of the in-depth interview questions, the master thesis of Ali Ekber Doğan (Eğreti Kamusallık: Kayseri Örneğinde İslamcı Belediyecilik, 2007a) was taken as reference.

2. Halkın yönetime ve karar alma süreçlerine katılımı sağlanıyor mu? Halkın yönetime katılması için nasıl bir yol izliyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Mahalle meclisleri oluşturdunuz mu? Nerelerde bir araya gelip toplantı alıyorlar?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

4. İlçenizde sahip olduğunuz taban dışında diğer kesimlerle de iyi ilişki kurduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? Bütün grupların tavırlarını ve çıkarlarını dikkate alabiliyor musunuz? Bu çevrelerden ne tür talepler veya baskılarla karşılaştınız?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Belediye olarak siyasi organizasyonlara ilginiz ne düzeyde? Eylem, grev ve toplu gösterilere katılım ve destek sağlıyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

6. Belediyeniz hangi sivil toplum örgütleri ile ilişkileri içinde? İlişkileriniz ne düzeyde? Birlikte faaliyette bulunuyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

b. Ekonomi (Üretim-Emek-Bölüşüm) Politikaları

1. Belediye olarak kentin ekonomik gelişimine nasıl ve ne yönde katkıda bulundunuz? Kentte ticaretin, sanayinin veya turizmin gelişmesi için neler yaptınız?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Belediye olarak hangi üretim faaliyetlerine destekte bulunuyor musunuz? Evetse, ne tür üretim faaliyetlerine destekte bulunuyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

3. İlçenizde iş alanları yaratıyor musunuz? Evetse, ne tür iş alanları aratıyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

4. İlçenize herhangi bir yatırım projeniz oldu mu? Olduysa, bu projeler nelerdir?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

5. İlçenizde herhangi bir toplumsal mekân inşa ederken ve sonrasında maddi kaynak sıkıntınız oluyor mu? Herhangi bir kurumdan destek alıyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

6. İşçi ve emekçilerle ilişkiniz nasıl? Toplu sözleşmelere katılıyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

7. İlçenizde işsizlik sorunu var ise, buna yönelik çalışmalarınız oldu mu? Olduysa, ne tür çalışmalar yürüttünüz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

8. Belediyeniz hangi meslek odaları ve sendikalar ile ilişki içinde? Bu kurumlarla ilişkileriniz ne düzeyde? Bu kurumlarla birlikte faaliyette bulunuyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

9. Belediyenizin sosyal hizmetleri, yardımları veya destekleri nelerdir?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Alt gelir gruplarına (yoksullara) yönelik faaliyetleriniz var mı? Var ise, ne tür (eğitim, sağlık, barınma vs.) faaliyetler yürütüyorsunuz? Onlar için ortak kullanım ve tüketim alanları yaratıyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

11. İlçenizde çocuklar, gençler, yaşlılar ve dezavantajlı (engelliler, madde bağımlıları, vb.) gruplar için faaliyetler yürütüyor musunuz? Onlar için eğitim, sağlık, meslek edindirme merkezleri açıyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

12. İlçenizde sağlıkla ilgili (hastane, sağlık merkezleri, doktor vb.) problemleri var mı? Var ise bu problemlere yönelik neler yapıyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

d. Kültürel (Kimlik) Politikalar

1. Kültür ve sanat etkinlikleri (sinema, tiyatro, edebiyat, kültür sanat günleri, festivaller, vb) düzenliyor musunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

2. İlçenizde kütüphane, kültür, kongre merkezleri, müze vb. yerler var mı? Yok ise açma girişimleriniz oldu mu?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

3. İlçenizde varsa tarihi yapılarla ilgili (korunması, restorasyonu vb) ne tür faaliyetler yürütüyorsunuz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

4. İlçenizin kimlik (etnik, dil, din, inanç) dokusunun korunmasına ve geliştirilmesine yönelik faaliyetleriniz var mı? Varsa bu faaliyetlerden kısaca bahseder misiniz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

5. İlçenizde varsa azınlık gruplarına dair ayrıcalıklı faaliyetleriniz var mı?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

f. Şehircilik Politikaları

1. İlçenizde ne tür planlar (nazım ve uygulama imar planları, çevre düzeni, ulaşım, koruma, afet vb. planlar) yaptınız veya yaptırdınız?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Bu planlarda kimleri ve neleri hedefliyorsunuz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Planlarınızda engellilerin, yaşlıların yaşamını kolaylaştırıcı, engellileri gözeten uygulamalar yapıyor musunuz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

4. İlçenizde herhangi bir kentsel dönüşüm projesi uygulanıyor mu? Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinize yaklaşımınız nedir?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

g. Ekoloji Politikaları

1. Belediyenizin ekoloji politikaları nelerdir?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Belediyenizin ne tür çevre (katı atık ve hafriyat bertarafı, atıksu kanalizasyonu, içme suyu kanalları, içme suyu ve atıksu arıtma tesisleri) sorunları var? Bu sorunların çözümü için ne tür faaliyetleriniz var? Bu faaliyetlerde nasıl bir ekolojik anlayış sergiliyorsunuz? Alternatif olarak yürüttüğünüz faaliyetler var mı?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Ağaçlandırma, park, bahçe çalışmalarında ekoloji anlamında yaptığınız alternatif uygulamalar var mı? Varsa neler?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Belediyeniz nasıl bir enerji ve kaynak kullanımı politikası öngörüyor?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Belediyenizin ekolojik bir kent/kır yaratma öngörüsü var mı? Var ise bu konuda neler yapıyorsunuz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

h. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Politikaları

1. Belediyenizin toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları nelerdir?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Belediyenizin kadınlara yönelik ayrıcalıklı çalışmaları (kadın meclisleri oluşturma, kadın istihdam, destek, dayanışma, sağlık, eğitim evleri, meslek, üretim atölyeleri kurma, vb) var mı?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamak için projeleriniz, faaliyetleriniz var mı? Varsa, kısaca bahseder misiniz?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

Belediyenin Genel Politikaları ve Faaliyetleri

1. HADEP'ten BDP'ye Kürt hareketini temsil eden partilerin belediyecilik anlayışını nasıl tanımlanıyorsunuz? Yerel yönetim politikalarını ve ilkelerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
………………………………………………………………………………

2. 1999'dan beri Diyarbakır'da görev yapan HADEP-BDP çizgisindeki belediyeleri genel olarak başarılı buluyor musunuz? Sizce, bu başarıda etkili olan faktörler nelerdir? Belediye başkanların kişiliği ve kapasitesi mi, parti ideolojisi mi, belediye kadroların niteliği mi, parti tabanının güçlülüğü mü, kent sakinlerinin sınıfsal karakteri mi?
………………………………………………………………………………

3. Önceki belediyelerden ve Türkiye'deki diğer partilerin belediye pratiklerinden farklı olarak neler yaptıkları söylenebilir? Sizce, farklılıkları hangi faaliyet ve politikalarda aranmalı?
………………………………………………………………………………

Belediyelerin Kent Mekânın Toplumsal Üretimindeki Rolü ve İzlediği Politikalar
Bu soruları, Diyarbakır Büyükşehir ve ilçe (Sur, Bağlar, Yenişehir, Kayapınar) belediyelerini ayrı ayrı ele alarak cevaplandırınız:

1. 1999'dan günümüze bu belediyelerin kent mekânının toplumsal olarak üretilmesinde Diyarbakır'da ne gibi etkilerinin olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? 1999-2004, 2004-2009 ve 2009'dan sonrası dönemler için belediyelerin politika ve uygulamalarında herhangi bir farklılık görüyor musunuz? Görüyorsanız, bu farklıları nelerdir? Nedenleri ile açıklayanız.
………………………………………………………………………………

2. Belediyelerin mekânsal pratiklerini genel olarak nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Herhangi bir eleştiri yönelttiniz mi? Size bu eleştirileri dikkate alıyorlar mı?
………………………………………………………………………………

3. Bu belediyeler Diyarbakır'ın kent mekânında nasıl bir değişiklik yaptılar?
………………………………………………………………………………

4. Belediyelerin politikaları ve uygulamaları kentin sosyal, kültürel gelişimine nasıl ve ne yönde etkide bulundu?
………………………………………………………………………………

5. Sizce bu kenti ve bu kentte yaşayanları Türkiye genelinden ne tür özellikler farklı kılıyor? Coğrafi, tarihi, kültürel yapısı kentte yaşayanların kimliği ve tavırlarına etkide bulunmuş mudur?
………………………………………………………………………………

6. Bu belediyeler daha çok hangi kesimlere dayanmaktadırlar? Toplumsal mekân pratiklerinde hangi gelir gruplarını hedeflemektedirler? Politik açıdan kimlerden destek alıyorlar? Yerel iktidardaki genel olarak hangi sınıf ve grupların ittifakını yansıtıyorlar?
………………………………………………………………………………

7. Bu belediyelerin şu başlıklardaki politikalarını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Bu politikalara yönelik hangi toplumsal birimleri inşa ettiler?
   a. Yönetim ve örgütlenme politikaları …………………………………………..
   b. Ekonomi (üretim-emek-bölüşüm) politikaları ……………………………………
   c. Kültürel politikalar ………………………………………………………………..
   d. Sosyal politikalar …………………………………………………………………
   e. Kentleşme (imar, kentsel dönüşüm) politikaları ……………………………………

f. Ekoloji politikaları …………………………………………………………………..

g. Cinsiyet özgürlükçü politikalar …………………………………………………..

8. Bu belediyelerle partinin yerel yönetim politikaları ile uyumlu olarak hareket ettiklerini söyleyebilir misiniz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

9. Belediyelerin sahip oldukları taban dışında diğer kesimlerle de iyi ilişki kurduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bütün grupların tavırlarını, taleplerini ve çıkarlarını dikkate alabiliyorlar mı?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Belediyelerin siyasi organizasyonlara ilgisi ne düzeyde? Eylem, grev ve toplu gösterilere katılım ve destek sağlıyorlar mı?

………………………………………………………………………………………….

11. Belediyeler hangi sivil toplum örgütleri ile ilişkileri içinde? İlişkileri ne düzeyde? Birlikte faaliyette bulunuyorlar mı?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

12. Sizce, belediyeler kentin ekonomik gelişimine nasıl ve ne yönde katkıda bulundu? Kentte ticaretin, sanayinin veya turizmin gelişmesi için neler yaptılar?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

13. Belediyelerin kentin işçi ve emekçilerle ilişkisini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Bu kesimlere yönelik çalışmaları oldu mu?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Belediyeler daha çok hangi meslek odaları ve sendikalar ile ilişki içindeler? Bu kurumlarla ilişkilerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Bu kurumlarla birlikte hareket ettikleri söylenebilir mi?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

15. Belediyelerin alt gelir gruplarına (yoksullara) yönelik faaliyetleri var mı? Var ise, ne tür (eğitim, sağlık, barınma vs.) faaliyetler yürütüyorlar? Onlar için ortak kullanım ve tüketim alanları yaratıyorlar mı?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

16. Çocuklar, gençler, yaşlılar ve dezavantajlı (engelliler, madde bağımlıları, vb.) gruplar için faaliyetler yürütüyorlar mı? Bu faaliyetleri nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

17. Belediyelerin imar çalışmaları konusunda düşünceleriniz neler?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

18. Belediyelerin kentsel dönüşüm projeleri konusunda yaklaşımlarını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

19. Belediyelerin başarılı olarak adlandıracağınız mekânsal pratikleri var mı? Varsa en başta gelenleri hangileri? Kentte kazandırdıkları mekânsal birimlerden en çok hangisini beğeniyorsunuz?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

20. HADEP-BDP'li belediyelerin en fazla eleştiriyi hak eden yanları nelerdir? Hangi uygulamalarını beğenmiyorsunuz? Beğenmediğiniz uygulamaları var mı?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

21. Sizce, Diyarbakır'da Kürt hareketini temsil eden partilerin belediyeleri hareketin bu anlayışını kente kazandırdılar mı? Kısacası, Diyarbakır'a bir Kürt Kalesi olma özelliği kazandırabildiklerini düşünüyor musunuz?

APPENDIX C: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır [G]

[G1]

Feridun Çelik: Kendimizi de kentimizi de biz yöneteceğiz şiarıyla yönetime geldik. Temel ilkelerimizden biri toplumun her hücresine nüfüz ederek katılımcılığı hedefleyen bir anlayıştı. Seçildiğimiz süredeki konjüktür maalesef yeteri derecede hedeflerimizin topluma yansıtılabilmesi şansını vermiyordu.

[G2]

Şeyhmus Diken: Şimdi bir kelimeyle özetlersek, bana göre *"halk çocuklarının belediyeciliği"*dir. Bu aynı zamanda Kürtler'de şimdiye kadar çok telaffuz edilmeyen, ihmal edilen çünkü ulusal perspektiften Kürtler genellikle meseleye bakıyorlar. Bu benim bakış açımdır. HEP'ten DEP'ten bugüne kadar gelen BDP geleneği çizgisine yerel yönetimler ekseninden baktığımızda şunu görürüz 99'a kadar. genellikle BDP'nin belediye bşknlıklarını aldığı yerlerde mesela Diyarbakır özelinde meseleye baktığımızda – 1977'deki Mehdi Zana örneğini bir tarafa bırakırsak ki bu ekstrem bir örnektir – belediye kadroları çoğunlukla halkın çocuklarıdır.

[G3]

Şeyhmus Diken: Benim *halk çocukluğu* ifadesini kavramsal olarak kullanmamın nedeni şu: Bunlar yoksul halk çocuklarının ve halk çocuklarının davasını siyasal olarak da savunma ekseninden yola çıkarak bir dava neferi olma anlamında yola çıkarak gelenlerin talepkarlığıydı ve böyle bir çıkıştı. Bu çıkış da bugüne kadar devam etti. Ha bugün gelinen nokta da *halk çocukluğunu* nasıl tarif ediyorsunuz diye bir soru da sorarsanız, bugün tabi o *halk çocukluğu* o 99'daki mağdur ve mazlum kimlikten biraz daha iktidar olma, iktidarın vakarlığına işte o vakurluğuna falan filan sahip olma artık muktedir olma, artık belki daha iyi koşullarda yaşıyor olabilme ve hatta belki de kentin seçkinleri arasında kendine yer edinebilme haline dönüştü. Belki de tırnak içinde *"bir sınıf intiharına"* falan da dönüştü. Yani artık o halk çocukluğu biraz farklı bir rotaya girdi. Ama çıkış olarak baktığımızda halk çocukluğu kavramını kullanmanın doğru olacağına inanıyorum.

[G4]

Şeyhmus Diken: Mesela o dönemde size bir örnek vermem gerekirse, 99 yılında DEHAP'tı yanlış hatırlamıyorsam ya da HADEP'ti, işte o geleneği temsilen Feridun Çelik belediye başkanı olmuştu. İlk yılıydı. Ankara'dan bir grup ünlü gazeteci Diyarbakır'a gelmişti. Onlarla beraber bazı bölgeleri geziyorduk, halkın nabzını almak istediklerini söylemişlerdi. Ben ve birkaç, ben o zaman da danışmandım, birkaç belediye meclis üyesiyle birlikte yani açılan bir yol vardı. Şu Fiskaya'nın oradaki yolda genişçe bir yol açılmıştı. Daha yolun işte parke taşları felan döşenmemişti. Yol yeni açılmıştı. Ama oradaki semt sakinlerinin hayatını kolaylaştıran bir yol olmuştu. Tesadüfen oraya girdik yani kenti geziyoruz oraya girdik o gazeteci grubuyla. Gazeteci grubu dedi ki, 4-5 kişiydiler, tanınmış köşe yazarları da vardı içlerinde. Dediler ki şu halktan, karşıdan gelen vatandaşlardan birilerine bir iki soru sormak isteriz dediler. Tabi sorun, buyurun dedik. Ama oraya tümüyle tesadüfen girdik. daha önceden programlanmış bir şey değildi. Durdurdular, vatandaşa dediler ki, işte belediye yolunuzu açmış, ne diyorsunuz, ne düşünüyorsunuz bu yeni belediye hakkında. Vatandaşın ilk sözü şu oldu, ya dedi, "Sizin bu konuyu nereye götürmek istediğinizi biz biliyoruz, bakın size açık olarak söyleyeyim" dedi. "Yolumuzu açsalar da açmasalar da, hiç buraya araç filan, belediyenin arabaları gelse de gelmese de, *onlar bizim evlatlarımızdır, bizim çocuklarımızdır*. Biz onları seçtik, oraya koyduk, oturttuk. *Bize hiç bir hizmet vermeseler de umurumuzda değil*. Bizden birileri şu anda o makamda, belediye makamında orada oturuyorlar ya, *biz biliyoruz ki bizimkiler orada oturuyor*" dedi. *"Bu bizim için yeterlidir"* dedi. Şimdi bu adeta şey gibi, yani öyle bir şok tesiri o anda bir dalga gibi yarattı. Hemen orada döndüler bize baktılar, ya dediler bu bir kurgu muydu, neydi, dediler, nereden düştük buraya, dediler. Siz dediler, bu adamları buraya önceden mi dediler, biraz da espri mahiyetinde, ayarladınız dediler. Ya dedik yok dedik, yani işte sizi aldık, tesadüfen siz buralara girelim dediniz, bu taraflara yürüyelim dediniz.

Yani biz ne bu adamları tanıyoruz, hakikaten de tanımıyorduk, ne de önceden görüşmüşlüğümüz var. Ama dedik isterseniz siz bizden ayrılın, başka yerlere gidin konuşun. Muhtemelen gittiğiniz her yerde insanlar size buna benzer şeyler söyleyecek. Gerçekten de o 1999'dan sonraki bir kaç yıla halkın BDP çizgisindeki belediyelere yaklaşımı böyleydi, hizmet çok umurlarında değildi. Bizim çocuklarımızdır, orada oturuyor, çünkü o ana kadar, 99'a kadar belediye devlet oluşumu olarak görülüyordu. Yani devletin işte içişleri bakanlığına bağlı valilik gibi, bir emniyet müdürlüğü gibi işte nüfus ve vatandaşlık işleri müdürlüğü gibi, vergi dairesi gibi, yani hep gittiği vakit işleri zora giren, yapılabilecek, çözülebilecek işlerinin bile zora sokulduğu mekânlar gibi kafalarında bir tahayyül vardı. Öyle miydi, değil miydi, o ayrı bir şey onu tartışmıyoruz. Kafadaki tahayyülü ben şu anda tarif ediyorum.

[G5]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: İlk etapta, belediyeler tüm mahallelere form gönderdi ve hepsinde "seyyar selvi" çıktı. Seyyar selvi bir ihtiyaç olabilir ama öncelikli veya önemli ihtiyaçlardan biri değil. Sonra, belediye çoktan seçmeli anket formları hazırladı, öncelikli ihtaiyaçlarını öğrenmek için. Hani içme suyudur, kalizasyondur, yoludur, sosyal merkezler, park ve benzeri ihtiyaçlar. Hatta biz kendimiz mahallelere gittik ve görüşmeleri yaptık. Biz anket yaptık ya kanalizasyonu birebir görüşmede soruyorsun. Aslında kanalizasyon problemi var. Diyorsunuz ki, "Kanalizasyon probleminiz var mı"? Diyor ki "yok" diyor. Çünkü köyde kanalizasyon sisteminin ya da hizmetinin kalitesinin ne kadar olması gerektiğini bilmiyor ki sana olumlu ya da olumsuz cevap versin. Normalde her kış aslında o kanalizasyon taşıyor ama normal karşılıyor. Diyor ki, "Normali budur, standardı budur. Tüm kış yağmur yağıyor. "Ne yapsın belediye?" Ama onun için problem değil. Onun taşması hiç problem değil. Ama gidiyor diyorsun ki, "Peki kanalizasyonsunuz, kışın yağmur fazla yağdığı zaman rögarlar mı taşıyor?" Diyor, "evet". "Avlunuza geliyor mu?" Diyor, "Evet, biz sonra temizliyoruz." Belediyeleri çağırmıyor ki. Halbuki belediye geliyor, kısa sürede açıyor, gidiyor. Soruyorsunuz, "Su probleminiz var mı?" "Hayır, hayır hiç problemimiz yok" diyor. Ama sonra şey, görüşmelerinizde bakıyorsunuz, "Valla günde bize bir saat geliyor, o da bize yetiyor" diyor.

[G6]
Demir Çelik: Talepler değişiyor, değişecektir de. Taleplerini dikkate almadan, salt bendendir, benimdir demeyle yetinmesini sağlamak için doğasına terstir. O anlamda evet, 99'da "Benden olmalı, benimse taş da olsa, odun da olsa ben desteğimi veririm" esprisi bile yapılmıştı. ama süreç içerisinde "benden olanın bana ait olan bir kısım ihtiyaçların da karşılaması duyarlılığında, bilgisine, yeteneğine ve gücüne sahip olması gerekir" algısı oluştu. (…) Ama artık kentli bunun yeterli olmadığını, bizden olanın kendi sorunlarını çözmede yetmediğini, su, kanalizasyon başta olmak üzere kent ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması için nitelikli, iş bilir kadrolara ve yerel yönetim'lere ihtiyaç olduğunu görmeye başladı. Gördükten sonra 2004'teki şiarı "Evet bizden olsun, benim olsun am bilen olsun, benden ileride olan olsun, beni de, kenti de yönetebilecek kapasiteye ve düzeye sahip insan olsun" algısına yol açtı.

[G7]
Şeyhmus Diken: Fakat 99'dan sonra böyle bir algı vardı yani hizmet götürülmese de orada bizim çocuklarımız oturuyor, anlayışı halkın nezdinde vardı. Sonra kentte artık mantık şu oldu: "Tamam kardeşim, iyi, bizimkiler orada oturuyor da, ama ne zamana kadar bizimkiler diyeceğiz yani? Artık bizimkilerin bize bir şeyler de yapması lazım. Hizmet de üretmesi lazım. Yani çocuk oyun parkları, engellilere yönelik yürüyüş parkurları, kulvarları, ondan sonra gerekirse tenis sahaları, basketbol sahaları, kentte yeşil örtüsünün metrekare oranın giderek artacağı bir kent, nefes alınacak steril mekânlar, kültür sanat ortamları, biz artık bunları da istiyoruz. Yani biz bunlara layık değil miyiz? (…) Ayrıca, iyi güzel de, biz kendi çocuklarımızı seçtik ama sittin sene sadece orada otursun diye değil, bize de hizmet üretsinler diye." Böyle olmadı tabi. Sadece halktan gelen talep üzerine de değil, belediye zaten kendisi de üretmeye başlamıştı.

[G8]
Şeyhmus Diken: Fakat 99'dan sonra, o tarihe kadar kentte şöyle bir artı sonuç da vardı. Orta sınıf adeta kirli savaş nedeniyle yok olmuştu. Kentin kısmen ekonomik durumu iyi olan insanları savaş nedeniyle kentten göç etmişlerdi, çoğu gitmişti. Kentte çok yoksul ve mağdur olan fiili olarak savaşın tarafında gören ve artık gidebilecek yeri de olmayan insanlar kalmıştı. Bir de devletin

yetkilileri. Tabi bir de çok steril koşullarda yaşayan çok çok ekonomik durumu iyi olan ama devamlı kentin dışında metropol şehirlere uçakla gidip gelen kesimler kalmıştı. Zaman içinde bu belediyeleri iyileştirme çabalarıyla kendilerinin de içinde yer aldığı sınıfsal manada bir orta sınıf oluştu. Şu anda yani BDP çizgisinde olan insanların, o steril koşullarda, dubleks evlerde, işte 75 metrelik yolun üzerinde yaşayan ama BDP'li olarak kendini var ettiğini söyleyen, düşünen, oyunu da gidip BDP'ye veren bir orta sınıf oluştu.

[G9]
Osman Baydemir: Her şeyden önce, Diyarbakır'ın ve Diyarbakır'da yaşayan tüm insanların etnik kimliğiniz, diliniz, kültürünüz ve inancınız, hizmetin en kalitelisini almanız önünde bir engel değildir. Bizi diğer yönetimlerden ayırt eden en temel özelliklerimizden bir tanesidir bu. Hizmeti getirirken herhangi bir şartımız, koşulumuz yoktur. Hizmeti getirmek bizim açımızdan bir ödevdir; bir yönetimsel ödevdir, bir yönetimsel görevdir. 80 yıllık Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca kentlerimize, kasabalarımıza, yerleşim birimlerimize hizmet koşulu olarak getirilmiş ya da hizmet koşulu olarak üretilmeye çalışılmıştır. Dilinden, kimliğinden, inancından, fikrinden vazgeç, sana hizmet getireyim. Yani ekonomik ve sosyal kalkınma hatta su getirmek, yol getirmek, asfalt dökmek bir nevi kimliksizleştirmenin bir aracı olarak maalesef yapılmış. Son 13 yıllık zaman dilimi içerisinde biz bu politikayı öncelikle ortadan kaldırdık.

[G10]
Vedat Çetin: Baydemir'in Feridun Çelik'ten çok daha popüler ve meşhur bir kişiliği vardır. Başkan Feridun - ki kendisi öyle sosyal bir insan değildir- Diyarbakır kenti için neler başardığını kendisi pek gösteremez. Belki de bu yüzden, kazanamadı. Doğrudur, Baydemir bu kent için çok güzel şeyler yaptı. Fakat bunların alt yapısını oluşturan da Feridun Çelik'in kendisidir.

[G11]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Ya şimdi şöyle bir şey. Sonuçta ilk sefer yerel halk kendini iktidar olarak görmeye başladığı bir şey. Yani zor bir şey iktidar olmak. Eskiden sürekli muhalefet, aslında daha kolay. Ama iktidar olmak hani dedim ya bütün kesimleri de kapsamak zorundasınız. İş çevrelerinin taleplerini de karşılayacaksın… 99'dan beri takip bir şey. Herkes bazı – o bahsettiğim yoksullar- sanki hiç kural olmayacak yani öyle beklenti içerisinde olan insanlar da vardı. Hayır biz gireceğiz burası artık bizim ve çoğu da kent yaşamını bilmeyen sonuçta bazı kurallar köyde de var ama köy kuralı biraz daha esnek bir kuraldır. "Biz gideceğiz, istediğimiz yerde bina yapacağız, istediğimiz zaman istediğimiz yol geçireceğiz" gibi bir algı vardı çoğu insanda. Öyle olunca de çok ciddi bir baskı vardı 99'da. Biz gelmişiz, biz iktidarız, istediğimizi yaparız anlayışı vardı. Ama belediye bu anlamda çok da taviz vermedi. Kent politikası uygulamaya çalıştı. Önce bir durum tespiti yaptı bu anlamda ve buna göre de bir imar politikası belirledi. Ama sonuçta gitgide iktidar olmanın da bir şeyi var. Bu sefer iş çevreleri iktidara yani her zaman iş çevreleri yerelde belediyeler iktidarsa yerel belediyelere kendi işlerini yaptırabilmesi için hükümetse de yani üst düzeyde bir şeyse, hükümetlere her zaman yakındır. Hiçbir zaman aralarını bozmazlar. Yani kendi çıkarları gereği. O açıdan şöyle bir şey var. Biraz önce de gelen telfnda imar komisyonu. Mesela imar komisyonunu arasan belediyeler bizi davet ediyor. Ama bakıyorsun yeni imar planı bitmiş bir yerde meclis toplantılarının bir çoğu imar tadilat değişikliği olması düşündürücüdür. Bir sene geçmemiştir tadilatı gideli, 1 sene olmadı yani. Daha yeni bitmiş bir kentin imar master planında sürekli değişiklik taleplerinin olması. E bu kadar tadilat talebi ne? Ha tadilat alanları nedir? İşte ticaret merkezi alanının sağlık merkezi alanına dönüştürülmesi, anlarım. Ama sürekli yoğunluk artırıcı bir talep. İşte başka şeylerden başka şeye çevirmek çok farklı bir şeydir o zaman. *Kayapınar, yani yeni gelişim alanlarında, daha çok yapılıyor imar değişikliği.* Kent merkezinde talepten öte kısmen bazen göz yumar, imari olarak. Ama daha çok yeni gelişim alanlarında ve sürekli başka taleplerdir. Şimdi git DBB imar şeylerine ve belediyelerin imar ilan panolarına baktığın zaman hep imar değişikliğidir.

[G12]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Diyarbakır'ın dört ilçe belediyesi – birebir uygulayıcısı olarak dmiyorum, denetçisi olarak diyorum imar anlamında – hepsi biribirinden farklı bakıyor. Bağlar çok farklı bakıyor, hiç kimseyi takmıyor. Sur belediyesi allaha emanet. Teknik eleman yok, çünkü, almıyor da. Sur tarihi bir kent. (…) Şimdi o anlamda bakıyorsun, Sur belediyesinin o anlamda hiçbir politikası yok, imar politikası anlamında. Herkes istediği şeyi yapabiliyor. Ya da denetmsiz.

Yenişehir Belediyesi hakeza öyle. Hepsi aynı siyasi örgütten ama farklı uyguluyor. Bunun mümkün olmaması gerekiyor.

[G13]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Orta sınıfa ve memur sınıfına hitap eden konut sektörü de var Diyarbakır'da. O anlamda da yanlış bir şey var: Konut sektörüyle yoksulların konut alma şeyi yok Diyarbakır'da. (…) Belediyelerin, en azından farklı belediyelerin, muhalif belediyelerin yoksullar için konut üretmesi yapması gereken şeylerden birisidir. Bu, çözmesi gereken şeylerden biridir. Ha nedir? Diyarbakır'daki belediyelerin diğer kesimlere, sadece orta sınıfa ve orta sınıfın üstüne yönelik konut politikası var. Hani bu planlara da yansımış, maalesef. Bunu da hep söylüyorum: Plan bir ranttır. Ranttan kastım, şey olarak değil. Hani sonuçta mülkiyet esaslı bir plan yaptığın zaman onun altındaki mülkiyet değerleniyor. (...) Attığın her plan çizgisi, her yol, her yapı, attığın zaman oranın değerini artırıyor. Önemli olan o değeri nasıl kentin diğer kesimlerini de yansıtıyorsun. Bu anlamda planla başlayan bir şeydir mekân üretimi. O anlamda Diyarbakır'da yapılan planları anlamlı bulmuyorum. Yani siz paraya göre konut yapma, konut alanlarını ayrıştırma, işte villa alanları, lüks konut alanları, işte öyle ayırdığınız zaman kenti biliyorsunuz. Bunların hiç bir şekilde ayrışmaması gerekiyor. Ayrıştırdığınız zaman işte o insanların birbirinden planlama, sosyal mekân yaratımı olmayacak. Herkes kendi özel kabuğuna çekilecek, kaçacak. Villa alanları, kendi etrafında siteleşmeler, yüksek duvarlar, kamera sistemleri, kapalı topluluklar oluşuyor. Şu anda Diyarbakır'da maalesef ona doğru kent planında ama şimdi planlamada yoksullara dönük de bir şey yok. Belediyelerin bir şekilde arazi üretmesi gerekiyor. Arazi üretecek ki o araziyi değerli kılan %35, %40'ı arsa payıdır. %40 daha ucuza yoksullar alabiliyorsa, belediye için çok ciddi bir maliyettir. 100 milyarlık bir evi %40 oranında düşük almak ne demek? Yani 60 milyar daha az, nedir işte 90 milyara. Yaşanabilir bir konut elde etme şansı var. Ya da belediye yapar onu yoksullara ücretsiz, ya da düşük kiralı verir.

[G14]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Aslında, belediyelere de kısmen hak vermiyor değilim. 99 öncesinde Türkiye'de belediyelerin bir çoğu arsa zenginiyken, Diyarbakırbekır'da tam tersi. Şu anda da elinde arsa yok. Sadece park alanları var. Onu da sürekli yapıyor zaten. Şu anda işte Kayapınar Belediyesi'nin çoğu projesi sadece park alanı yapma. O da aslında iyi yani!

[G15]
Hikmet Öcal: Bağlar'daki Yeniköy mahallesi bilirsiniz Kaynartepe'dir yani, bu bölgede 223 bin metrekarelik arazi yasa dışı konut önlenme bölgesidir. Bu bölge Büyükşehir'indir. Burada yaklaşık bin adet gecekondu vardır. Ekonomik ömrünü doldurmuş, herhangi bir statik dayanıklılığı olmayan, kullanışsız, köhne yapılardır bunlar. Ve burada şu anda hak sahiplerine teslim etmek üzere bir sosyal konut projesi yürütülüyor. Yerinde dönüşüm yapılıyor burada. Projenin ilk etabında 132 bina yıkılmıştır şimdiye kadar. Bundan önce Büyükşehir 96 konutu hak sahibine teslim etmişti. Şimdi de proje halen devam ediyor.

[G16]
Demir Çelik: Sur, mevcut göçlerden etkilenmiştir ve gecekondulaşmıştır. O tarihi mekânların kendine has dokusunda tarihi okumak çok mümkün değil. Değişmiştir, dönüşmüştür ve o da kentsel değişimin ürünü ve eseri olarak da en nihayetinde rantın dönüp dolaştığı mekânlara dönüşmüştür. (…) 90'lı yılların o siyasal travması neticesinde insanların göçüp geldiği mekânlardan biri olarak da orayı kente kavuşturmak yerine köylüleştirdiler. Köydeki yaşamının hayat bulacağı bir mekâna dönüştürdü. ve tarihi birikimin kendisini aydınlatacağı beklenirken tarihi değerlerle birlikte kesintiye uğrayıp bir şekilde köylülüğün o geri kalmış kültürel dokusunun etkisi altına girdi. Ve sur niteliğini kaybetti. o niteliğini kazandırmak gerekirken bu sefer kentsel dönüşüm adı altında Sur'daki yerleşkelerin boşaltılıp çok katlı binalara o insanların taşınması gibi sosyal bir travmaya imza atan bir devlet ve ona da alet olan bir kısım kadrolar var. (…) Yani ben bu konuda, benim yıllardır anladığım, kentsel dönüşüm böyle olmamalı. İnsanların kendi mekânlarından izole edip başka yerlere taşıyarak, insanların sosyal dayanışma ruhuna ters düşen bir kısım mekânlara aktararak kentsel dönüşüm yapılamaz. Yani kentin içinden insanları soyutlayarak çıplak binalarla neyi karşılayacaksınız? O binanın içinde insan yoksa, insanın yaratıcılığı, dayanışmacılığı, etkinliği, emeği olmayacaksa olmaz. O anlamda sur yapılması gereken oradaki mekânları, alanları boşaltıp insanları başka yerlere taşımak değil. Yerinden,

yerinden bir müdahale ile bu tarihsel dokuya, kültürel dokuya, birikimlere ters düşmeyen restorasyon esastır. Ciddi projelerle yapılmalı. Devlet işin kolayına kaçıyor. Bir, devlet, iki, imhacı ve inkarcı politikasını buradan da harekete geçirerek Kürtleri birbirinden koparalım, yalıtalım, izole edelim, kapalı duvarlar arkasına sığdıralım adına onları çok katlı binalara götürüp hapsedecekler.

[G17]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Kentsel dönüşüm süreçleri ve şu anda son çıkan afet riski altındaki yapıların dönüşümü yasası, AKP'nin kendi iktidarını ve iktidar çevrelerini güçlendirmek için çıkarılan yasadır. Bu kadar net söylüyorum. Bunu görmemek başka bir şeydir. Ben TOKİ'nin, bunu çok tekrar ediyorum, TOKİ'nin kurulma biçimi, kurulmasına karşı değilim. Ama TOKİ'nin kullanım biçimine karşıyım. TOKİ'nin kurulduğu günden- kuruluş şeyine baktığınız zaman yoksullara ev veren, sosyal konut üreten, hani biçimini ve şeyini tartışabiliriz, tektip, her yerde aynı tip uyguluyor olması da ayrı bir şey, ama şu anda başka bir şey. Hele son Van depremiyle beraber hızlı bir şekilde afet riski altındaki yapıyı şu anda bir müteahhit veya bilmem şey gelip dese ki, "Valla bu bina sağlam değil, hemen afet yasası çerçevesinde, senin yasaya muhalefet etme şansı yok. Şu anda o yasaya Mimarlar Odası'nın muhalefet etme şansı yok. Belediyelere de yetki yok. Biz diyorduk, bas bas bağırıyorduk, "Yahu sizi boğarlar!". "Yook". Türkiye' de bu tartışmalar yıllardan beri sürerken bu kadar sen farklı düşündüğünü deklare ederken işbirliği yapıyorsun! Ve belediyemiz maalesef buna, bu kadar basit bir şeye kandılar ha! Ben şeyi anlarım: mesela Bağlar'a baktığın zaman gerçekten de anlarım. Bağlar'ın dönüşümü ama yerinde dönüşüm belki. (…) Ama Alipaşa, Lalebey'de tek katlı tarihi kentsel dokuda siz gidiyorsunuz TOKİ'yle anlaşıyorsunuz. Hangi şeyle, yahu hangi şeyle? Ya orasının dokusu bozulmuş olabilir ama acil olan orası değil ki! Şimdi Aziziye'de belediye arazileri olan gecekondular var ve oranın dönüşümü. Ya el insaf, hele gidin biraz kentten uzaklaşın ve dışarıdan kente bakın. Aziziye mi çok güzel gözüküyor, yoksa onun yanı başındaki TOKİ mi? Aziziye yemyeşil, ağaç var, bahçeli. Ama TOKİ de binalar 94'ten beri o binalar var ama hiçbir aracın oraya girme şansı yok. (…) Orası aynen Sulukule'deki gibi kentsel dönüşüm gibi. Tarihi yapılar. Fener-Balat projesinin aynısı şu anda Alipaşa, Lalebey'de uygulanıyor. Yoksulları oradan çıkaracak. (…) Gerekçesi ne olabilir? Valilik oraya, hani derler ya bir deli kuyuya bir taş attı, belediye de geldi ona ortak oldu. Ve niye? *Turizm*, turizm gelsin diye. Ve şey örneğini verdi Baydemir: "Ben Suriçi'nin Antalya Kaleiçi gibi olmasını istiyorum." Ya dedim, başkan bu kadar gaf yapmaz. Antalya İçkale dünya tarihi boyunca en kötü koruma örneğidir, insansızlaştırdılar orayı.

[G18]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Biz onlara kaç kez söyledik. Sonra da kavga sebebimiz de bu oldu. aha burada ziyarete geldi. Dedim ki, *"Başkanım siz züccaciye dükkanına fil sokuyorsunuz."* Çıldırdı. "O demek?" dedi. Yahu dedim ki, *"Suriçi züccaciye gibidir; TOKİ de fildir*, yemin ederim ki fildir!" Suriçine insan kıyamaz, arkeologlarla, fırçalarla girmen gerekiyor. İnci incidir. Hem sosyal anlamda da çok kırılgandır. Bir seferde ben onları oradan temizlediğim zaman başka bir sosyal şeye sebebiyet verir.

[G19]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Ha ben onlara hak da veriyorum. Nedir? Mesela o dönem daha yeni 2009 KCK süreci başlamış. O çok daha zor ve çok daha ayıp bir şey. Hemen onun sonrasında protokolü imzaladılar. O ara iyi yöneticilerin hepsi içeride, bu boşluktan faydalanmışlar. Van belediye başkanını da içeriye aldılar ya, TOKİ daha rahat girsin diye.

[G20]
Demir Çelik: Biz parti yöneticileri olarak müdahale ettik. Belediye başkanlarımız da bu konuda bizimle aynı düşüncedeler ancak işin içerisine çıkar girince sizin gibi benim gibi sıradan bireyin çıkarına uygun olduğu için verilen daireye razı geliyor. Oradaki kendince geri plandaki bir binada yaşayacağına, o her gün albenisi olan dizilerde izlediği koca koca görkemli binalara taşınmak gibi bir yönlendirme var tabi bir taraftan.

[G21]
Demir Çelik: Tabi tabi bu örgütlenmeyle ilgilidir, toplumsal bilinci açığa çıkarıp yükseltmeyle ilgili bir şeydir. Biraz da sıcak savaş koşullarının yaşandığı bir Türkiye'de buna da devlet müsaade

etmiyor. Biraz da Kürt bilincini karartmak, Kürtler arası dayanışmayı gidermek ya da bertaraf etmek, Kürtler arasındaki örgütlü yapıyı lağvetmek adına devlet her politikanın içerisine müdahale ediyor. Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin amacı da bu. Bunu maalesef bazen biz de gözden kaçırıyor olabiliriz. Ya da vatandaşlarımız, halkımız bir kısmının kişisel çıkarlarını esas alarak bu işe razı görünüyor. Bunun getirisi Kürtlere maalesef yok, aksine alıp götüreceği çok şey var. (…) İnsanlara malından, mülkünden vazgeç diyemiyoruz. Doğruları anlatıyorsun, aktarıyorsun, bunun getirisini, götürüsünü, yarınlarına dair kaygılarımızı dile getiriyoruz. İkna olanları da var, ikna olmayanları da var. TOKİ'ye razı gelip gidenler var.

[G22]
Şeyhmus Diken: Sadece bir haftanın içerisinde, Diyarbakır'da o zamana kadar hiç gerçekleşmemiş, daha önce hiç kimsenin hayal bile edemeyeceği bir şey oldu. Adeta bir yeniden varoluş dönemiydi bu. (…) Bu kentin ortak değerlerinin birilerine peşkeş çekilmemesi gerekiyordu, yani bu rantiyenin, kentin ortak rantiyesinin kent halkı tarafından ortaklaşa değerlendirilmesi gerekiyordu. *Bunu da bu belediyeler yapabilirdi. Yani BDP çizgisindeki belediyelerin dışında hiç kimse yapamazdı.*

[G23]
Şeyhmus Diken: İktidar istediği kadar iktidar olsun, eğer arkasına halk gücünü alamıyorsa, o işletmeciler iktidara, devlet iktidarına direnebiliyorlar, polise, askere direnebiliyorlar. Ama eğer ortada yerel iktidar anlamında bir halk gücü varsa, arkasında ciddi bir halk gücünü görebiliyorsa, o halkın gücünden korkmamakla, ürkmemekle, ya da kendisinin o halkın bir parçası olarak görmekle - bunun tümünün tercihleri farklıdır, bazen de bu tercihlerin tümünün ortak bir potada buluşması da mümkündür- *ortak kararla* orayı terk edebiliyor.

[G24]
Şeyhmus Diken: Halk da bu zenginliği fark etti. Şimdi mesela eskiden Diyarbakır surlarının taşını söküp kıymetini bilmeyen ev temellerinde kullanan, evlerinin duvarlarında kullanan insanlar bir süre sonra baktılar ki, yahu çok güzel bir zenginliğin meğerse sahipleriymişler. Artık surlara sahip çıkıyorlar. yani mesela siz şimdi gidin, haddinize mi düşmüş, orada o yeşil bitki örtüsünü tahrip etmeye kalkın ya da o surlardan bir taş sökmeye kalkın, önce o semtteki insanlar size tepki gösterirler. *Gündelik hayatın bir parçası haline de dönüştü bu.* Şimdi bu aslında kentli olmanın şeyi budur bence, evreleri bunlardır. yani siz bir kenti istediğiniz kadar gidin o insanlara bu kent şöyle güzeldir, böyle güzeldir, şunu yapmış, bunu yapmış, işte bu sizin tarihinizdir, bu tarih devam etmezse siz olmazsınız, bunlar hikayedir onlara. Bunlar o insanların bir kulağından girer, öbür kulağından çıkar. Ama ona değen, ona dokunan, bir taraftan meseleye sahip çıkarsanız ona ait, aidiyet anlamında ona ait hissettirirseniz, o aidiyeti ona hissettirirseniz o daha çok ona sahip çıkar.

[G25]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Halkın bir çamaşırhane talebi yoktu önceden. Ama çamaşırhanenin bir hafta mesela suyu kesildi, bir ara orada oldu. "Oo belediye buraya kurmuş, siz nasıl suyu vermezsiniz!!" Halk ayaklandı, taşladılar oraları. Çünkü onun bir hak olduğunu bilmiyor. Ama onun bir kez onun bilincine vardıktan sonra onun hakkıdır artık. Önceden evlerine bir saatliğine su gelirdi. Ve bu su yeterliydi onlara. Artık bunun bir hak olduğunu biliyorlar ve hatta bunun için mücadele bile ediyorlar.

[G26]
Osman Baydemir: Bu tür sosyal hizmetler ayrıca cinsiyet özgürlükçü politikalar doğrultusunda da yürütülmektedir. Dört adet mahallemizde, biz bu çok amaçlı merkezleri yarattık: Çamaşır ve tandır evleri. Fakat bu sadece kadınların yaşamını kolaylaştıran bir mekânizma olmaktan çıktı. Kadınların örgütlenebildiği bir mekâna dönüştü.

[G27]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Siz, işte Beyaz Kelebekler projesinde olduğu gibi bu tür hizmetlerle o mahalleye gittiğinizde, şeyi görürsünüz: O hizmet mahalleyi örgütleyen bir mekânizmaya dönüşmüş. Siz bu şeylerle insanlara gittiğiniz zaman neyi alırsınız? İnsanların taleplerinin aslında farklı olduğunu yani hizmet alanlarında görebilirsiniz. Üç tane memur gönderirseniz, anket yaptırırsanız, farklı sonuçlar alırsınız. Onun için o tür sosyal mekânların mahalle içerisinde

kurulması gerekiyor. (…) İşte başka bir örnek size, ta Hasırlıdan suyu tahsil etmek için dağkapıya geliyor vatandaş. Niye dağkapıya gelsin ki? Şimdi ne yaptı belediye? Onu da gördü. Bu sefer "seyyar tahsilat bürosu" koydu. Bir tane pikabın arkasında dolaşıyor.

[G28]
Osman Baydemir: Önceden o kamusal alanın, Sümerpark alanının tümünün etrafı büyük insan boyunu aşan duvarlar ve tel örgüleriyle çevriliydi. En çok direnç gösterilen noktalardan bir tanesi, Sümerpark Sosyal Yaşam Alanı'ndan bir mahallemize bakan bir duvar ve onun üzerinde tel örgü vardı. Arkadaşlarım bana "Başkan biz burayı açarsak koruyamayız." Çok uzun bir süre arkadaşlarla birbirimiz ikna etme konusunda sıkıntı yaşamıştık. En sonunda bir gün dayanamadım gittim. kendim balyozu aldım, o duvarı işaretledim ve vurdum duvara birkaç tane. "Burası yıkılacak!"dedim ve yıkıldı orası. Önce tel örgüler kaldırıldı, duvar estetik hale getirildi ve kapılar açıldı.O mahallemizden insanlar geliyor. Şimdi bana açıkçası diyorlar. Ben onlara şunu söylüyorum: "Bu park bu çocuklar için inşa edildi, bu hizmet onlar için veriliyor ve dolayısıyla giderek algı değişiyor. Belediyenin çalışanlarında da bir algı değişiyor. Tam tersine biz kamusal alanlarımızı hizmetine koymuş olduğumuz insanlardan koruyamayacağız. O insanların hizmetine sunacağız. Dolayısıyla bana göre kırıyorsa kırsın, lambayı kırıyorsa kırsın, çimleri eziyorsa ezsin, parkı kırıyorsa kırsın. Hıncını varsın ondan alsın. Ama bir kere hıncını alacaktır, iki kere hıncını alacaktır, üç kere hıncını alacaktır ama bu mekânın ona ait olduğunu biz ona o hizmeti verdikten sonra, o bunu gördükten sonra, benden ve belediye çalışanından daha çok bu kamusal mekâna sahip çıkacaktır. Bu manada- ki belediyedeki algıda değişimde çok büyük bir fark yaşandı.

[G29]
Adam: Hiç unutmam, ben daha çocuktum, Polis Parkı yapılmıştı. Parka çocuklar için oyun aletlerinin koyulduğunu duymuştuk. Babam parkın açılışına götürmüştü beni. Acayip bir kalabalık vardı, duyan gelmiş misali. Bir bakıtık ki, parkın çevresine yüksek duvarlar örülmüş ve birkaç zabıta parkın giriş kapısında durmuşlar. Babam içeri girmekten vazgeçti, eve geri döndük. Çocukluğum boyunca bir daha o parka adım attığımı hiç bilmem. Yahu parkları da bizden koruyorlardı ha! Ama şimdi, Diyarbakır'da bütün parklar herkese açıktır.

[G30]
Osman Baydemir: Sosyal Hizmetler Daire Başkanlığı, sosyal hizmetler politikası itibariyle kadın, gençlik, çocuk, engelli, işsiz sınıfı, bu 5 sınıfa hizmet ediyor. Ve bütün bu hizmetler, yine bunlardan oluşan bir meclis eliyle yürütülüyor. Yani biz Sosyal Hizmetler Daire Başkanlığı'ndaki 80 bin metrekarelik bir alanda hizmet üretirken, "Biz yaparız, biz ederiz, biz biliriz" demiyoruz. Onlardan müteşekkil bir meclis eliyle oradaki bütün süreçler planlanıyor ve uygulanıyor.

[G31]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Biz 2003'te Diyarbakır'da kent konseyini kurduk. O dönemde hani Türkiye'de yoktu ve bizim kurduğumuz kent konseyi bir ilkti. Biz o dönem kent sorunlarıyla ilgili bir stratejik eylem planı oluşturmuştuk, kent konseyi olarak. Ve bütün alanları, o dönem iş çevreleri de katıldı, kadınlar, çocuklar herkes katıldı, alan alan böldük., tarih, kültür, kentleşme, çevre, sağlık vb. alanlarda biz kent sorunlarını tespit ettik. Ve bu sorunların ana muhataplarının hangi kurum olduğunu ve onun paydaşlarının hangi kurumlar olduğu ve normalde bu sorunun nasıl, hangi yollarla, kaç yıl sürebileceğini tespit ettik ve stratejik eylem planını hazırladık. Düşünün 2002'de başladık, 2003'te bitirdik. Ve bunu kent konseyinin hazırladığı stratejik eylem planı onaylandı ve bütün şu anda belediye oradan faydalanıyor proje üretirken. Ve çoğu mesela gidin belediyenin stratejik eylem planına bakın, çoğu başlıkları bizim hazırladığımız stratejik eylem planından %70-80 oranında alıyorlar. Hala da o iyi bir belgedir. Biz kent konseyini ilk kurduğumuzda, kent meclisleri o zaman yasal değildi. Yani, biz kendimiz bir önerge vererek kurduk. Ama sonrasında kent konseyleri- tamamen bu şeyle ilgili, iktidarların bu alanları kullanma biçimleriyle ilgilidir. Bir hükümet o alanı boşaltmak için bir sürü bilmem şey yaptı, yani yasal hale getireyim derken, daha da kötü hale geldi. Belediyelerin zorunlu yapması gerekenler şeyine koydu. İyi olması gerekirken kötü hale geldi, çünkü sivil ve bireysel katılımın önünü tıkattı. Başlarda, ilk kurulduğunda yani, Diyarbakır'da bireylerin katılımı çok yüksekti ve illa örgütlü olmasına gerek yoktu. Biz onu bilinçli koyduk. Senin örgütlü olman gerekmiyor, gelip katılabiliyorsun. Ama örgütlü olunca sayısı düşüyor, katılım şeyi düşüyor. Yani kent meclisinin etkisi artık eskisi gibi değil. Katılım çok provokatif bir şeye dönüştü. Ha ne oldu? Sonuçta temsili demokrasi-şu anda

kent konseyi temsili demokrasiye hizmet ediyor. Hem bu konseylerin amaçları aslında bana göre mahalle meclislerine dönüşebilmesiydi yani doğrudan demokrasiye hizmet edebilmesiydi. Muhtarlar aracılığıyla şimdi bunu aşmaya çalışıyor belediyeler ama muhtarlar ne kadar halkın temsilcisi, o da tartışılır. Bir katılım modeli oluşturulucaksa bu, mahalle ve sokak örgütlenmesinden, tabandan yükselmeli.

[G32]
Osman Baydemir: Her şeyden önce kent konseyini oluşturduk. Diyarbakır'da bulunan Yerel Gündem 21, Kent Konseyi Diyarbakır'ın hem STÖ'lerinden hem mahalle muhtarlarından hem kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarından temsilcilerin bulunduğu ve sürekli kararların üretildiği bir mekânizma haline dönüştü. kent konseyinin benim belediye. Bşknı olduğum zamandan bugüne değin, kent konseyinin almış olduğu kararların neredeyse %76'sı, belediyemizin uygulama alanıdır. Tekrar ediyorum: belediyemiz yaşama geçirmiş olduğu bütün projeler neredeyse kent konseyinin almış olduğu öneri kararlarıdır. Dolayısıyla kent konseyi bir nevi bizim açımızdan temsili demokrasinin yaşam bulduğu mekânizma haline dönüştü. Çünkü kent konseyini oluşturan etmenler de nihayetinde halkın temsilcileri idi, muhtar vs. (…) Ama temsili demokrasi elbette ki yetmiyor. "Doğrudan demokrasiye" yönelme konusunda adımlar attık. Bunlardan bir tanesi hemen hemen her yıl, bütçe dönemi öncesi, mahallelerde toplantı alıyoruz, mahalle toplantıları. Açık alanda kürsüler kuruluyor. Ses düzeni oluşturuluyor, mikrofonlar dağıtılıyor ve halk, anne, kadın, çocuk, engelli, yaşlı, muhtar, herkes eşitler arası bir ilişkiye önermede bulunuyor, talepte bulunuyor. Örneğin birisi diyor ki, sivrisinekle mücadeleye önem verin. Birisi diyor ki hayır cami yapın. Birisi diyor ki hayır, yol yapın. Bütün bunlar öneriliyor, istişare ediliyor. Akabinde de var olan olanak paylaşılıyor. Bu kadar olanağımız var bütçeye harcayabileceğimiz. Siz hangisini öncelikli olarak öneriyorsunuz? O öncelik temelinde bu sefer bu talep bütçemize giriyor. Dolayısıyla hem bütçede bir katılımcılık sağlıyoruz ama aynı zamanda da bdnin programında bir katılımcılığı sağlıyoruz. Şüphesiz ki Diyarbakır'da şu anda 150'yi aşkın mahallemiz var. Her yıl biz 150 mahallenin tamamında yaptığımızı iddia etmiyorum. Ama var gücümüzle kentin dahiliyetini hem bütçeye hem de tabiri caizse uygulamaya koyuyoruz.

[G33]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Çok net şekilde görüyoruz ki kent konseyinin önerileri, eleştirileri dikkate alınarak bir sonraki bütçe hazırlanıyor. Gelir giderlerini dengeli bir şekilde yapıyor. STÖ'lerden, kurumlardan fikirlerini alıyor. Belediye ne yapacağının duyurusunu yapıyor ve onlara hangilerine öncelik verilmesi gerektiğini soruyor. Böyle bir katılımcılık var, şu anda böyle yürüyor. Ama diyorum ya, bunun halktan gelmesi lazım. Zor bir süreçtir ama zoru başarmak zorunda. Farkını böyle göstermek zorundasın. Yoksa ben daha büyük park yaptım demekle sen iyi bir belediye değilsin benim gözümde. Parkın iyi kötüsü yok, park parktır. Ya da yolu şöyle geçirirsin ya da böyle. Yani bu farkını göstermez. Sonuçta kentlerde AKP'liler de yapıyorlar, iyi projeleri var. Yani yol yapmak, kaldırım, kanalizasyon yapmak bir marifet değildir. Şunu da söylüyorum, o bütçeleri inceledikten sonra bu belediyelerin *mucizeler gerçekleştirdiğini* de söylemek gerekir. Bunlar iyi şeyler ama bütçede yoksulun da ayrı bütçesi olması gerekiyor mesela. Sen farkını ancak bu yolla ortaya koyabilirsin. Senin farkın yoksula daha yakın olduğun zaman ortaya çıkar. Siz halka daha yakın olduğunuzda… Ben demiyorum, yoksulluğu yenme şansınız yok bu mevcut Türkiye'deki düzende. Siz bu sefer onların hayatlarını kolaylaştıracak projeler üretmek zorundasınız.

[G34]
Şeyhmus Diken: 99'da belediyeleri alınca stö'lerin de kent halkının da kendine ait bir kurumun mekânsal boyutu içerisinde hizmet sunulması anlamında tabi ciddi katkıları oldu. Yani eskiden STÖ'ler için gelip belediyelerin tiyatro salonlarında, konferans salonlarında bir program yapması, basın açıklaması yapması ya da orada bir etkinlik düzenlemesi ya da kentin başka mekânlarında arkasına belediye gibi büyük bir kurumun gücünü alarak yapmaları imkansız denebilecek kadar zor bir işti. Ama belediyeleri aldıktan sonra bu çok daha kolaylaştı. Belediyeler bu mekânları açtılar kentin seçilmiş gruplarına, insanlarına. Ondan sonra, belediyeleri ile birlikte bir takım işler yapmaya başlandı. Belediyeler seçilmiş insanları, seçilmiş kurumları kendine partner olarak düşündü. Mesela Diyarbakır'da TMMOB'la birlikte işler yaptı yani kentin yeniden mimari dokusunun teşekkülünde TMMOB adeta danışmanlık kurumu gibiydi. İşte baro ile birlikte çalışıldı. TTB ile, Eğitim-Sen ile vs. birlikte çalışıldı. Yani "kentin sivil dinamikleri belediyenin

doğal partneri haline dönüştü." eskiden stö'ler ayrı bir kulvarda yürüyordu. Belediye yönetimi de devletin kurumu gibiydi. Yani birbiriyle ortak bir çizgi bulamıyorlardı, bir araya da gelemiyorlardı.

[G35]
Şeyhmus Diken: Bir örnek vereyim, hiç unutmam. Burada Türkiye Gazeteciler cemiyetinin bir toplantısı olmuştu. o dönemin Refah'lı belediye başkanı Ahmet Bilgin çıkıp orada bir konuşma yapmıştı. Demişti ki: "İşte ben Diyarbakırbakı'ın bazı yerlerinde bazı yatırımlar yapmak istiyorum. Ama kendine sivil toplum örgütü diyen aslında bana göre "sefil" toplum örgütü olan örgütler benim bu yaptığım çalışmalara engel olmaya kalkıyorlar" diye bir ifade kullanmıştı. Yani şimdi böyle bir belediye yapılanmasından, söyleminden STÖ'ler de ortak iş yapmaya ve onların danışmanlığına ihtiyaç duyan, onlarsız iş yapmamayı kendine ilke sayan bir yönetim modeline dönüşüyor yani. Şimdi bu elbette ki hayatı bir çok açıdan kolaylaştırıyor.

[G36]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Ama ben mimarlar açısından baktığımda, mimarlar odası örneğin – 94'te mimarlar odası şubesi kuruldu, ben o dönem öğrenciydim- Diyarbakır şubeye herhangi bir Mimarlar Odası'nı ciddiye almayan ve projeleri göndermeyen bir beledeyicilik anlayışı ve ortaya konan kent de ortada. Hani 90'lı yıllarda, 94 seçiminden ta 99'a kadar da bir refah dönemi belediyeciliği vardı ve "Ben yaptım, ben daha iyi bilirim" bir anlayışında yapılıyordu. Ama sonrasında 99'la beraber başlayan ve şu an bütün meslek odaları ve sivil toplum örgütlerini, hepsini kapsayan bir anlayış hakim oldu. Bazen katma konusunda sıkıntılar oldu, tansiyonlar yükseldi, düşürüldü ama en azından bir iletişim içerisindeydik, kötü de olsa, bazen kavga da ediyorduk ama en azından bir iletişim, sorma, öğrenme, danışma gibi bir şey vardı. O anlamda bu pratikte sizin çok yanlış yapma şansınız kalmıyor zaten.

[G37]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Bütün mimari projeleri statik projeler, mekânik projeler, ruhsat almadan bu odalardan- bir denetim mekânizması haline geldi. Bu denetim aslında müteahhidin yanlış yapma, çift projeler artık kalktı. Siz odayı denetim mekânizması olarak koyduğunuz zaman ya da bir STÖ'yü, sizin çift proje yapma şansınız kalmıyor müteahhit olarak. Bunu başardığınız zaman kaliteli, en azından insanların içinde yaşadığı mekânı sağlıklı bir mekân haline dönüşür. 99'dan sonra yapılan binalar gitgide düzeldi. Nedir bu? Bu bir mekânizmadır. Stö'ye siz danıştığınız zaman – bazen karşılıklı şunu yapıyorduk, diyorduk "ya kardeşim belediye sonuçta politik bir şeydir ve insanlar bir yolunu bulup gidip belediye bşknına, meclis üyesine ya da oranın çalışanına bir baskı unsuru olarak kullanıyor ya da nüfuzunu kullanan insanlar da vardı. Ama diyoruz ki, "Valla kardeşim bu odadan geçmiyor. Odaya ulaşma şansı yok, STÖ'dür. Bugün buradayım, yarın bir başkası gelir. Onun için onları kontrol etme şeyleri yok. Onun için odaya gelmeye bile cesaret edemediler.

Sur Municipality [S]

[S1]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Şimdi bir kere biz ekolojik yaşamı esas alan, demokratik katılımı temele alan bir belediyecilik anlayışını esas alıyoruz. Bu insan ve toplum merkezli, insan ve toplum dengesini ve çevre dengesini esas alan veya maksimum dengeyi esas alan bir belediyeciliği önemsiyoruz. Çünkü insanı, toplumu ve çevreyi esas alan bir belediyeciliği önemsiyoruz. Çünkü insanı, toplumu ve çevreyi yadsıyarak bu işi yapmak mümkün değil. Ama bu üçünün de her birinin de bir dengesini kurmak lazım. Yani insanı tamamen bireycileştiren ya da toplumu mutlaklaştıran bir yaklaşımdan öte insan-toplum arasındaki dengeyi esas alan bir nokta ve bunun bütün gerçekleştiği çevreyle olan bağını, uyumu ve dengesini bulan bir yaklaşımı esas alıyoruz. Bir şeyin varoluşu, bir başka şeyin yok oluşu üzerinden olmamalıdır, prensibini esas alır. Dolayısıyla beni yok eden bir toplumla, toplumu yok eden bir benin aslında olmaması gerekiyor. İkisinin birbirini yok etmeyeceği, ikisinin birbirinin varlığı üzerinden gelişeceği bir mekânsal denge oluşmalıdır. Dolayısıyla mekânlar, o toplumun ve o insanın ihtiyaçlarına, beklentilerine, tarihsel veya kültürel birikimlerine, sosyal yaşamlarına uygun olması gerekiyor. İnsan hem aynı zamanda özel bir varlıktır hem de toplumsal bir varlıktır. Dolayısıyla hem kendi özelini yaşayan ama özelini yaşadığı kadar da toplumsallaşan ve bunun bağını kurmaya çalışan bir noktada olmalıdır. Bu

nedenle bizim temel bakış açımız bu. Ama bunu yaparken insanı katan noktadayız. Yani bu karar alma süreçlerine onları katan bir noktadayız. Bu nedenle insanın can güvenliğini esas alan, yaşanabilir bir mekânda yaşamasını sağlayan bir hedefteyiz. Ama bunu tam gerçekleştirdiğimiz söyleyebilir miyim? Hayır, buna biraz sonra geleceğim.

[S2]

Abdullah Demirbaş: Örneğin biz de yeni yarattığımız alanlarda, yeni yarattığımız kentte, evet, insan ile toplum arasındaki dengeyi esas aldık. Çevresel etkenleri, yeşil alanları vb şeyleri önemsedik. Ama şunu yaptık: Toplumsal alanda geleneksel bir takım değerlerin yitimi de sağladık. Her değişim belirli şeyleri kazandırırken bazı şeyleri de kaybettirir. Bu da olması gerekendir belki de. O nedenle yeni yerleşim yerlerinde adacıklar, siteler oluşturduk. Otopark, yeşil alan, yaşanabilir bir takım mekânlar yarattık ama bir şeyi unuttuk. Komşuluk ilişkilerinin ve eski yaşam ilişkilerinin kaybolmasına da neden olduk. Bu da ayrı bir sıkıntı. Bunları nasıl yaratabilirdik? Bunu sosyal belediyecilik faktörlerini artırarak yapabilirdik. Burada eksik kaldık. İşte mah. Evleri, kadın evleri, taziye evleri gibi faktörlerle toplumsal yaşam alanlarını artırabilirdik. Parkların açılması gibi yerlerle bunu sağlamaya çalışsak da yeterli olamadık. Biraz da toplumsal örgütlülükle alakalıdır, siyasal örgütlülükle de alakalıdır.

[S3]

Gülbahar Örmek: Göreve ilk başladığımda, hergün yaklaşık 100 kadın bize geliyordu ve para yardımı başvurusunda bulunuyordu. Diyarbakır'ın en yoksul kesimi Sur'da yaşadığı için, belediyenin gelirleri de haliyle düşük oluyor. Bu nedenle, yoksullara nakti yardım yabilmek için gelirimiz yok. Zaten siyaseten de para yardımına karşıyız. Siyasetimizin açısından da herkes üretime katılmalı ve herkes bu katılım oranında payını almalı.

[S4]

Gülbahar Örmek: *Kadınlar ne istediğini biliyor!* Mesela Ziya Gökalp'te kadınlar kilim dokuma, salça ve turşu üretimine yönelik eğitim ve pazar talebinde bulunuyor. Bağıvar'da ise, kadınlar daha çok tiyatro ve sinema gibi sosyal faaliyetleri talep ediyor. Hasırlı'daki kadınlar da çeşitli elişi, ekmek gibi ürettikleri ürünleri satabilecekleri alan ve imkânlara ulaşmak istiyorlar.

[S5]

Abdullah Demirbaş: Şimdi bir yanıyla yeni bir kent yaratırken, öte yandan kentin gerçek kimliğini açığa çıkartma çabası da var. Yani geçmişin açığa çıkartılarak gelecekle buluşmasını hedefleyen bir vizyon oluşturmaya çalıştık. İşte Suriçi'nde geçmişle buluşturma projesini bunun için önemsiyoruz. *Bizim projemiz kentsel dönüşüm değil.* Bunun özellikle altını çizerek söylemek istiyorum. Bu bir tarihle buluşma projesidir. Niye kentsel dönüşüm değil? Biz dönüştürülebilenin geçmişiyle buluşmasını sağlıyoruz. Çünkü yapılan binalar sağlıksız, betonarme, yığma, karkas binalar. Oysa bu binaların temelinde bir tarih var. Binaları yıkmışlar o zaman. Taş evleri yıkmışlar ve üstüne bina dikmişler. Biz o tarihi evlerin üzerine yapılan binaları yıkıp yeniden arkeolojik çalışmalarla veya yeni relove ve restorasyon projeleriyle birlikte geçmişin tekrar canlanmasını istiyoruz. Yoksa amacımız, hiçbir şeyi eskisi gibi yapamazsınız. Yani eskiyle aynısı olmaz. Ama geçmişin gelecekle bütünleştiği yeni bir şekil ortaya çıkacaktır. Ve bu bir sentezdir belki de. Bu temelde biz tarihi binaları açığa çıkaracak ve bir proje olarak değerlendiriyoruz. Bunun için kötü binaları yıkıyoruz. Biraz önce karşılaştığınız yurttaş da aynı durumdaydı. Çünkü 40-50 yıllık betonarme binaların yıkılma tehlikesi var. Ve yıkılma tehlikesiyle – çünkü ekonomik ömrünü doldurmuş binaların yıkılması gerekiyor. Bu temelde yaratacağımız yeni tarihsel mekânların eski tarz ilişkilerle birlikte yeni tarz ilişkilerin de gelişmesini sağlıyoruz.

[S6]

Abdullah Demirbaş: Ama *bir başka boyutu ekonomiktir*. Bu tür yerlerin işyerlerine dönüştürülerek konutlara dönüştürülerek veya sosyal mekânlara dönüştürülerek bir yaşam alanı yaratmaya çalışıyoruz. Aslında bir model kenttir bu. Suriçi için. Koruma amaçlı plan hazırlıyoruz. Ve şu anda z+1 veya z+2 kat yapıyoruz. Onun dışında da izin vermiyoruz. Plan koruma kuruluna gidecek, oradan onay bekliyoruz. Şimdi bu temelde mekânla insan arasındaki ilişkiyi esas almamız gereken nokta bu. Ama şunu unutmayalım: yeni mekânlar insanın yaşamını değiştirdiği gibi insanlar da yeni mekânların yaratılması için çabalar. Bir başka boyutu da *kentsel rant bölüşümü*. En önemlisi bu. Bir de bunun insanların ekonomik yaşamına yansıtan yönü var. Şimdi yeni yarattığımız

yerlerle bir rant yarattık ama bu rantın toplumsallaştırmaya çalıştık. Kentin bütün alanlarının imara açılmasını sağlayarak bir anlamıyla kentin her yerinde rantın gelişmesini sağladık. Yani bir boyuna uzanan bir alanla ilgili şeriti değil, kentin bütününü o dairesel anlamda düşündüğünüzde *her tarafı imara açarak rantı açtık.* (…) Genelde şöyledir: Eskiden yapılan master imar planında kentin belirli alanları veya daha doğrusu kentin belirli düzeyde rantını elde edenlere yönelik imar yapılıyordu. Ama biz öyle yapmadık. Şimdi 20 km çapındakilere yönelik 1/5000'lik imar planı yaptık ve 25 km çapında olan hemen hemen bütün yerleri yapınca bu kentteki rant herkese yayıldı.

[S7]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Vallaha isteyen de var istemeyen de var. Ama biz zorlamayoruz. 2 seçenek sunuldu onlara. İsterlerse karşılığını alacaklar ya da toki'nin verdiği konutlardan birine geçecekler. onlar halka bırakılıyor.

[S8]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Bakın şöyle söyleyeyim. Biz şunu söylüyoruz. Aslında böyle bir tabir bana ait: biz xaltiko ayşo ile ayşe hanım arasındaki dengeyi bulmaya çalışıyoruz. Xaltiko ayşo bizim geleneksel yerel kültürümüz, ayşe hanım da diyelim ki moderniteyi ifade ediyor. Biz moderniteye karşıyız. Modernleşme, tırnak içinde dediğimiz şey aslında vahşi kapitalizmdir. Ama gelenekselliği de bir kere reddediyoruz. Onun da yanlışları var. Yani gelenekselliği reddettiğimiz gibi gelenekselliğin doğru olan yanları da var. Modernliği reddettiğimiz gibi modernliğin bilgi yönü var. Bu ikisinin bir sentezi oluşmalı. Yani şöyle söyleyeyim: Devlet ile geleneksel toplum arasında sıkışmış insanlara yeni bir toplum, yeni bir mekân, yeni bir anlayış oluşturmak lazım. İşte demokratik toplum dediğimiz şey bu aslında. Ama bu demokratik toplumda şöyle bir yanlışımız var: Biz kapitalizm adına tamamen bireciliği esas alıyoruz ve toplumu yok ediyoruz ya da toplum adına gelenekler, görenekler, aşiret adına da bireyi yok ediyoruz. Bu ikisinin dengesini bulmak lazım. İnsan hem bireydir, hem de toplumsaldır. Sosyal psikolojinin bir boyutu: ikisinin o kesişim noktasını bulmak lazım.

[S9]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Şimdi bir kere şunu söylemek lazım: Toplumlarda zihniyeti değiştirmek kolay değil. Bazen mekân değiştirerek zihniyet değiştirirsiniz, bazen de zihniyeti değiştirerek mekânları zorlarsınız. Şimdi şöyle düşünün: geçmişte bu tarihi değerleri koruma bilinci çok fazla yoktu. Biz bu mekânlara ağırlık vererek koruma bilinci geliştirdik. Ama koruma bilinci geliştikçe de yeni yapılan mekânların aslında tarihe yapıya uygun olması fikri de gelişiyor. Şimdi bu temelde biz şuna inanıyoruz: Maddi kültür araçları çok çabuk değişir. Her gün yeni bir cep telefonu çıkıyor. Artık yetişemiyoruz. Teknoloji bu kadar, her şey süper gidiyor. Ama bunu kullanan anlayış, bunu, ne diyorlar, geliştirecek zihniyet veya manevi kültür araçları o kadar çabuk değişmiyor. Şimdi bunun arasında bir dengesizlik var. Bu ikisinin arasındaki dengesini nasıl oluşturacağız? Nasıl yapacağız? Kültürel boşluk dediğimiz bu aslında, değil mi? İşte bu kültürel boşluk dediğimiz bu aslında değil mi? İşte bu kültürel boşluk- bazen sosyolojide buna anomi diyoruz-yani normsuzluk durumunu yaratır ve toplumsal çatışmalar başlar. Kuşaklar arası çatışmadan tutun, mekân ve insan arasındaki uyumsuzluk da bunu ifade eder.

[S10]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Ben, diyelim ki büyük modern binalardayım ama halen yanında tandır kuruyorum ve bu tandırda ekmek pişiriyorum veya bu helise, babagannuş dediğimiz şeyler var, onu yapıyor. Bunu niye söylüyorum? İnsanlar o binaların içinde halen o geçmişi yaşamak istiyor. Zira yaşayabiliyorlar da. Halen kurutmalık sebzeler yapıyorlar. Halı yıkıyor halen veya yün yıkıyor. Şimdi düşünün bütün bunlar bir yaşam. Bu belirli bir süre sonra bulunan mekânlardaki insanlarla çatışmalara neden olabiliyor. "Aaa bu nekadar gundi" diyorlar. "İşte köylü adam, banal bir adam." Bakıyorsunuz ki bina sakinleri arasında kavgalar başlıyor. Hazır yoğurt almıyor ama geliyor buradaki pazardan yoğurt alıyor, bakraçla alıyor. Biz ne yaptık? Mesela tandır ekmeği projesi yaptık. Salça üretimi projesi yaptık. İşte kurutmalık sebze, kına vb. şeyleri yapıyoruz. Bu projelerde alt gelir gruplarını hedefledik. Ama şöyle bir şeyi de var. Tandır evlerinin bir özelliği toplumsal yaşam alanları yaratmak. Hem bir eğitim alanıdır hem de toplumsal yaşam alanıdır. Çamaşır evleri. Yine alt gelir gruplarına aittir ama aynı zamanda yine toplumsal yaşam alanlarını üretiyoruz.

[S11]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Sadece yaptığımız bir mekân restorasyonu değildir. Bir zihinsel restorasyondur. Bakın en önemlisi de budur… Evet, fiziksel düzenleme var ama sadece o değil. Biz farklı inançların bir arada yaşaması gerektiğine inanıyoruz. (…) Eskiden komşusu vardı. Ne oldu da gitti? Bunu hatırlayacağız. Aslında gidenle birlikte neyi kaybettik? Mekânları da kaybettik ama insanları da kaybettik.

[S12]
Abdullah Demirbaş: Kent kimlikleriyle vardır. Bütün bunların temel adı şu: Farklılıklarıyla bir arada yaşamak. Şimdi biz bunu dil anlamında da yaptık, bunu mekân anlamında da yaptık. Ben şöyle bir örnek vereceğim size: Şimdi ben Kürdüm. Kürtçe-Türkçe kararı alabilirdim. Yani burada, Sur belediyesinde çok dillilik değil, Kürtçe-Türkçe kararı alabilirdim. Ama benim o zaman kemalizmden ne farkım kalırdı? Nasıl ki geçmişte türk kimliği benim kimliğimi inkar ettiyse, ben kürt kimliği dışında burada var olan bütün kimlikleri inkar etmiş olacağım. Ermenice, Süryanice, keldanice, Arapça dillerini de kullandık. Niye? Çünkü o kimlikler burada var. Ben o kimlikleri kabul etmek zorundayım. Aksini yaparsam, o zaman beni inkar edenlerle aynı düşünmüş olurum. Şimdi bu bir kere "başkalarını yok sayarak kendimi var edemem". Başkalarıyla birlikte ben de varım. İşte farklılıklarla bir arada yaşamak bu. İşte bu, kentin kimliğidir, dilsel kimliğidir. Ama mekânsal, yaşamsal kimliğidir de. Çünkü dil yaşamdır.

Yenişehir Municipality [Y]

[Y1]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: Hani daha önce, gerçekten biz de yaşadık, belediyebşknı daha sıradan bir bürokrat olarak Diyarbakır'da bir yetkili, ulaşılmaz, görüşülmez bir şekillenme içerisindeydi. Biz de bu duyguyu yaşadık doğrusu. 94'te de böyle bir girişim oldu. Başkan nezdinde geri çekildi siyasetimiz yine. Boykot oldu seçimlerde. 99'da da inanın hani çok gelebileceğimize ihtimal vermiyorduk. Devletin buna izin vermeyeceğini düşünüyorduk, daha önceki deneyimlerden kaynaklı. Sanıyorum ki hükümet seçimlere bir hafta kala hepimizi gözaltına aldı. 99'da hiçbir yerde biz mesela miting veya gösteri yapamadık. Seçime bir gün kala hepimiz gözaltından çıktık. Seçilen belediye başkanı Feridun Çelik oldu. Yani biz de rastgele işte belediye başkanı adayı olarak alelacele belirlenmiştik.

[Y2]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: 99'da ilk geldiğimizde gerçekten çok büyük bir heyecan vardı belediyecilik anlamında, tecrübesizlik de vardı tabi. Yani o zaman işte kendi evinin önünü temizleyen, belediye çalışmalarına destek sunan, belediye yanlış yaptığı durumlarda bile sahiplenen bir anlayışla başladı. Çünkü iddia, gerçekten artık bu belediyelerde "halkın dediği olacak" şekilde bir iddiayla geldik ve bu iddiamızı da halen sürdürüyoruz.

[Y3]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: Birinci anlamda bizim için gerçekten esas aldığımız "halkçılık" tır. yani bu olmadan sizin yürüme şansınız yoktur. (…) gerçekten maddi imkanlar kıt bir şekilde yürüyorsunuz. (…) fakat siyasi taleplerine cevap olmak zorundasınız, hizmetler anlamında da taleplere cevap olmak zorundasınız. her türlü etkinlikte belediyebşknı yanında görmek ister. Bizim gitmediğimiz her etkinlik eleştiri konusudur bizim açımızdan. diyor ki, "ben seni seçmişim, benim yanımda olacaksın." İster doğru ister yanlış olsun, hiç fark etmez doğrusu. Halkçılık derken kliş anlamını da kastetmiyorum. Ankara'da ben şöyle bir şey duymadım, Melih Gökçek dolaşıyor diye bir şey duymadım. ama bizde birinci gündemdir. Ama siz şimdi Diyarbakır'a çıkın. Birinci gündem ya belediyebşknı geliyordur der, ya da valla gelmiyordur. İstediğiniz hizmeti yapın çok da önemli değil, siyaset olarak da istediğiniz kadar farklı yerlerde durun, önemli değil. Yani eğer kendisi yanında öyle kendinden bir olarak görmezse sahiplenmesi mümkün değil. Halk bunu istiyor! Siyasetin de ilkeleri vardır. Ha kabul ederseniz belediyebşknlığına gelirsiniz. Kabul etmezseniz gidersiniz evinizde oturursunuz. kimse kimseyi de zorla getirmiyor doğrusu.

[Y4]

Selim Kurbanoğlu: Pek şu anda belki dikkat çekmiyor ama sıradan bir vatandaş çok rahatlıkla gelip sabah sabah sizi eleştirebilir, bir belediyebşknını eleştirebilir yani. Hatta yer yer kızabiliyor da veya yolda aynı şeyi yapabiliyor. Çünkü diyor ki benim siyasetimdir, benim belediyebşknımdır." Böyle olunca da her türlü soruna çözüm bulmak zorundasınız. İşte yoksulluktan tutun, elektrik problemine, evliliğe, nişanlanmaya kadar, her tür problem size yansır ve bir şekilde çözüm bulmak zorundasınız. Ama bir şekilde de sizin çözüm olmanızı beklerler. Bunu en doğal hakkı olarak görüyor çünkü. "Benim belediyeyemdir, benim dediğim olsun" şeklinde bir algılamayla geliyor ve buna da tüm belediyebşknları cevap olmaya çalışıyor gerçekten. Hiçbir zaman da bunu inkar etmemek lazım doğrusu. İşte bir Ahmet Bilgin deyince işte ulaşılmaz, yani varı benzeri bir şey benim kafamda da vardı, ben kendim de hiçbir zaman görüşmemiştim, bir diyaloğumuz olmadı. Hatta bir talebimiz de olmadı, kendi kitlemiz de bir talebi olmadı. Yani farklı siyasetten gelen işte belediyelere insanlar gidip de bir şey talep etmiyor.şu anda bize talepler çok fazladır mesela. İşte yolumuz şöyledir, suyumuz şöyledir, şu sorunumuz var ama ben kendi adıma söyleyeyim benim mahallem içinde ben hiçbir zaman belediyeye uğrama gereği duymadım veya benim kafamda böyle bir belediye. diye bir kurum yoktu. (…) Ahmet Bilgin, işte bizden önce Diyarbakır'da belediye başkanıydı. %14'tü hani belki kendi çevresini belki siyaset çevresini memnun ettikten sonra çok şikayet de olmuyordu. Daha doğrusu biz tartışmıyorduk belediyeleri. ama99dan sonra biz almaya başladıktan hemen sonra yani kenti düşünün %60'ı bir anda belediyeleri tartışmaya başlıyor. Şunu iyi yaptınız şunu kötü yaptınız şu böyle oldu, siz yanlış yaptınız, doğru yaptınız, bu tür tartışmalar çok yoğunlaştı.

[Y5]

Selim Kurbanoğlu: *Kadınlar hani çok rahatlıkla perişan edebiliyor sizi.* Hani gördüğünüz zaman bu zavallı bayan, nerede konuşuyor, nasıl kendini ifade edebiliyor? Vallahi gözünüzü de çıkarıyor. bir takım belki kişisel talepler de geliyor ama mah.sinde bir problem yaşadığı an mah.ye dair bir problem gördüğü an hiç çekinmez vallaha siz yerle bir eder. Benim mahelemde şöyle bir problem var, siz çözmediniz der yani.

[Y6]

Selim Kurbanoğlu: Toplu sözleşmelerde, mesela Türkiye ulusal basınına da yansıdı, o dönem yaptığımız zaman bir ilki yaptık. Çok böyle tuhaf karşılanmıştı: "Yani bir belediye bunu nasıl yapar? "Teorik söylüyor bunlar, yerine de getirmezler." Uygulamasını da gösterdik ama. 2-3 personelimize bunun uygulamasını yaptık. Bizden sonra tabi diğer belediyelerimiz de bunun uygulamasını yaptı. Hani bunu yaptığınız zaman işçi de belki aileyi siz böyle, ben avukatlıktan gelmeyim, hani böyle bir aileyi zorla bir arada tutma şansınız, hiç bir gücünüz yoktur. Ama örnek teşkil edebiliyorsunuz. Veya biz 3 personelle bir problem yaşadık. Çağırdık kendilerini, böyle bir uygulama yapacağız, birisi hatta teşekkür etti. Diğer ikisi teşekkür etmedi ama dedik ki "Biz maaşın %50sini aktaracağız eşine", aktardık da. Dediğim gibi bir ikisi teşekkür etti, diğerlerinden ses çıkmadı. İşte böyle madde koymuştuk orada. Temel hedefimiz hani bu kadının yaşama katılmasıydı. Personel de buna göre kendine çeki düzen veriyordu. Yani bilecek ki şunu, evinde yaşadığı problem nedeniyle evinde de yaşayabilir. Hani kadına yönelik şiddeti uyguladığı zaman bunun bir cezası olacak. Tabi şu şarta bağlamıştık: Kadının şikayet etmesi durumunda. Yoksa bizim direk müdahil olma şansımız yok. Böyle bir uygulama yaptık. Şu anda bir ses çıkmıyor. Yani bize yansıyan bir problem yoktur.

[Y7]

Selim Kurbanoğlu: Sosyal belediyecilik anlamında halkımıza katkı sunmaya ve destek olmaya çalışırken, kesinlikle insanlarımızı rencide etmeden, alan el veren eli görmeyecek şekilde yardımlarımızı dağıtmaya çalışıyoruz.

[Y8]

Demir Çelik: Yenişehir 1950'lerin sonrasında Sur'da artık yerleşkelerin cevap olmamasından sonra Sur dışına taşınmanın, özellikle de demokrat partiyle başlayan ve hamlelerin Diyarbakır'daki yansıması 1950'lilerin başında Diyarbakır'da kendisini gösterir. Yapılığında devletin gücünü, büyüklüğünü, kutsanmışlığını yansıtan mekânların, binaların, anıtların, heykellerin yapımı ile başladı. ama sonrasında merkezin çevresini kuşatan ve kontrolsüz yoğun göçün yarattığı periferdeki gecekondu mahalleleri ile Benusen başta olmak üzere, Şehitlik, Seyrantepe, Aziziye,

İplik mahalleleri de sonradan oluştu. Ve bunlar 1960'ların, 70'lerin sanayileşmesinin tr'deki yarattığı travmalardı. Ve o göç kontrollü olmadığı gibi devlet hazırlıklı değildi, insanların mekân sahibi olması başlarını ağrıtmaması onlar için yeterliydi. Dolayısıyla başlarını koyacakları bir gecekondu, devletin de işine geldi, vatandaşın da işine geldi. Bütün bunlar biz BDP olarak bu sorunları kucağımızda bulduk. (…) Bugün bu travma siyasal bir krize neden olmadıysa bizim oradaki yönetim başarımızın nedenidir. yani bir şekliyle siyasal sisteme entegrasyon ya da kendi yerelinde çözümü başarmış olmamızın ortaya çıkardığı bir çözüm nedeniyledir. Yoksa biz olmasaydık Diyarbakır belki bugün Diyarbakır olmaktan öte bir nokta farklı bir siyasal krizin ya da kaosun eşiğinde de olabilirdi.

[Y9]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Şimdi 99-2004 arasında şöyle bir pratik vardı; bu çok benimsediğimiz ve talep ettiğimiz bir şeydir. (...) Yenişehir belediyesine gelen bütün talepler işte bu sivil toplum örgütleri odalar, dernekler, akademisyenden oluşan imar komisyonuna havale ediyordu başkan. hani teknik olarak uygunsa Uygun görmediği hiçbir şeyi, o kurumun – kendine danışma şeyi oluşturmuştu – vatandaştan gelen talepleri- imar planı çizilmiş şeyleri, hatta müteahhitler bazen gelip sunumlarını da yapıyorlardı, o şeye. Diyelim ki bizde diyorduk ki hayır başkan bu uygun değil, dediğimiz zamanda hiçbir zaman bir daha da gündeme gelmiyordu ve geçmiyordu. Tabi Feridun Çelik bilgisi dahilinde önerisi doğrultusunda Yenişehir belediyede uygulayan bir şeydi ve o kadar belediye rahattı ki. Rahat, hiç baskı gelmiyor. Bize o anlamda müteahhitin baskı yapma şansı yoktu. Haa kişisel olarak geliyordu, , bize baskı geliyordu ama bizim taviz verme, onların bir oyu bir nüfuzu bizi etkileme şansı yok ki. Ama bu 2004'ten sonra kesintiye uğradı ve şey olmadı.

[Y10]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: Şehrin merkezi bir bölgesidir Ofis bölgesi, nüfus akışkanlığının olduğu bir yerdir, dolayısıyla ticaret yapma arzusu da oluyor. Mesela, Diyarbakır'a gelen mutlaka Ofis'ten geçer. Diyarbakır'ın birçok insanı da günde en azından bir kez buraya iş için ya da bir takım günlük işleri için uğrar. Dolayısıyla, Ofis bölgesinin nüfusu gündüz iki katına çıkar. Fakat aynı zmanada bizim en sıkıntılı alanlarımızdan bir tanesine de burasıdır, zabıta konusudur, işgal konusudur. 90lı yıllarda, işte çatışmalı dönemde, böyle bir deyim yerindeyse Afganistan görüntüleri vardı. Ama hani siz çare üretmezseniz onları oradan dağıtsanız bile şehrin çeşitli yerlerine dağılırlar, bu ortadan kalkmıyor. Çalışmak zorundalar ve siz de bir çözüm bulmak zorundasınız.

[Y11]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: İlkin karışmadık. Dağıtsak, 2 gün sonra yine gelecekler, orada kavga da çıkar ya da problem çıkar. Sorun ortadan kalkmaz. Bazen bıçaklanmalar filan da oldu maalesef, zabıtayla kavgalar filan. Sonra Remzi başkan işyeri açmaya karar verdi onlar için. Böylece fuar merkezimiz oluşturulmuştu. İşportacılara aş, iş, mekân sahibi yapıyoruz. Bir binanın tüm altını kiraladık ve normalin çok altında para alıyoruz. 2. fuar merkezimizi de açtık 3-4 ay önce Ofis'te. 73-74'tür sayı, orada işportacılık yapan arkadaşlarımıza yer bulduk. Aracılık ettik aslında... 74 kişiye böyle bir mekân yaratıldı.

[Y12]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: Tabi bu süreç öyle rahat ilerlemedi. Başlangıçta kabul etmediler. Ee kendisine göre düşündüğünde diyor ki ben dışarıda iyiyim. O tür algılamalar oldu. Biz dedik ki hani sizden muhatap olabileceğimiz kendi aranızda bir komisyon oluşturun. Dedik ki hani Ofis gibi bir yerde kira şu kadardır. Ama burada 4-5 kat daha az maliyet olacak size. Hem her gün her gün zabıtayla kavgalı bıçaklı olmaktan kurtulacaklar. Ve yapabileceğimiz kadarıyla, dev bir tabela asmışız mesela, ışıklandırılması var. Temizliği var. Böyle bir cazibe merkezi de oluşturmaya çalışıyoruz. Ciddi bir değişiklik var görüntüde. Geçen herkes şu anda duacı bize çünkü kaldırımda yürüyemiyorlardı. Böyle bir şey geliştirdik orası için. Onları ordan göndermek çözüm değil.

[Y13]
Selim Kurbanoğlu: *Sendika aslında biziz, belediye de sendikadır.* Bölgede birazcık böyledir işin doğrusu. İşveren-işçi pozisyonu yok. 1 Mayıs'a da biz katılırız, biz öncülük ederiz hatta. Sendika böyle çok cepheden böyle kendini ayırmıyor. Belki bu problemdir de esasında bir şekilde. ama sorundan kaynaklı bir bütünleşme de var esasında. Hani sendika direk belediyeye cephe almayı

asla kafasından geçirmiyor. Bu anlamda aslında kolaylığımız da var. Gerçekçi konuşmak gerekirse bu böyledir. yanitr'nin batı yakasındaki sendikayla bizim sendikamız çok farklıdır. Çünkü neticede siyasetimiz bir bölümünden gelen arkadaşlar, bu işten zarar gören arkadaşlar, bu işin mağdurları olan arkadaşlar. Yani işte belediyeden örnek veriyorum maddi anlamda bir talep de bulunduğunuz zaman çok rahatlıkla kendinizi açıyorsunuz. Anlayışla da karşılayabiliyor. Ama farklı bir sendika yapılanması olsaydı belki problem de yaşayabilirdik.

[Y14]
Şeyhmus Diken: Başka bir örnek vereyim. Ben *şu anki işlevini beğenmesem de Ofis'teki Sanat Sokağı.* Yenişehir belediyesi tarafından yapıldı. Fırat Anlı, şu an cezaevindedir, 2 dönem önce 2004 yılında. Aslında başlangıçta iyi bir projeydi. Batıdaki kimi trafiğe kapatılmış caddeler, sokaklar gibi, yaya alanı olarak düşünüldü. Bir takım sanatsal, kültürel etkinlikler, sinema gösterimleri, müzikal etkinlikler, sokak sergileri. Dünyanın her tarafında o tip mekânlar var. Böyle bir mekân olarak düşünüldü. Ama zaman içinde kafeler mekânı haline dönüştü. Şu anki konumu hiç iyi değil. Yani benim eleştirdiğim bir mekân. Ama işte biraz da bu mekânlar böyledir. Yani rant peşinde koşanlar, ihtiyaca göre, ticarete ve kara göre kent sakinlerinin ortak rantiyesi için düşünülen mekânları kendilerine göre, istedikleri şekle dönüştürüyorlar.

Bağlar Municipality [B]

[B1]
Yüksel Baran: Biz belediyeciliği en basit anlamında işte sadece halkın kentsel ihtiyaçlarının giderildiği, park, bahçelerin düzenlendiği gibi görmüyoruz. Bu tamam, bu hizmetler zorunlu, olmazsa olmaz düzeyinde. Ve fakat aynı zamanda üzerine kültürel, sportif, eğitsel anlamda ve kadın çalışmaları anlamında da kentin sosyal sorumluluğunu mutlaka yerine getirmesi gerektiğini, bu anlamda da işte halkın içerisinde halkın hemen her kesimine dönük, hem de toplumsal mekânlar yaratarak, belediyenin imkanlarını bu doğrultuda kullanarak veya koşulları da zorlayarak kurumlaşmalar yaratması gerektiğini de düşünüyoruz. (…) Biz tabi belediyeleri BDP'li belediyeler olarak düşündüğümüzde her çalışma bir önceki bizim mirasımızdır ve biz de onu koruruz, biraz daha güçlendirme ve üzerine bir şey eklemeye çalışırız. Özellikle eğitim, sağlık, spor, kültür, şiddet karşıtı ve benzeri birçok alanda çalışma yapıldığı ve bütün bu çalışmalar çerçevesinde mekânları ürettiğimizi söylemek mümkün. Yani ekolojik, demokratik, cinsiyet özgürlükçü belediyecilik, bu bizim paradigmamız.

[B2]
The woman: Hergün burada birçok insan bir araya geliyor. Belediye de ara ara halk toplantıları için veya bizlere sunuş yapmak için geliyorlar. Bazı kurslar da açılmış durumda burda. Bazen film gösterimleri veya kurumların toplantıları da alınıyor. Ha bana sorarsanız yeterli mi bunlar? Hayır. Yani bana göre mahalle evleri daha da geliştirilebilir. Mahalle komiteleri de hayal ettiğimiz gibi çalışma yürütemiyor. (…) Nasıl mı hayal ediyorduk? Valla bana göre, belediye bir kere buraya daha sık gelmeli ve bizler yönetime daha çok katılmalıyız çünkü biz kendimiz her yerde demokratik özerklik diyorduk.

[B3]
Cabbar Leygara: Bağlar'da ikinci mağduriyet tabi çocuklar. Yazıktır ki, sağlıklı bir nesil yetişmedi. 5 Nisan'ı biliyorsunuz eski Bağlar dediğimiz yerde 80 kişilk okullar vardı. Orada çocuklar 20 dakikada tuvalete zor yetişiyor, sıradan dolayı. Okul dağıldığında 7 bin kişi bir anda caddede. Tabi ben şöyle yapıyordum, yardımcı oluyordum, devlet okul açsın diye, yaptı da. Ayrıca bu çocukların sosyal ve kültürel aktivitelere katılması önerisinde getirdim. Bu çocuklar sosyal anlamda da ihtiyaç duyuyor, yani müziğe, resime, fotoğrafa. Yani bir yeteneği var ve açığa çıkarılması gerekiyor. Ama ben bunu söylerken müthiş tepki alıyordum. Yahu işte bunların karnı mı doyuyor ki sen kültür sanat diyorsun. Yahu çocuk tamam karnı doysuna ama sonuçta bu, çok özür dilerim, bunlar hayvan değil ki, yani çocuk, bir genç kız. Kişiklerinin oturması için bunlar şart. TEGEV'le ben kendim gittim temasa geçtim. Bir arsamız vardı bağlar'da. Şu anda carefurr var ya, onun hemen arkasında bizim arsamız vardı. En değerli arsamız. Sendika geliyordu, sat diyordu, işçi paralarını verelim. Belediye binamızı orada yapalım diyordular. Ben de tuttum onu TEGEV parkına 18 yıllığına kiraladım. Onlar da sağolsunlar 1 trilyona yakın yatırım yaptılar, okul dışı eğitim sağladılar. Öğrenciler oraya eski Bağlar'dan geliyordu. Bana sorasanız bence en önemli

yatırımdı kente. Maalesef onu da şimdi tutmuşlar TEGEV'den almışlar [Bağlar Belediyesi], bu yatırımı yanlış buldukları için. (…) Ücretsiz sanat ve kültür kurslarının çıkış noktası bu yatırımdı. Bu hizmet sunumunun belediyeye ait olması gerektiğini düşünmüşler.

[B4]

Yüksel Baran: Taziye evlerini biz aslında dayanışma duygusunu yaratmak için yapıyoruz. Bir cenaze geldiğinde, mahalleliler bir araya gelir ve kendi taziyelerini gerçekleştirirler taziye yerlerinde. Eskiden çadır kurarlardı ve orada toplanırlardı. Yani epey bir sıkıntı oluyor. Kış olunca su oluyor, çamur oluyor. Aslında onlar bizden talep ettiler. Bu yıl içerisinde, geçen yıl söz vermiştik, sırayla tüm köylere en azından bir taziye evi yapacağız. Daha doğrusu bir toplanma mekânı yapacağız. Mesela ayda yılda bir taziye olacak, yıl içerisinde her gün kullanılacak hali yok ya. Onun dışında da o mekân, farklı amaçlar için de kullanılıyor. Örneğin dün arkadaşlarımız köylerde sağlık taraması yapmaya gitmişlerdi, onun için kullanıldı. Ayrıca, muhtarlık yerlerini de genelde taziye evlerinin yanında açıyoruz. Diyelim ki biz seminer mi vercdeğiz orada, taziye evini kullanıyoruz o zaman. Belki kışın kendilerine nişan, düğün, sünnet yapacaklar orada. Yani çok büyük bir mekân yapıyoruz çünkü. O artık mahallenin ya da köyün sizin de dediğiniz gibi toplumsal bir mekân haline gelecek, köyün bir mekânı olacak. Köyler dışında, köy dediğim bize yeni bağlanan şu an yeni mahalle statüsüne geçmiş köy olan yerler var, merkezde Kaynartepe mahallesinde biz kendimiz kiralamış ve düzenlemişiz. Fakat burası sadece taziye amaçlı kullanıyor.

[B5]

Cabbar Leygara: Eski göçler çok farklıydı. Bu göçlerde kentliler ağırlıktaydı. Mesela biz de Suriçi'nden Yenişehir'e taşındık. Annem derdi ki "oğlum biz oraya geliyoruz, apartmanlara, siz de onlara uyun, onlar gibi davranın". Biz örnek alıyorduk, model alıyorduk, işte onlar gibi kentli olmaya çalışıyorduk. Ama Bağlar geçmişi de köylü olduğu için kırsal kesimli olduğu için, 1990'larda kırsal kesimden geldiler. Bağlar o zaman inanılmaz bir nüfus patlaması yaşadı. Kent göçe hazırlıksız yakalandı. İşte, kanalizasyon, kent meydanları, yeşil alan, su, imara açık yerler, hiç biri hazır değildi. Kent gibi gözüküyordu ama kocaman bir köydü. Hem sosyal-psikolojisi olarak hem yapısal olarak köy. Fakat kentte sıkıntı, o aşılabilirdi, ama asıl sıkıntı kentte sosyal psikolojisi aşılması çok zor ve dramatikti. Çünkü gönüllü gelinmemiş, zorunlu gelinmiş. Zorunlu gelirken ekonomik değerini yitirmiş, toplumsal değerler de yitirilmiş. Yani köydeki gibi kalmışlar. Yani örnek alıp kendilerini değiştirecek bir yapı yoktu. İşte köydeki alışkanlık, nedir? Örneğin çöpü köyün meydanına atıyor. çöp köyün meydanına atılır ve halen Bağlar'da çöp dışarı atılır. Çöp bidonu bıraksanız da, çöp bidonuna atılmaz, kenarına atılır ve boş meydanlara dikkat ederseniz, boş meydanlara atılır. Diyelim ki büyük apartmanlar görürsünüz; en üst katında tandırlar var, çevresi de ahırdır. Apartman, ahır, tandır. Yani üçünü yanyana getirdiğinizde Bağlar'ın profili böyle bir profildir.

[B6]

Cabbar Leygara: Mesela park yaptık, içine bank bıraktık. Köylüler şey yapar, köyden gelmiş yaşlılar, özlüyorlar köylerini; biz bank bırakıyoruz, insanlar bankta oturmuyor. Öyle bir alışkanlıkları yok. Bakıyoruz, çimlerin üstünde oturuyor. Şimdi zabıtayla git, orada oturma, burada otur, demek de doğru değil. Biz kalktık şöyle bir şey yaptık, bankların ortalarına ve çevrelerine masa yaptık. Masaların üstüne de dama taşı çizdik, dama olsun. Genelde yaşlı insanlar oturuyor orada. Şimdi dama oynamak için mecburen bankta oturmak zorunda kaldılar. Mahalle meydanları da küçük parklar yaptık. Kadınlar biraraya gelsin ve sohpet etsinler diye. Kadınlar aslında apartmanlarının önünde oturur.

[B7]

Cabbar Leygara: Ancak biz belediyeleri alırken, Refah Partisinden belediyeleri aldık, oldukça borçluydu. Şöyle anlatayım, ben ilk göreve başladığım gün işçi maaşları diyelim 300 milyon, bize gelen iller bankasındaki pay işte 50 milyondu. Yani adam seçilmeyeceğini anlayınca, diyelim Bağlar Belediyesi'nde 150 işçi olması gerekirken 860 işçi almış ve en yüksek maaşı da vermiş. ondan sonra bağlar belediyesinin binası yok, imar bölümü yok. Bağlar Belediyesi'nde o alanda 100 bin nüfuslu iken 350 bine çıkmış 6-7 yılda. Yani bir kentte nüfusu %10 artığında bile o kentte bir problemdir. Kanalizasyon problem, içme suyu problem, imar alanları problem, yerleşik alan problem. Bizde ise 3 kat artmış. Yani insanlar Bangladeş gibi, insanlar tıklım tıklım. Park

yapıyorsunuz o parkta 40-50 kişi oturacağına 500 kişi geliyor. (…) Yani biz şöyle bir politika izledik, popülist bir politika izlemedik. Biz gerçekten halkın ihtiyaç duyduğu politikaları izledik. Kentin en büyük sıkıntısı kanalizasyon ve suydu. Belediyecilikte de en nankör yatırım odur. Neden? Kanalizasyon, en büyük para ona gider ama yerin dibindedir. Ama halk sağlığı açısından düşünürseniz, en büyük yatırım odur. (…) Bir de çok belediyecilik bilmiyorduk. Ama bütün bunlara rağmen halk sağlığı ve gerçek belediyecilik anlamında biz onu şey yaptık. Ama bizim gerçek başarımız halkın yaşadığı bu travmanın üstüsenden gelmek oldu.

[B8]
Cabbar Leygara: Biz yeni Bağlar'da, (Bağlar belediyesinin arka tarafı; Bağcılar, Hamravat, Gökkuşağı, otogarın tam karşısı) biz oradaki yolları açtık. Ama bize bu yolların açılması gerektiğini şehir plancıları odası, İmo, MMO söylüyordu. Biz de gittik orayı açtık. Ama bunu yaparken müthiş eleştiri aldık. Neden eleştiri aldık? Alışılagelen belediyecilik göze hoş gelen, göze batan yerler işte bir alanda çiçek dikmek. Oraları açtığımda müthiş eleştirildim, yani mühendisler, şehir plancıları beni destekledi. Ortalama halk, esnaf, parti hepsi bizi yerdi. "Orada hizmet yapıyorsun, orası dağ başı, orada insan yok, siz niye yapıyorsunuz?" Şehri oraya taşımamız lazım, şehri önceden planlamamız lazım. 30 m'lik, 50 m'lik, 75 m'lik yolları açalım ki, insanlar burada konut yapsın, burada yapılan konut bize gelir getirsin, bu gelirler maddi durumu iyi olanlardan gelecek, buradan alacağımız parayla biz de eski Bağlar'a, Körhat'a, Muradiye'ye hizmet yapalım. Ama bu bana pahalıya patladı. Niye? Çünkü çok şiddetli eleştiri aldım. Şimdi düşündüler, "Ya başkan niye orada yaptı? Mutlaka arazisi var, mutlaka bir çıkarı var." dediler. İmar konusunda öyledir. Sonra çok değerli bir mimar hocamız vardı, 80 yaşlarında. Biz ona rica ettik, geldi, çizdi. Tereddüt ettik çünkü biz, yanlış mı yapıyoruz, doğru mu yapıyoruz diye. Hoca dedi ki sen doğru yapıyorsun, 15 sene sonra senin değerin anlaşılacak. Ondan sonra belediye binasının da ben kendim yaptım. Ondan sonra biz şöyle bir politika izledik. Altyapı, bir de yeni bölgeler açma. Yeni bölgeler açınca, hani bizim kitlede ezilenden yana bir psikoloji var. Biz yeni bölgeyi açınca imara açınca, maddi durumu iyi olan, en zenginler geldi. Mesela Hamravat evleri bizim için Diyarbakır'ın en yoksul semtine Diyarbakır'ın en zenginleri geldi. Bu defa eski Bağlar en yoksul bir bölge, Yeni Bağlar, en zengin bölge oldu. Orada da eleştiri aldık. Dediler ki "Başkan onlara hizmet ediyor." Halbuki rantable değerini artırıyorsunuz, orada arsalar değerli olunca iş imkanı çıkıyor, orada belediyeye gelir geliyor; emlak vergisi, çöp vergisi, biz onlardan çok düzenli alıyorduk.

[B9]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Zaten apartmanları aşmış bir yapı ama sağlıksız. Apartman gecekondu'dur. Anlarım, derim ki -ama yerinde dönüşüm belki- sağlıklı değil binalar, o binalar kendi kendine çöküyor. Çok hızlı yapılmış, kaçak, mühendis görmemiş. Sizin o mahlere sosyal olarak da girme şansınız yok. Bir yangın çıksa girme şansınız yok. Ben bazen diyorum, Van'daki, İst'daki herhangi bir afetin, depremin benzeri yaşansa, siz bir ay boyunca Bağlar-Dörtyol bölgesine ulaşamazsınız, yaya olarak ulaşamazsınız. Boşver kepçeyle girip enkazları kazmaya. O açıdan orası acı bir şey.

[B10]
Demir Çelik: Bağlar'da bu kentsel dönüşümü nasıl yapacağımıza dair yoğun bir çalışma niyetimiz de söz konusudur. Ama insanları yerinden koparmadan, mevcut mekândan uzak tutmadan nasıl yapabileceğimize bir yoğunlaşmamız var. (…) Ancak Bağlar belediyesinin tek başına altından kalkacağı bir durum değildir bu. Belediyeyi aşan bir durumdur. Kayapınar dışında, Diyarbakır'daki bütün belediyeler borç harç içinde yüzüyor; yeri geldiğinde kendi personel maaşlarını bile ödeyemiyorlar. Bunlar büyük vizyon projelerle maalesef devletin üstlenmesi gerekiyor ya da çok ciddi düzeyde belediyelere kaynak aktarılacak, belediyeler idari, mali, siyasi anlamda özerk olacak ki o da özerkliğine bağlı olarak yapabilsin. İdari özerkliğin yok, mali özerkliğin yok, siyasi özerkliğin yok. Karar verici Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı. TOKİ'nin kendisi yetkili. Afet yasasıyla, kentsel dönüşümle, ne bileyim orman vasfını yitiren alanların yerleşkelere dönüştürülmesi yasası, her türlü yasada, imarda bile yetki tümüyle Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı'na ve TOKİ'ye verildi. TOKİ şu anda toplum üstünde maalesef hegemonik bir güç.

[B11]

Cabbar Leygara: Ama biz gecekonduya yürüme mesafesinde olsun istdik. Daha sonraki arkadaşlar bir bina yapmışlar. Bizim kafamızdan geçen, tek bir bina yapmaktan ziyade, Sümerpark modeli gibi ama onun gibi değil, kiralık yerler alıp böyle her mahallenin içinde, kadının yürüme mesafesinde, minibüse binmeden gidip geleceği bir yer olsun istedik. Biz bir merkezde toplmayı doğru bulmadık. Merkez güzel olabilir ama bana göre yoksul mahallerinin hepsine yapılmalıydı. Kadınlar bu merkeze yürüsün istedik. Yol parasını vermeden gitsin. Bunun için çok zaman harcamadan gidip gelsin. Neden? Çünkü o kadın evden çıkmak için izin alacak ailesinden veya yalan söyleyecek.

[B12]

Cabbar Leygara: Böylece onların psikolojini de daha iyi anlama imkanına sahip oluyorsun. Oradaki psikolog arkadaş bana düzenli olarak aldığı notları getirirdi, ben de okurdum hepsini tek tek. Bir bakmışsın, bazı kadınların daha kapsamlı bir tedaviye ihtiyacı var ve biz onları hastaneye yönlendirirdik. Ya da bir bakmışsın başka problemler var, onları da yönlendirirdik. Mesela bir defa çok ilginç bir talep geldi bize oradan. Okuma yazma kursu istediler. Biz de onlara bir oda sağladık ve 20-30 kişilik okuma yazma kursu düzenledik. Soğuktu, kıştı. Biri odununu, bir diğeri kömürünü, bir diğeri sobasını, masasını ve sandalyesini getirdi.

[B13]

Cabbar Leygara: Kadın merkezlerini, eğitim kurslarını vs. aslında ilk biz başlattık. Ve bizden sonraki arkadaşlar bunları geliştirdiler. Ayrıca, bu Şeyh Şamil'deki peynirciler pazarını, bizim dilimizde, aşefçiler pazarını da biz açtık. Aşefçi kadınlar bu pazarda satışlarını yaparlar, fakir insanlar da gelir buradan alıverişlerini yaparlar. Bizden sonraki belediyeler bu projeyi geliştirdiler. Ha ne oldu şimdi? Kadın emek pazarı oldu.

[B14]

Yüksel Baran: Newroz Alanı faaliyete geçtiğinde ben adaydım. 2009'da faaliyete geçti. İlk Newroz'da biz aday olarak halkı selamladık. (…) Diyarbakır'da Newrozların kutlanması belediyeler için bir sorundur. Dediğim gibi önceki dönemde, 2008 yılında inşası başladı, bu mantıkla yapılmıştır. Çünkü sonuçta Newroz bizim bayramımızdır ve bayramımızı kutlayacak bir mekân lazımdı bize. Bu amaçla yapılmış ama dediğim gibi sadece Newroz günü, yılın bir günü kullanılmıyor. Vallahi, daha önceki gece oradaydım. Belediyelerimizin düzenlediği büyük bir organizasyon vardı, ona katıldım. Hepimiz, halkla beraber, çimlerde oturmuşuz ve güzel sohpetler etmişiz birbirimizle.

Kayapınar Municipality [K]

[K1]

Mahmut Dağ: Belediyecilik anlayışımızı genelde bizim son süreçte partimizin iktidarda olduğu yereller için uyguluyoruz. Biz eski yapılmış olan belediye faaliyetlerini klasik belediye hizmetleri olarak nitelendiriyoruz. ona alternatif bizim yürüttüğümüz hizmetler insan odaklı, insana hizmet, ekolojik, cinsiyet özgürlükçü, demokratik belediyecilik anlayışıyla yola çıktık. Ve bu faaliyetlerimizi bu kapsamda yürütmeye devam ediyoruz.

[K2]

Mahmut Dağ: elbette bir engel oluşturdu. Yani Zülküf Karatekin 2004'ten beri belediye bşknıydı. tabi 5 yıllık bir süreç iyi bir deneyimdi. İyi deneyimden sonra 2. seçimde de tekrar başkan seçilmesi, bir avantajdı. Ve bunun sonrasında Zülküf Karatekin'in tutuklanması elbette dezavantaj oldu. Hem bizler açısından, hem halk açısından bir dezavantaj oldu. Çünkü Kayapınar yeni gelişme alanı. Ve Zülküf bşkn da inşaat mühendisi. O anlamda da birebir kendi mesleğiyle de alakalı olduğu için imar politikaları, bir dezavantaj oldu. Diğer taraftan da psikolojik olarak bir dezavantajı oldu. Seçim öncesi hazırlık yapmışsınız, belediye bşknızını belirlemişsiniz, seçmişsiniz ve seçimden bir kaç ay sonra tutuklanmış. Elbette belediye içerisinde mutlaka bazı dengeler oynamak zorunda kaldı. Tabi onun yerini doldurmak, onun bıraktığı yerden faaliyetleri yürütmek elbette zor.

[K3]

Şeyhmus Diken: Kayapınar'ın kentleşmesini çok beğendiğimi söyleyemem, açık söyleyeyim. Bana göre Diyarbakır yatay gelişmeye çok müsait bir şehir. Şimdi Diyarbakır öyle çok Mardin gibi kale şehir görüntüsünde yamaçta kurulmuş bir şehir değil. Karacadağ havzası üzerinde Diyarbakır tatlı bir meyil üzerine kurulmuş bir şehirdir. Yani giderek Dicle'ye doğru akıp gelen tatlı bir eğimi vardır Diyarbakır'ın bazalt platosu üzerinde. Şimdi bu plato üzerinde mesela ben dünyadaki bir çok değişik şehir örneklerini de gördüm. Büyük kentlerin çeperlerinde yaratılan yeni şehirleri de gördüm. Örneğin New York'a gidiyorsunuz, hemen 1,5 saat mesafede New Jersey var. Yani gidiyorsunuz, bahçeli, tek katlı ya da iki katlı küçücük önünde böyle 10 m^2'lik 20 m^2'lik küçük bahçeler yaratılmış. İnsanlar kendi bahçesiyle uğraşıyor, o küçük eviyle mutlu oluyor. Şimdi Diyarbakır'daki o çok katlı, yapsatçıların, blok plancıların acımasız kar hırsına, o güzelim geniş alanlar terk edileceğine, z+4 kat z+5 kat en fazla evler yapılabilirdi. Çünkü alan çok geniş.

[K4]

Şeyhmus Diken: Ha şimdi ne oldu? Müteahhidin işine geliyor! Müteahhide diyor ki kardeşim senin burada yapı izninin alçak katlı yapılarda diyelim ki %60 inşaat alanı kullanıp %40 bahçeye verebilirsin. Kat miktarı yükseldikçe çok bahçe bırakman lazım. %20'sini ancak fiziki olarak kapalı alan olarak kullanabilirsin, zeminin %20sini, geri kalan %80'ini yeşil alan ve rekreasyon alanı olarak kullanmak zorundasın. Bu da müteahhidin işine geliyor. Canına minnet. Adam yapıyor 20-30 katlı bina. Böyle saçma bir şey olur mu yahu? Dünyanın neresinde böyle bir rezillik var? 75 metrelik yolun üzerinde Urfa yolundan Elazığ yoluna doğru yürüyorsun, sağlı sollu hayvani binalar yükselmiş. Yani ben şahsen o yapılaşmayı... Bir de bu yapılaşma beraberinde kentte imar alanlarının çok fahiş fiyatlara doğru yükselmesine de neden oluyor. Yani korkunç bir sınıfsal uçurum da oluşuyor kentte. Bir tarafta 200-300 milyar parayı bastırıp gidip işte jakuzili, bilmem neyli evlerde kendi steril güvenliği olan, içine herkesin giremediği kapısında güvenlik birimlerin olduğu, hatta mesela misafir olarak gittiğinizde bile sizi sorguya tutan bir site yaşantısı var, kendini ayrıcalıklı… Mesela Diyarbakır'da eskiden o tip alanlar askeri alanlardı, izoleydi. Askeri bölgeye, bir lojmana gittiğinde kapıda, mesela bir komutanla dostluğunuz varsa, onun evine akşam ziyarete gittiğinizde, kapıdan o komutana telefon açarlardı, işte şu şahıs sizi ziyarete gelmiş, bırakayım mı diye. O da derdi, tamam, kimliklini al, bırak gelsin. Öyle giderdin misafirliğe. Şimdi aynı şeyi sivil insanlar birbirlerine yapıyor. Bu korkunç bir kopuşun göstergesidir.

[K5]

Şeyhmus Diken: Ya şimdi mesela siz yapılaşmayı düzgün bir şekilde yaparsanız, yani yine öyle bir site olsun, ona kimse bir şey demiyor, size karşı da değiliz, olsun ama bunu çok daha akıllı bir şekilde yap. Ben size başka bir şey anlatayım: 75 metrelik yola buradan girdiğinizde yolun sol tarafında korkunç büyük yapılaşmalar var şimdi yine. Hiç bir belediye hizmeti şu anda orada yok. Yani giriyorsunuz köy yolu gibi. Ne doğal gaz gitmiş, ne su gitmiş, oralarda korkunç lüks binalar yapılıyor. Geçen hafta mesela o bölgede iş yapan müteahhitler oturmuşlar belediye'ye basın açıklaması yapacaklar, protesto ediyorlar. Diyorlar ki biz buraya trilyonlarca liralık yatırım yapıyoruz belediye yolumuzu bile yapmıyor, arabalarımız hurda çıktı diyorlar. Şimdi yani böyle bir garip tarafı da bu işin, mutlu da edemiyorsunuz siz o insanları. Büyük paralar kazanıyorlar. Ama o kazandıkları parayı kendilerine yaratan kuruma da düşmanlık gösterebiliyorlar. Yani niye? Diyor ki ben belki bu evleri 20 milyar daha fazla paraya satacağım ama o vatandaş geliyor bakıyor ki, yolu, suyu bilmem neyi yapılmamış diyor, daha ucuza gidiyor. Oysa dünyanın her tarafında bu tip mekânlar imara açıldığı vakit belediye önce oranın alt yapısını hazırlıyor, bekliyor ki yatırımcı gelsin, ondan sonra binasını yapsın. Bizde öyle yürümüyor ki, imara açılan alanlar da öyle yürümüyor, yeni açılan osb'ler de öyle yürümüyor. Adam sana dağ bibi arsa gösteriyor, senin arsan burasıdır, hadi git diyor yap bitir. Suyu yok, yolu yok. Şimdi bunlar sakat işler. Ben onları çok fazla düşünmüyorum, umurumda da değil. Yani umurumda da o anlamda umurumda değil. Ben şeyi düşünüyorum: Kent bu kadar yüksek katlı bloklara esir edilmemeliydi bence. Çünkü Diyarbakır'ın doğal yapısı, topoğrafyası müsait, istediğin kadar kenti yaymaya müsait.

[K6]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: inşaat sektörü her zaman Diyarbakır'da en canlı sekördür. Diyarbakır'ın sanayiye dayalı bir ekonomisi yok. Onun için bu kapitalizm krizlerinden etkilenmiyor ya da sürekli burada bir kriz var zaten. Ama inşaat sektörü sürekli vardı. Ve üst ve orta–üst sınıfın konut

ihtiyacını karşılayan konut sektörü var. Diyarbakır'daki inşaat sektörü yap-sat da değil. Satıyor, ondan sonra yapıyor. Aslında çok da şey yok, hani kent içindeki birikimler kent içinde tutulmuyor. Dolayısıyla sen inşaat sektörünün taleplerini karşılamak durumunda kalıyorsun.

[K7]
Necati Pirinççioğlu: Diyelim ki geliyor senden para alıyor ondan sonra inşaata başlıyor. Ve çok az maliyetle kazanıyor. Orayı bitirdiği gibi bir yeri almak zorunda. 10 gün bile idare edemez, çöker yoksa. Çünkü sermaye birikimi yok. Mevcut sermaye ile yapıyor. Onun için önce satıyor. Onun için sat-yaptır, yap-sat değil. Öyle bir sektör var Diyarbakır'da. Daha burasını tam teslim etmeden diğerine başlamak zorunda. Çünkü oradan sıcak para hemen gelmek zorunda ve sürekli böyle bir döngü var. Şeye baktığın zaman işte oranın işçisi, kalıbı, elektrik tesisatçısı hepsinin bir şeyi var. 10 gün ayrı şey yapsa, onların hepsi işsiz. Biribirine bağlı yani.

[K8]
Demir Çelik: Diyarbakır'daki konut fiyatları tr'nin diğer kentleriyle karşılaştırdığınızda da çok ucuz. Ya şu anda Diyarbakır'da 150 bine daire bulabilirsiniz. 300 bine de bulabilirsiniz. ama 500 binden fazla daire yoktur. (…) şimdi aşırı yoğun bir göç var. bu göçten kaynaklı talep var, bu talebin de karşılanabileceği tek mekân Kayapınar kalmış. Kayapınar'da bu anlamıyla da çok yoğun bir inşaat sektörü söz konusu. İnşaat bir yanıyla oradaki işsizliği manipule ediyor, işsizliği karşılıyor, bir yanıyla da konut sorununu karşılıyor. belediye bu işi kolaylayan bir noktadadır ama kolaylamasıyla birlikte de kentsel dokuyu esas alan, bu yönüyle de bizim yeri geldiğinde ekolojik anlayışımızı esas alan bir yaklaşımla yaklaşmakta. En azından sitenin %70'ini yeşil alana tahsis ediyor olması iyidir fakat sitedeki kat sayısı 10 katı aşmayacak düzeyde olmalı. Çünkü en nihayetinde güneşin, rüzgarın, suyun döngüsünü birlikte düşünmek lazım.

[K9]
Demir Çelik: Şimdi bunlar Kayapınar'dan da öte bir şey. Örneğin Diyarbakır 1940'larda tr'in ekonomik gelişmişlik sıralamasında ileri bir konumdayken, şimdilerde çok geriledi, 71. sırasında. Kürdistan coğrafyasının son 50 yıllık, 100 yıllık politikalarının ürünü, eseridir. Onlara tek başına bir Kayapınar'ın, Büyükşehir'in direnç göstermesi, kendisini var edebiliyor olması kolay değil. Bütün o kuşatılmışlığa rağmen arkadaşlarımızın yarattığı bu. Çok daha iyilerine halkımız da layık. Arkadaşlarımız da yapmak ister. Ama maalesef genel büyük bir fotoğrafın oradaki yansımalarına takılıp kalırsak biz fotoğrafın büyüğünü kaçırırız. Devletin çok büyük politikaları var. Kayapınar'da bu nüfus patlamasını birinin sosyal, siyasal travmaya yol açmadan harekete geçirmesi, onun tarihsel, sosyal, kültürel dokuya alışmasını sağlamak ancak bizim gibi özgün siyasete sahip insanların başarabileceği bir şeydir.

[K10]
Demir Çelik: başardık ama başarırken de bu sefer ekolojik dengeyi dikkate almadık. Çok katlı devasa binalar yapmışız. Onunla da övünüyoruz. Bu değil. bizim özgür demokratik ekolojik yy modelimizdeki ekolojist yaklaşımız bu değil. Yani toprak, su, rüzgar, dengesi ve döngüsü sağlayan rüzgar türbülansını ve güneşin varlığını hisseden mekânlar bizim mekânlarımızdır. (…) Kürtlerin başta olmak üzere Diyarbakır'ın da talihsizliği bu. Çok yoğun çatışmalı ortamdan çok yoğun nüfus sirkülasyonu ve göçün yaşandığı bir noktada kendi modelini uygulama sıkıntısı yaşıyor olmasıdır. Bu maddidir, kültüreldir, siyasaldır.

[K11]
Demir Çelik: yani modelimize çok uygun gösterebileceğimiz pilot bir yer değil. Mutlaka çok değerli çalışmaları olmuştur, ki vardır da. Eğer biz değil, başka bir anlayış Kayapınar'da iktidarda olsaydı, rantiyenin de çok daha yaşanacağı bir kent olabilirdi. Arkadaşlarımızın direnci ve imara var olan duyarlılığı neticesinde tutabildiğimiz nokta burası, yüksek bir talep var konuta.

District Municipalities [D]

[D1]
Vedat Çetin: AB'ninki başkaydı. Bizim mahalle evlerimizin kuruluş amacı bir defa çok farklı. Biliyorsunuzdur, 2007 yılında DTK kararları vardır; bu kararlardan sonra mahalle evleri açıldı.

[D2]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: Şu anda da mahhalle meclisi var Diyarbakır'da ama mevcut mahalle meclisleri mahalle meclisleri değil. BDP'nin mahalle meclisleridir. Niye? Ben en basitini de söylüyorum. Biz örneğin Hasırlı'da Hasırlı mahalle meclisi var. Özgür yurttaş meclisi var. Ben dedim ki orada, şey var mı? Hani anlamlı buluyorum böyle bir şeyi ama dedim ki Domlar, Çingeneler çok var o mahallede. Ben biliyorum, biz orada bir proje uyguladık. Dedim ki onlar bu mahalle meclisinde kendilerini temsil ediyorlar mı? Dediler yok. Dedik o zaman o mahallenin meclisi değil. O zaman dedik ki siz siyasi bir partinin –eskiden mahalle komiteleri vardı- bir farkınız yok. Ha önemsiyorum ama böyle bir örgütlenmeyi ama geliştirilmesi gerekiyor. Ya da siz kaç tane mahallenizin sorununu belediyelere, valiliğe, ilgili kurumlara ilettiniz? Yok. Nedir? Sadece politik anlamda bir örgütlenme şeyi. Bu da önemli. Yani insanların örgütlü olması her anlamda örgütlülük iyi bir şeydir. İnsanların bir arada durabilmeleri ya da aynı anda mahalleye yansıyor olabilmesi önemlidir. Fakat yine de kesinlikle geliştirilmesi gerekiyor.

[D3]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: Tabandan gelmesi gerekir. Yoksa belediyeler bu sefer kendi parti örgütlenmeleri için kullanır. Tabandan gelmesi gerekir, işte onun için o önemli bir şey. Onun gelişmesi gerekiyor. Nedir? Kendiliğinden kurulmuş, politik bir şeyle kurulmuş. Mahallelilerin de buna biraz şey olması gerekiyor, baskı grubu olarak. Baskı gruplarıdır çünkü o mahalle meclisleri. Bu da buna benzer, eğer belediyeler kurarsa, belediyenin kendisi nasıl bir baskı grubu olabilir ki? Belediye bunun öncülüğünü yapar, bunun mekânizmalarını kurar. Ha nedir? Bu sefer belediyenin götüreceği hizmetlerin mahalleye yansıması ya da mahallelinin taleplerinin direk belediyeye yansımasının önünü açar. Bunlar hep katılım mekânizmalarıdır.

[D4]

Osman Baydemir: Diyarbakır'da, ben ilk 2004'te seçildim başkanlığa, Diyarbakır'da kişi başına düşen aktif yeşil alan oranı 0,5 metrekare idi. Ancak, bizim şu anda Diyarbakı'da kişi başına düşen aktif yeşil alan oranı 0,8 metrekaredir. Kentimizi planlarken ve tasarlarken tamamen kamusal mekanları yaratmayı hedefliyoruz.

[D5]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: Eskiden orada bekçiler bağırıyorlardı "çimlere oturmayın" bilmem ne. Neyse ki, belediyeler o anlamda da şeyi çözdü. Normal bildiğimiz park tasarımlarına benzemez. Hani insanlar gidip banklarda oturacak, bankta oturup biraz sohbet edecek, sonra gidecek değil yani. İnsanlar yerde oturuyor. Bilirsiniz işte normalde çimlere basılmaması, sadece sert zeminlerde dolaşılması gerekiyor. Böyle kısıtlayıcı şey ama insanlar her yerde şu anda dolaşabiliyor, basıyor. Kimse de karışmıyor. Şimdi siz bu şeyi bilmeden park tasarlasanız, mekân tasarlasanız mekân elinizde patlar. Dünyanın en iyi peyzaj mimarisini getirmenize gerek yok. Bu sosyaliteyi bilmesi gerekiyor ki ona göre bir plan yapsın.

[D6]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: Gidip kafetyeryada oturmak istiyorsa, kafeterya da yaparsın. Ama kafeteryanın ücretlerine de dikkat etmek zorundasın. Yüksek ücretlerin önüne geçebilir ya da geçmek mi istemiyor, geçemiyor, onu bilemiyorum. Ama sonuçta bir şey var. Belediyeler orayı verirken ilana çıkıyor ve en yüksek fiyatı verene vermek zorunda. Bu sefer en yüksek fiyatı verince tüketiciye yansıyor. Daha düşük fiyatı verene de veremezseniz. Bu sefer sizi müfettişler görevden alır. Kamuyu zarar uğratmaktan. Ha nedir? Belediyeler belki bunu kendisi işletebilir. Var bu tür şeyler ama bunları çoğaltmak gerekir. Veya BDP belediyeleri genelde STÖ'lere ve kurumlara da veriyor işletmeleri için. Bu da başka bir yöntem. Fakat bazen kurumlar da işletemiyor, problemler doğuyor bu defa da.

[D7]

Necati Pirinççioğlu: Ama şu andaki parkların işletim sistemini de doğru bulmuyorum. Parklar, sosyal mekândır. Sosyal mekânın içerisinde kafeteryalar, buluşma alanları var. Ama şu anda örneğin Park Orman'da kafeterya var. Git orada çay 3 milyon. Demek ki sadece belli kesimler sosyalleşebilir. Parkın o alanlarına gidip çay içme… İşte yine şeye bakıyorsun, park böyle 80 dönüm. Bir burada kafeterya var, bir burada var. Parası olanlar gidip orada oturuyor, çay

içebiliyor. Diğerleri gidiyor yine akşamları semaverinde çayı yapıyor, geliyor oturuyor çimlerin üzerinde, çekirdeklerini çitliyor, çimlerin üzerine oturuyor.

APPENDIX D: APPENDIX TABLES

Appendix Table 1 The negotiated municipalities, institutions, organizations and figures

Kurum	Kişi	Görevi	Tarih
Bağlar Belediyesi	Yüksel Baran*	Belediye Başkanı	30.05.2012
Bağlar Belediyesi	Cabbar Leygara	Eski Belediye Başkanı	17.09.2012
Yenişehir Belediyesi	Selim Kurbanoğlu*	Belediye Başkanı	31.05.2012
Sur Belediyesi	Abdullah Demirbaş*	Belediye Başkanı	01.06.2012
Kayapınar Belediyesi	Mahmut Dağ*	Belediye Bşkn. Vekili	25.06.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Osman Baydemir*	Belediye Başkanı	21.06.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Feridun Çelik	Eski Belediye Başkanı	15.09.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Şeyhmus Diken*	Belediye Başkanı Danışmanı	04.07.2012
Diyarbakır İl Özel idaresi	Fatma Sünbül*	İGM Bşkn. Vekili	23.07.2012
BDP Diyarbakır İl Örgütü	Suzan İşbilen*	Ekoloji ve Yerel Yönetimler Birimi	20.07.2012
BDP Merkez Yönetim	Demir Çelik*	Muş Milletvekili	27.08.2012
Mimarlar Odası Diyarbakır Şubesi	Necati Pirinçcioğlu*	Şube Başkanı	26.06.2012
Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi Belediyeler Birliği (GABB)	Nurhak Sinan Akıncı	Etüt ve Proje Müdürlüğü	22.06.2012
Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi Belediyeler Birliği (GABB)	Erdal Balsak	Etüt ve Proje Müdürlüğü	22.06.2012
Diyarbakır Kültür Tanıtma ve Yardımlaşma Vakfı	Erhan Akalın	Şube Başkanı	25.07.2012
Sarmaşık Yoksullukla Mücadele ve Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Derneği	M. Şerif Camcı	Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi	24.07.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Hikmet Öcal	İmar ve Şehircilik Şube Müdürlüğü	23.07.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Mustafa Kutlu	Kentsel Tasarım ve Dönüşüm Şube Müdürlüğü	23.07.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Hişyar Özsoy	Belediye Başkanı Eski Danışmanı	25.07.2012
Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi	Funda İpek	Çevre Koruma Kontrol Daire Başkanlığı	30.05.2012
Bağlar Belediyesi Kardelen Sağlık Merkezi	Özlem Anlı	Gönüllü Hekim	16.07.2012
Bağlar Belediyesi	Özlem Yasak	Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü	30.05.2012
Bağlar Belediyesi	Dicle Çakmak	Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü	22.07.2012
Bağlar Belediyesi	Meral Demiroğlu	Belediye Meclis Üyesi	15.06.2012
Yenişehir Belediyesi	Ömer Taştan	Özel Kalem Müdürlüğü	31.05.2012
Yenişehir Belediyesi	Güler Menteş Turhalı	Belediye Başkan Yrd.	27.07.2012
Yenişehir Belediyesi	Mustafa Akıncı	Temizlik İşleri Müdürü	26.07.2012

Appendix Table 1 (continued)

Kurum	Kişi	Görevi	Tarih
Kayapınar Belediyesi	Aydın Bolkan	Kültür ve Sosyal İşleri Müdürlüğü	25.06.2012
Kayapınar Belediyesi	Selami Denizhan	Basın Sözcüsü	25.06.2012
Kayapınar Belediyesi	Zeyidin Kıral	Park ve Bahçe İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü	
Sur Belediyesi	Gülbahar Örmek	Belediye Başkan Yardımcısı	01.06.2012
Sur Belediyesi	Hüseyin Kaya	Belediye Başkan Yrd.	01.06.2012

Note: Interviewees who are marked with the sign (*) were subjected to the in-depth interviews.

Appendix Table 2 The spatial practices of the municipalities according to the name of municipality, starting year, starting period and the name of the mayor

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Municipal	Starting year	Starting period	Mayor
Laundry and Tandır Houses	Hasırlı Beyaz Kelebekler	GMD	2003	I.	Feridun Çelik
	Ben û Sen Beyaz Kelebekler	GMD	2004	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Aziziye Beyaz Kelebekler	GMD	2004	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Yeniköy Beyaz Kelebekler	GMD	2008	II.	Osman Baydemir
Neighborhood Houses (NH)	5 Nisan NH	Bağlar	2007	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Yunus Emre NH	Bağlar	2007	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Kaynartepe NH	Bağlar	2007	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Cankatran NH	Kayapınar	2007	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Pirinçlik NH	Kayapınar	2007	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Beneklitaş NH	Kayapınar	2008	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Gözalan NH	Kayapınar	2008	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Uyandık NH	Kayapınar	2009	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Taşova NH	Kayapınar	2009	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Gözegül NH	Kayapınar	2009	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Cücük NH	Kayapınar	2009	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Talaytepe NH	Kayapınar	2009	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Aziziye-G.doğan-T.konut NH	Yenişehir	2011	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Üçkuyular NH	Yenişehir	2012	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Yolaltı NH	Yenişehir	2012	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Dökmetaş NH	Yenişehir	2010	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Güzelköy NH	Yenişehir	2010	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Şemsiler NH	Yenişehir	2012	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Harbut NH	Yenişehir	2012	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Ali ve Mehmet Tekdağ NH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Bağpınar NH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Musa Anter NH	Kayapınar	2012	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Medine Yakut NH	Kayapınar	2012	III.	Mahmut Dağ
Condolence Houses (CH)	Kaynartepe CH	Bağlar	2010	III.	Yüksel Baran
	Pınaroğlu CH	Bağlar	2012	III.	Yüksel Baran
	Kuyusırtı CH	Kayapınar	2012	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Arzuoğlu CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Karpuzlu CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Çarıklı CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Aslanoğlu CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Sarikamış CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Bağıvar CH	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Education Support Houses (ESH)	Bağlar Belediyesi	Bağlar	2004	II.	Y.Özsökmenler
	Mehmet Geren	Sur	2004	II.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Peyas	Kayapınar	2006	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Huzurevleri	Kayapınar	2007	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	Beşyüz Evler	Kayapınar	2007	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	İplik Mahallesi	Yenişehir	2008	II.	Fırat Anlı

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Municipal	Starting year	Starting period	Mayor
Education Support Houses (ESH)	Mehmet Işıkçı	Yenişehir	2008	II.	Fırat Anlı
	Ferzad Kemanger	Bağlar	2011	III.	Yüksel Baran
	Ali Erel	Kayapınar	2011	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Aydın Erdem	Kayapınar	2011	III.	Mahmut Dağ
Women's Centers /Houses	DİKASUM	GMD	2001	I.	Feridun Çelik
	EPİ-DEM	Yenişehir	2003	I.	Remzi Azizoğlu
	Kardelen (I and II)	Bağlar	2005	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	DİKADEM	GMD	2009	III.	Osman Baydemir
	KADEM	Sur	2009	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Hasırlı KADEM	Sur	2010	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Bağıvar KADEM	Sur	2011	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Ceren	Kayapınar	2012	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Ziya Gökalp KADEM	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Çarıklı KADEM	Sur	2013	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Women's Cooperatives	Bağlar Women's Cooperative	Bağlar	2005	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Sur Women's Cooperative	Sur	2011	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Women's Labor Bazaars	Jiyan Women's Labor Bazaar	Bağlar	2012	III.	Yüksel Baran
	Sur Women's Bazaar	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Women's Shelter House	DBB Women's Guest House	GMD	2008	III.	Osman Baydemir
	Bağlar Women's Shelter House	Bağlar	2012	III.	Yüksel Baran
Aid and Support Centers	Sarmaşık Assoc.	GMD	2007	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Günışığı Store	Bağlar	2007	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Beyaz Şemsiye Store	Yenişehir	2009	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
	Hêvîyên Nûjen	Sur	2011	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Culture and Art Centers/ Houses	Dengbej's House	GMD	2007	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Bağlar Women's Art Atelier	Bağlar	2008	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Cegerxwin Youth Culture and Art Center	Kayapınar	2010	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Cegerxwin Conservatory	Kayapınar	2010	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Aram Tigran Conservatory	GMD	2011	III.	Osman Baydemir
	Sur Art House	Sur	2011	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Theatre Art Atelier	Sur	2011	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Cem Culture House	GMD	2012	III.	Osman Baydemir

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Municipal	Starting year	Starting period	Mayor
Public Libraries	Astrid Lindgren Children's Library	Kayapınar	2006	II.	Zülküf Karatekin
	5 Nisan Youth Library	Bağlar	2007	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Davut Ökütçü Children'sLibrary	Sur	2007	II.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Mehmed Uzun Public Library	GMD	2009	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Melikahmet Children's Library	Sur	2010	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Health Centers	Halil İbrahim Health Center	GMD	2009	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Bağlar Children Rehabilitation Center	Bağlar	2009	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Bağlar Women's Health Center	Bağlar and GMD	2010	III.	Yüksel Baran
Passages for Street Vendor	Vendor's Bazaar	DBB	2001	I.	Feridun Çelik
	Souvenir Shops-1	Yenişehir	2010	II.	Fırat Anlı
	Souvenir Shops -2	Yenişehir	2012	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
Monuments	Yaşam Hakkı Monument	GMD	2008	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Uğur Kaymaz Monument	Sur	2005	II.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Women's Monument	Bağlar	2005	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
Cultural Events	Newroz Fest	GMD	2000-	I.	Feridun Çelik
	Diyarbakır Culture and Art Fest	GMD	2001-	I.	Feridun Çelik
	International Children Fest	Sur	2001-	I.	Cezair Serin
	Youth and Sport Fest	Yenişehir	2004-2009	II.	Fırat Anlı
	Sersal New Year	Sur	2007	II.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Amed Music Fest	GMD	2008-	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Filmamed	Kayapınar	2012-	III.	Mahmut Dağ
Social Areas	Sümerpak Social Life Area	GMD	2007	II.	Osman Baydemir
	Newroz Square	Bağlar	2009	II.	Y. Özsökmenler
	Art Street	Yenişehir	2004	II.	Fırat Anlı
Campaigns for offices	White Flag Project	Yenişehir	2005	II.	Fırat Anlı
	Gold&Silver Scissor Project	Yenişehir	2009	III.	Selim Kurbanoğlu
Large scale urban projects	Dicle Valley Project	GMD	2006	II.	Osman Baydemir

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Municipal	Starting year	Starting period	Mayor
Restoration projects	Sur city walls	GMD	2001	I.	Feridun Çelik
	Ancient Churches	Sur	2001	I.	Cezair Serin
	Gazi Street & Yeni Kapı Street	GMD	2011	III.	Osman Baydemir
	Balıkçıbaşı, Mardinkapı, Melkahmet Street	GMD	2011	III.	Osman Baydemir
	Surp Gregos Armenian Church	GMD	2012	III.	Osman Baydemir
	İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan Street	GMD	2012	III.	Osman Baydemir
	Bar Salibi Street Project	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	Project of Cultures	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
	3 Language 3Neigh 3 Books Project	Sur	2012	III.	Abdullah Demirbaş
Urban Transformation Projects (UTP)	İçkale UTP	GMD	2000-2004	I.	Feridun Çelik
	Suriçi UTP 1. Stage	GMD and Sur	2010	III.	Osman Baydemir
Social Housing Provision	Aziziye Social Housing	GMD	2000-	I.	Feridun Çelik
	İskanevleri Social Housing	GMD	2013	III.	Osman Baydemir
Multi-Lingual Service	Naming the parks, streets, signs in Kurdish	All the municipals	2000- …	I and III	All the mayors
Centers for disadvantages people	Musa Anter Life Center (for disabled people)	Kayapınar	2013	III.	Mahmut Dağ
	Bahar Life Center (for old people)	Kayapınar	2013	III.	Mahmut Dağ

Appendix Table 3 The spatial practices of the municipalities according to to the scale, income group and policies

Socio-spatial practices	Scale	Income Group	Aimed Policies
Laundries and tandır houses	Neighborhood	Low income group	Gender-based and social policies
Neighborhood houses	Neighborhood	All people	Administrative policies
Condolence houses	Neighborhood	All people	Cultural policies
Education Support Houses	Neighborhood	Low income group	Social and Cultural policies
Women Houses	Municipal	Low and middle income groups	Economy and gender-based policies
Aid and solidarity centers	Municipal	Low income group	Social policies
Women cooperatives	Municipal	Low income group	Economy and gender-based policies
Women labor bazaars	Municipal	Low income group	Economy and gender-based policies
Women Centers	Urban	Low and middle income groups	Economy and gender-based policies
Women shelter houses	Urban	Low and middle income groups	Gender-based policies
Culture and art centers and houses	Municipal	Low and middle income groups	Cultural policies
Public libraries	Urban	Low and middle income groups	Cultural policies
Tournaments	Municipal	All people	Cultural policies
Multi-lingual municipality services	Municipal	All people	Cultural policies
Health centers	Urban	Low income group	Social policies
Rehabilitation centers for street children	Urban	Low income group	Social policies
Social living areas	Urban	Low and middle income groups	Cultural and administrative policies
Parks and green areas (nurseries and gardens)	Urban	All people	Ecology policies
Squares	Urban	All people	Cultural policies
Monuments	Urban	All people	Cultural policies
Bridges	Urban	All people	Urbanization policies
Projects towards street vendors	Urban	Low income group	Economy policies
Projects oriented to business offices	Urban	Middle income group	Economy policies
Summer camps for children	Urban	Low income group	Social policies
Festivals	Supra-local	All people	Cultural policies
Multi cultural street projects	Urban and Supra-local	All people	Cultural policies
Urban transformation, regeneration and renovation projects	Urban and Supra-local	All people	Cultural policies
Large scale urban projects	Urban and supra-local	All people	Urbanization and economy policies

Appendix Table 4 The chairs of Diyarbakır Municipality since 1922

Local Election	Years	Chair of Diyarbakır Municipality	Represented Political Party	Duty
	1922-1925	Müftüzade Mantinci Hüseyin Efendi	-	Mayor
	1925-1927	Şeref Uluğ	-	Vice Mayor
	1934-1939	Nazım Önen	-	Mayor
1942	1942	Nazım Önen	-	Mayor
	1944-1944	Tevfik Eşmeli	-	Vice Mayor
	1944-1944	Reşat Köksal	-	Vice Mayor
	1944-1944	Zeki Arman	-	Vice Mayor
	1944-1945	Adil Tigrel (Tekin)	-	Vice Mayor
	1945-1945	Osman Nuri Tekeli	-	Vice Mayor
	1945-1945	Kemal Kubat	-	Vice Mayor
	1945-1946	Vehbi Dabakoğlu	-	Vice Mayor
	1946-1946	Zeki Arman	-	Vice Mayor
1946	1946-1950	AbdülKadir Cizrelioğlu	-	Mayor
1950	1950-1952	M. Nuri Onur	-	Mayor
	1952-1952	Asım Balaban	-	Vice Mayor
	1952-1954	Adil Tekin	-	Vice Mayor
1955	1955-1956	M. Nuri Onur	-	Mayor
	1956-1956	Osman Erdem	-	Vice Mayor
	1956-1958	Sezayi Demiray	-	Vice Mayor
	1958-1959	Cahit Gürkaş	-	Vice Mayor
	1959-1959	Emin Topalan	-	Vice Mayor
	1959-1960	İhsan Koçak	-	Vice Mayor
Military Coup	1960-1961	Niyazi Akı	-	Governor and Mayor
Military Coup	1961-1962	Nezihi Fırat	-	Governor and Mayor
Military Coup	1962-1963	Namık Kemal Şentürk	-	Governor and Mayor
1963	1963-1973	Nejat Cemiloğlu	CHP	Mayor
1968	1968-1973	Nejat Cemiloğlu	CHP	Mayor
1973	1973-1977	Okay Kalfagil	CHP	Mayor
1977	1977-1980	Mehdi Zana	Independent (TİP)	Mayor
Military Coup	1980-1981	Albay Feyyaz Üzümcü	-	Vice Mayor
Military Coup	1981-1984	Muhsin Akar	-	Vice Mayor (Governor Deputy)
1984	1984-1987	Nurettin Dilek	ANAP	Mayor
	1987-1989	Mehmet Baydur	-	Vice Mayor
1989	1989-1994	Turgut Atalay	SHP	Mayor
1994	1994-1999	Ahmet Bilgin	RP	Mayor
1999	1999-2004	Feridun Çelik	HADEP	Mayor
2004	2004-2009	Osman Baydemir	SHP	Mayor
2009	2009-…..	Osman Baydemir	DTP	Mayor

Source: www.diyarbakır.bel.tr, http://www.kenthaber.com, www.tuik.gov.tr

Appendix Table 5 Distribution of land use according to the 1/25.000 Scaled City Master Plan

Land Use	Area (ha)	%(1)	%(2)	m²/person(3)
Housing settlement areas	6439.5	33.29	5.12	40.2
The Suriçi conventional settlement and the centre	149.4	0.77	0.12	0.9
Trade and governance centers	505.5	2.62	0.40	3.2
Urban development areas	2185.7	11.30	1.74	13.7
Open and green areas	4044.2	20.90	3.22	25.3
Public service and urban fittings areas	3599.1	18.60	2.86	22.5
Transportation	2234.4	11.55	1.78	14.0
Infrastructure	187.5	0.97	0.15	1.2
Total urban use areas	19346.3	100	15.39	120.9
Total rural areas	106363.3	-	84.61	664.7
Total planning area of the Greater Municipality of Diyarbakır	126700.0		100	785.6

(1)According to the total urban use areas (2) According to the total area of greater municipality (3) The results are calculated for the population of 1,600,000. Source: Report for the 1/25.000 Scaled City Master Plan of Diyarbakır (DBB, 2006).

Appendix Table 6 The urban transformation, restoration and rehabilitation processes in the Suriçi region

Project	Central or Local State Actors	Date of the Project
Restoration of the city walls (Cleaning and expropriation)	Greater Municipality, Sur Municipality and Governorship	Early of the 2000s
İçkale Transformation Project	Greater Municipality and Governorship	2000-2004
The İçkale Museum Project	Ministry of Culture and Tourism	2004- …
Suriçi Urban Transformation Projects	TOKİ and Governorship	2008-2010
Suriçi Urban Transformation Projects –The First Stage: Alipaşa, Lalebey and Cevatpaşa Neighborhoods	TOKİ and Governorship; inclusion of Greater Municipality and Sur Municipality	2010- …
Suriçi Urban Transformation Projects: The Gazi and Yeni Kapı Streets Rehabilitation Projects	Greater Municipality and Governorship	2011-…
Rehabilitation of the region between the Balıkçılarbaşı and Mardinkapı, the Melikahmet Street	Greater Municipality	2011-…
The İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan Street Front Rehabilitation and Restoration of their environs	Greater Municipality	2012- …
Restoration of the Meryem Ana, Çeltik and Keldani Churches	Sur Municipality	2001
Restoration of the Armenian Saint George Church	Greater Municipality	Early of the 2000s
The "Bar Salibi" Street Project	Sur Municipality	2012
The "Cultures" Project	Sur Municipality	2012
The "Three Languages, Three Neighborhoods and Three Books" Project	Sur Municipality	2012

Appendix Table 7 The socio-spatial practices of the Greater Municipality since 1999

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Location	Service scale	Start Year	Income	Aimed policy
Laundries and Tandır Houses: Beyaz Kelebekler	Hasırlı LTH	Hasırlı/ Sur	Neig.	2003	Low	Social; gender
	Ben û Sen LH	Ben û Sen /Yenişehir	Neig.	2004	Low	Social; gender
	Aziziye LH	Aziziye/ Yenişehir	Neig.	2004	Low	Social; gender
	Yeniköy LH	Yeniköy/ Bağlar	Neig.	2008	Low	Social; gender
The Sümerpark Social Life Area	Social Aid Center	Şehitlik /Yenişehir	Urban	2008	Low	Social
	City Council	Şehitlik/ Yenişehir	Urban	2001	All	Administrative
	Mehmed Uzun Public Library	Şehitlik /Yenişehir	Urban	2008	All	Social
	Solar House	Şehitlik /Yenişehir	Urban	2008	All	Ecology
	Various public spaces	Şehitlik /Yenişehir	Urban	2008	All	Cultural
Women's Centers/Houses	DİKASUM	Şehitlik /Yenişehir	Urban	2001	Low; middle	Social; gender
	DİKADEM	Şehitlik/ Yenişehir	Urban	2009	Low; middle	Social; gender
	Women's Shelter House	-	Urban	2008	All	Social; gender
Culture and Art Centers	Cem Culture House	Bağcılar /Bağlar	Urban	2012	All	Cultural
	Aram Tigran Conservatory	Şehitlik/ Yenişehir	Urban	2011	All	Cultural
	Dengbej's House	Suriçi	Urban	2008	All	Cultural
Cultural Events	Newroz Fest	Newroz Park/ Bağlar	Urban	2000	All	Cultural
	Diyarbakır Culture and Art Fest	-	Upper scale	2001	All	Cultural
	Amed Theatre Fest	-	Upper scale	2012	All	Cultural
	Amed Music Fest	-	Upper scale	2012	All	Cultural
Social Housing Provision	Aziziye Social Housing	Aziziye /Yenişehir	Neig.	2000-	Low	Cultural
	İskanevleri Social Housing	İskanevleri /Bağlar	Neig.	2013	Low	Cultural
Urban Transformation Projects (UTP)	Suriçi UTP 1. Stage	Alipaşa-Lalebey	Neig.	2010	All	Urban
	İçkale UTP	Suriçi	Neig.	2000-2004	All	Urban

Appendix Table 7 (continued)

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Location	Service scale	Start Year	Income	Aimed policy
Restoration	Sur city walls	Sur	-	2000s	All	Cultural
	Surp Gregos Armenian Church	Özdemir / Sur	-	2001	All	Cultural
	İzzetpaşa-Çiftehan Street	Suriçi	-	2012	All	Cultural
	Gazi Street; Yeni Kapı Street	Suriçi	-	2011	All	Cultural
	B.başı, M.kapı, M.ahmet Street	Suriçi	-	2011	All	Cultural
Large scale projects	Dicle Valley Project	The Dicle valley	Urban	2006-	All	Urban

Appendix Table 8 The socio-spatial practices of Sur Municipality since 1999

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Neigbor-hood	Service scale	Start. year	Income	Aimed policy
People's Houses	Ali MeH.Tekdağ People's H.	Küçükkadı	Neig	2013	All	Adm.
	Bağpınar People's H.	Bağpınar	Neig	2012	All	Adm.
Condolence Houses (CH)	Çarıklı CH	Çarıklı	Neig	2011	All	Social
	Karpuzlu CH	Karpuzlu	Neig	2011	All	Social
	Bağıvar CH	Bağıvar	Neig	2011	All	Social
	Sarıkamış CH	Sarıkamış	Neig	2011	All	Social
	Arzuoğlu CH	Arzuoğlu	Neig	2012	All	Social
	Aslanoğlu CH	Aslanoğlu	Neig	2012	All	Social
Education Support House	Mehmet Geren ESH	Camii Nebi	Neig	2004	Low	Social
Spaces for women	KADEM (central)	Hasırlı	Neig	2009	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Bağıvar KADEM	Bağıvar	Neig	2011	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Ziya Gökalp KADEM	Ziya Gökalp	Neig	2012	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Çarıklı KADEM	Çarıklı	Neig	2012	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Hasırlı KADEM	Hasırlı	Neig	2013	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Women's cooperation	Ziya Gökalp	Municipal	2005	Low	Economy; gender based
	Women Labor Bazaar	Ziya Gökalp	Municipal	2012	Low	Economy; gender based
Culture and Art Centers	Art House	Dicle	Municipal	2011	All	Social
	Theatre and Drama House	Suriçi	Municipal	2011	All people	Social
	Melikahmet Children's Library	Melikahmet	Municipal	2010	All	Social
	D. Ökütçü Children's Library	Cemal Yılmaz	Municipal	2007	All	Social
Solidarity and Aid Center	Hêvîyên Nûjen Cloth Bank	Suriçi Mardinkapı	Municipal	2011	Low	Social
Restoration Projects	Sur city walls	City walls	-	2000s	All	Cultural
	Meryem Ana Church	Suriçi	-	2001	All	Cultural
	Bar Salibi Street Project	Suriçi	-	2012	All	Cultural
	Project of Cultures	Suriçi	-	2012	All	Cultural
	3 Language 3 Neigh.3Books	Suriçi	-	2012	All	Cultural
Multi Lingual Services	Signs in Multi Languages	-	Municipal	2007	All	Cultural

Appendix Table 8 (continued)

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Neigbor-hood	Service scale	Start. year	Income	Aimed policy
Cultural Events	International Children's Fest	-	Upper scale	2001	All	Cultural
	Sersal Ceremony	-	Upper scale	2009	All people	Cultural
	Musa Anter Tournament	-	Municipal	2003	All people	Cultural

Appendix Table 9 The socio-spatial practices of Yenişehir Municipality since 1999

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Neigbor-hood	Service scale	Start. year	Income	Aimed policy
Neighborhood Houses (NH)	Aziziye-Gürdoğan-Toplukonut	Aziziye	Neig	2011	All	Administrative
	Üçkuyular NH	Üçkuyular	Neig	2012	All	Administrative
	Yolaltı NH	Yolaltı	Neig	2012	All	Administrative
	Dökmetaş NH	Dökmetaş	Neigh	2010	All	Administrative
	Güzelköy NH	Güzelköy	Neig	2010	All	Administrative
	Şemsiler NH	Şemsiler	Neig	2012	All	Administrative
	Harbut NH	Harbut	Neig	2012	All	Administrative
Education Support Houses (ESH)	İplik ESH	İplik	Neig	2004	Low	Social
	Mehmet Işıkçı ESH	Ben û Sen	Neig	2009	Low	Social
Women's Center	EPİDEM	Şehitlik	Municipal	2003	Low; middle	Social; gender based
Culture and Art Centers	Culture House	Şehitlik	Municipal	2006	All people	Social
Solidarity and Aid Center	Beyaz Şemsiye	Şehitlik	Municipali	2009	Low income	Social
Parks and green areas	Nursery	Çınar	Municipal	2005	All people	Social
	Resort area	Çınar	Municipal	2005	All people	Social
	Back gardens	-	Neig	2004	All people	Urban
Passages for vendors	Souvenir Shops-1	Ofis	Municipal	2002	Low income	Economy
	Souvenir Shops -2	Ofis	Municipal	2012	Low	Economy
Campaigns for offices	White Flag Project	-	Municipal	2005	Middle	Economy
	Gold&Silver Scissor Project	-	Municipal	2009	Middle	Economy
Street Projects	Art Street	Ofis	Municipal	2004	All people	Social
	Culture and Art Street Park	Fabrika	Municipal	2012	All people	Social
Activities for Youth	Youth, Culture and Sport Fest	-	Municipa	2004	All people	Social
	Sport Complex	Dönümlü	Municipal	2006	All people	Social

Appendix Table 10 The socio-spatial practices of Bağlar Municipality since 1999

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Neigbor-hood	Service scale	Start year	Income	Aimed policy
Neighborhood Houses (NH)	5 Nisan NH	5 Nisan	Neig	2007	All	Adm.
	Yunus Emre NH	Yunus Emre	Neig	2007	All	Adm.
	Kaynartepe NH	Kaynartepe	Neig	2007	All	Adm.
Condolence Houses	Pınaroğlu CH	Pınaroğlu	Neig	2012	All	Adm.
	Kaynartepe CH	Kaynartepe	Neig	2010	All	Adm.
Education Support Houses (ESH)	Bağlar Bld ESH	Körhat	Neig	2004	Low	Social
	Ferzad Kemanger ESH	Şeyh Şamil	Neig	2011	Low	Social
Solidarity and Aid Center	Günışığı Shop	Selahattin Eyyubi	Municipal	2007	Low	Social
Spaces for Women	Kardelen Women's House-1	Mevlana Halit	Municipal	2005	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Kardelen Women's House-2	5 Nisan	Municipal	2005	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Women's Cooperation	M. Halit	Municipal	2005	Low	Economy gender based
	Jîyan Women's Labor Bazaar	Bağcılar	Municipal	2013	Low	Economy gender based
	Women's Health Center	Fatih	Municipal	2005	Low	Social; gender based
	Women's Art Atelier	M. Halit	Municipal	2008	Low	Social; gender based
	Women Life Park & Monument	M. Halit	Municipal	2005	Low; middle	Social; gender based
	Woman Drivers	-	Municipal	2011	Low	Econoy gender based
	Cultural activities for women	-	Municipal upper scale	2004	All	Cultural; gender based
	Women Shelter House	-	Municipal	2012	All	Social; gender based
Rehabilitation Center	Children's Training Center	M. Halit	Municipal	2009-12	Low	Social
Art and Culture Centers	5 Nisan Youth Library	5 Nisan	Neig	2007	All	Social
Demonstration Area	Newroz Square	Bağcılar	Municipal upper scale	2009	All	Social

Appendix Table 11 The socio-spatial practices of Kayapınar Municipality since 1999

Spatial practice/unit	Name	Neigbor-hood	Service scale	Start year	Income	Aimed policy
Neighborhood/ People's Houses (NH)	Uyandık NH	Uyandık	Neig	2009	All	Adm.
	Taşova NH	Taşova	Neig	2009	All	Adm.
	Gözegül NH	Gözegül	Neig	2009	All	Adm.
	Cücük NH	Cücük	Neigh	2009	All	Adm.
	Talaytepe NH	Talaytepe	Neig	2009	All	Adm.
	B.taş NH	Beneklitaş	Neig	2008	All	Adm.
	Gözalan NH	Gözalan	Neig	2008	All	Adm.
	Cankatran NH	Cankatran	Neig	2007	All	Adm.
	Pirinçlik NH	Pirinçlik	Neig	2007	All	Adm.
	Musa Anter NH	Gaziler	Neig	2012	All	Adm.
	Medine Yakut NH	Metropol	Neig	2012	All	Adm.
Condolence Houses	Kuyusırtı CH	Kuyusırtı	Neig	2012	All	Adm.
Education Support Houses (ESH)	Peyas ESH	Peyas	Neig	2006	Low	Social
	Huzurevleri ESH	Huzurevleri	Neig	2007	Low	Social
	Beşyüzevler ESH	Beşyüzevler	Neig	2007	Low	Social
	Ali Erel ESH	Huzurevleri	Neig	2011	Low	Social
	Aydın Erdem ESH	Gazi	Neig	2011	Low	Social
Women's Center	Ceren Women'S Center	Peyas	Municipal	2010	All	Social; gender based
Art and Culture Centers	A. Lindgren Children's Library	Huzurevleri	Municipal	2006	All	Social
	Cegerxwîn Youth Culture Cent.	Peyas	Urban	2009	Low	Social; cultural
	Cegerxwîn Conservatory	Peyas	Urban	2010	All	Social; cultural
Cultural Events	Filmamed Fest	-	Urban	2012	All	Cultural
	Street Basketball Tournament	-	Neig	2007	All	Cultural
	Beach Football Tournament	-	Neig	2008	All	Cultural
Spaces for disabled people	Musa Anter Life Center (dis.)	Peyas	Urban	2013	All	Social
	Bahar Life Center (old)	Peyas	Urban	2013	All	Social
Multi-Lingual Service	Parks in Kurdish	-	-	2005	All	Cultural

Appendix Table 12 Some spatial units of the district municipalities named with Kurdish language, popular Kurdish and leftist individuals

Spatial Unit	Municipality	Year
The Uğur Kaymaz Monument	Sur Municipality	2005
The Sersal Festivals	Sur Municipality	2007
The Bar Salibi Street	Sur Municipality	2012
The Mar Petyün Street	Sur Municipality	2013
The Heviyen Nujen Aid Store	Sur Municipality	2007
The Mehmet Işıkçı Youth Edu. and Culture House	Yenişehir Municipality	2008
The Cegerxwîn Youth Culture and Art Centre	Kayapınar Municipality	2011
The Aram Tigran Conservatory	Kayapınar Municipality	2012
The Aydın Erdem Education Support House	Kayapınar Municipality	2011
The Musa Anter *Halk Evi*	Kayapınar Municipality	2012
The Medine Yakut *Halk Evi*	Kayapınar Municipality	2012
The Ekin Ceren Park	Kayapınar Municipality	2009
The Halil İbrahim Oruç Park	Kayapınar Municipality	2011
The Metin Lokumcu Park	Kayapınar Municipality	2011
The Dorşin Park	Kayapınar Municipality	2011
The Ayşe Şan	Bağlar Municipality	2008
The Newroz Square	Bağlar Municipality	2009
The Rıhan Park	Bağlar Municipality	2010
The Leyla Qasım Park	Bağlar Municipality	2010
The Ferzad Kemanger Education Support House	Bağlar Municipality	2011
The Evdalê Zeynikê Park	Bağlar Municipality	2012

Appendix Table 13 Evaluation of the policies followed by the district municipalities

Spatial Units/Practices	Aimed Policies	SM	YM	BM	KM
Neighborhood houses	Administration	2	8	3	11
Equal-Freedom Citizen's Assoc.	Administration	2	2	9	3
Laundries and *tandır* houses	Social and gender-based	1	1	1	x
Women's Support Houses	Social and gender-based	5	2	1	1
Education Support Houses	Social	1	2	2	5
Culture and art centers	Social	1	1	2	3
Social aid and solidarity centers	Social	1	1	1	x
Condolence houses	Social	2	x	2	1
Women cooperatives	Economic and gender-based	1	x	1	x
Women labor bazaars	Economic and gender-based	1	x	1	x
Other gender-based projects (drivers, parks, activities, etc.)	Social, economy, gender-based	x	x	6	x
Shelter houses for women	Social	x	x	1	x
Health centers for women	Social	x	x	1	x
Rehabilitation centers for street children	Social	x	x	1	x
Centers for disabled people	Social	x	x	x	1
Centers for old people	Social	x	x	x	1
Specific CLA articles	Social, economy, gender-based	1	1	1	1
Passages for street vendors	Economy	x	2	x	x
Projects oriented to business offices	Economy	x	2	x	x
Public libraries	Cultural	2	x	1	x
Squares	Cultural	x	x	1	x
Monuments	Cultural	1	x	1	x
Multi-lingual municipal services	Cultural	1	1	1	1
Multi-cultural activities (Festivals, ceremonies, tours)	Cultural	2	1	1	2
Restoration of the cultural and historical structures	Cultural	2	x	x	x
Urban transformation projects	Urban	2	x	x	x
The Cem Culture House	Cultural	-	-	-	-
The Dengbej's House	Cultural	-	-	-	-
The Kırklar Council	Cultural and Adm	1	x	x	x
Park and green areas (m^2/capita)	Ecology	0,04	0,16	0,71	1,37

Appendix Table 14 Evaluation of the socio-spatial practices of the district municipalities in line with the party policies

Main party policies	Implementation mechanisms in line with the party policy	Spatial practices of the district municipalities	SM	YM	BM	KM
Participatory -Democratic Principle	Neighborhood houses	Neighborhood houses	√	√	√	√
	City council	Sümerpark Campus	x	√*	x	x
Gender Libertarian Principle and Social Policies	Freedom women's spaces (parks, houses, cooperatives, stations)	Women Centers	√	√	√	√
		Laundry and Tandır Houses	√*	√*	√*	x
		Shelters for Women	x	√*	√	x
		Parks for Women	x	x	√	√
		Women's Cooperative	√	x	√	x
		Women's Labor Bazaar	√	x	√	x
	Free-cost and vernacular education service	Education Support Houses	√	√	√	√
	Free-cost and vernacular health service	Health Centers	x	√*	√	x
	Building associations to struggle for poverty	Social Aid and Solidarity Centers	√	√	√	x
	Support for Children and Youth	Rehabilitation Center for Children	x	x	√	√
	Support for Youths	Sports Centers and cctivities	x	√	√	√
	Support for disabled people	Centers or Parks for disabled people	x	√*	√	√
	Support for old people	Center for old people	x	x	x	√
	Support for homosexuals	Allocation of association office for homosexuals	x	x	x	x
	Culture and Art Spaces	Culture and art centers, ateliers, parks	√	√	√	√
	Social Housing	Social Housing Provision	x	√*	√*	x
Economy policies	Struggle for unemployment and poverty by creating employment opportunities	Building offices for vendors, bazaars and cooperatives for women	√	√	√	x
	Founding production and consumption public cooperatives	-	x	x	x	x
	Prioritizing the infrastructure services in the neighborhoods where immigrated and poor people live	Prioritizing the infrastructure services in the neighborhoods where immigrated & poor people live	√	√	√	√
	Good relations with labor and worker unions	Good relations with labor and worker unions	√	√	√	√

Appendix Table 14 (continued)

Main party policies	Implementation mechanisms in line with the party policy	Spatial practices of the district municipalities	SM	YM	BM	KM
Ecological Policies	Producing green areas in the city	Parks and green areas	x	√	√	√
	Alternative energy projects	Solar House	x	√*	x	x
	Use of alternative energy in the public spheres and spatial units	Use of solar energy in the illumination of parks	x	√	√	√
	Encouraging to build houses in line with ecology	-	x	x	x	x
	Creating healthy and livable spaces	Services on infrastructures, hygiene, sanitation and environment training	√	√	√	√
	Building cycling roads in the cities	-	x	x	x	x

* Spatial practices of GMD

APPENDIX E: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü   ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü   ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü   ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü   ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü   ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Öztürk
Adı   : Duygu Canan
Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

TEZİN ADI : Socio-Spatial Practices of the Pro-Kurdish Municipalities: The Case of Diyarbakır

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans   ☐   Doktora   ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.   ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.   ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.   ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: